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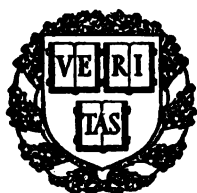
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INTRODUCTION.

ON the death of Edward VI. in 1553, Sir Thomas Cusack, chancellor, and Gerald Aylmer, were appointed Lords Justices in Ireland, and continued to hold office until the arrival at Dalkey of the new Deputy, Sir Anthony Saintleger, who succeeded Sir James Croft on the 19th of November 1553.

Of the state of Ireland at Mary's accession, the report of Cusack, noticed in the preface of the last volume, gives the most trustworthy and accurate description. In Munster, beyond the Pale, the whole country was in such "good quiet" that the judges kept their circuits, not only at Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, but in the most distant shires of the West, without fear or molestation. The Desmonds, the Barries, the McCarthy Mores, and others, the most troublesome and refractory of the Irish chiefs, were content to remain in peace themselves, and to compel the rest of their countrymen to do the same. They accepted the Queen's Commission and acted jointly with the law officers of the Crown. In Connaught, the Earl of Clanricarde, lately restored to his inheritance, gladly submitted to the arrangements made by Cusack out of gratitude to his English supporters. His subjects, turning their swords into ploughshares, abandoned their old habits of plunder

for more peaceful, if not more congenial, occupations. McWilliam Burke, the second captain, and the most powerful man in the province, was "of honest conformity," and was ready to support the Earl, or any other chief, in promoting the King's service. The O'Connors, the McDermotts, the O'Kellies, men of subordinate authority and influence, either found resistance hopeless, or readily followed the examples of their superiors. In Ulster only, English authority and English order had as yet made no permanent impression; and of all parts of Ulster, in Tyrone, where the Earl of that name had unlimited sway, the fairest and goodliest country in all Ireland, ruin and devastation stalked unchecked and unheeded through the land. "Irishmen were never so weak, and English subjects never so strong," are the triumphant words with which the contemporary narrator sums up his minute description of the state of Ireland at the close of the reign of Edward VI.

Of the condition of the churches at that time, it is impossible to speak with precision. No theory upon this subject can rest upon any surer basis than that of the imagination. It is absurd to suppose that in a country like Ireland any system uniformly prevailed, or that laws affecting ecclesiastical state and discipline were generally observed where even civil order was set at nought and despised unless it was enforced by the hand of the stronger. Dioceses often continued unoccupied for years; bishops were frequently non-resident. The authorities at home, fully occupied in suppressing the feuds of petulant chiefs, or in reducing the refractory to obedience, had little time to bestow upon the rigid observance of episcopal succession, still less to demand of the bishops in a distant and rebellious province an acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. To pass Acts of Parliament was one thing; to see those Acts

enforced and observed was another. Nor, in these early times, were Irish bishops, for the most part, of such wealth and importance as to induce any Deputy or Irish Council, whose thoughts were sufficiently occupied by events of more pressing necessity, to ascertain how far the churchmen complied with the rules of canonical obedience.* If a bishop succeeded to a vacant see in the lands of a chief engaged in rebellion, his possession would depend exclusively on the chief's consent, let kings or popes urge what they would to the contrary. If he was nominated by the Crown, he would naturally submit to the formalities imposed by the Crown. But Irish cathedrals were often in ruins, and the revenues of Irish bishops were wasted or usurped. Reckless alike of civil or religious restraints, Irish chieftains in their feuds no more spared the churches in the lands of an enemy or a rival than they regarded the sanctity of his oxen or of his brood mares. Nothing is more common, nothing is more frequently reiterated by the Deputies, or by others who joined in their hostings or circuits, than passionate outcries at the ruinous condition of the churches, not only in regions beyond the English Pale, but within the very heart of it. Their statements may be sometimes exaggerated, but their general accuracy is unquestionable. "The noble folk of Ireland oppresseth, spoileth the prelates of the Church of Christ of their possessions and liberties," is the observation of a Roman Catholic writer, and an Irishman, who could have no motive for perverting the truth or for maligning his countrymen.

When the Act of the Royal Supremacy was passed in the Irish parliament in 1535, it was opposed by Cromer, arch-

* See also Carew Papers, I. 213.

bishop of Armagh, whose dissatisfaction was shared by many of his suffragans and most of the clergy within his jurisdiction. But it does not appear that any attempt was made to punish the Archbishop for his contumacy; at all events he continued in his see until his death, in 1543, when he was succeeded by George Dowdall, who made no scruple of submitting to the King's commands. Unless we are to infer that Cromer as well as the rest of the dissentients changed their minds,—and of this no evidence has been found,—we must infer that the English government winked at this and similar acts of disobedience, preferring to bide their time, and fill the sees as they fell vacant with more loyal clergymen, than run the hazard of adding ecclesiastical to civil disaffection. It was enough to obtain from the Irish chiefs a renunciation of the Pope and a recognition of the King's supremacy. This was a far more effectual method of securing the submission of the clergy than if an oath had been exacted from them, the observance of which, on their return to their dioceses, would not entirely depend upon themselves. Of these acts of submission, made by all the great chiefs of Ireland, and by O'Neil among the number, numerous examples will be found in the first volume of this Calendar. No Irishman of any eminence stood out. If my readers will turn to these instruments, which are too numerous for us to suppose that they were less than universal, he will find that the protestation is made, not only on the part of the chief himself, but of his dependants. “ I entirely renounce obedience to the Roman pontiff and
“ his usurped authority, and recognize the King to be
“ Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland,
“ under Christ, and I will compel all living under my rule
“ to do the same. *If any provisors shall obtain any faculties or bulls from the said usurped authority, I will*

“ *compel them to surrender the same, and to submit themselves to the ordinances of the King.*” * Concessions so ample as these involved the whole question in discussion. When the chiefs complied, the clergy under their rule were not likely to resist.

But we are scarcely left to conjecture. Instances of interference by the King in ecclesiastical matters beyond the Pale are too numerous and too well authenticated to admit of any doubt on this subject. In 1542 the notorious Earl of Desmond made suit to the King to have the bishopric of Emly for a clerk of his own nomination. The propriety of granting the petition is referred to the Deputy,† Next year a request is made by the Bishop of Glostertin (Clonfert) that the bishopric of Elphin may be annexed to his diocese; in the same year O'Brien, in Thomond, agrees to reserve to the King the gift of all bishoprics and all other regalities pertaining to the Crown. In 1542 the Bishop of Clogher, who had been appointed by Papal provision, made his submission, and was confirmed by the King.‡ In 1541 Roland de Burgh did the same for the see of Clonfert. The year before the King directed the Deputy to prefer the Master of Any to the bishopric of Emly, “ willing you, “ our Deputy, by virtue and warrant hereof, to direct our “ letters, as well to the Dean and Chapter of Emly, for his “ election, and to such bishops as you shall think meet for “ his consecration, and to take his oath and homage “ according to the minute which you shall receive herewith; which oath our pleasure is, *that all bishops to be*

* Carew Papers, Vol. I. p. 188. See also pp. 174, 176, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 195, 196, 210; where various instruments of submission of the Irish Chiefs will be found. There can be no stronger proof of the extension of Henry's authority far beyond the limits of the English Pale.

† State Papers, III. 397.

‡ Ibid., 429.

*“ hereafter made in that our realm of Ireland shall make unto us.”** In the same despatch, order is given that O'Donnel's chaplain shall have the bishopric in the north parts (Elphin); “but for lack of the true name of it, we have deferred the expedition thereof till our next despatch.” In 1544, on a representation made by the bishops and other ecclesiastical persons in the country of Clanricarde, that they cannot collect the revenues of their benefices, as the profits of the same were usurped and detained by horsemen as well as by other lay persons, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Clonfert, and other commissioners are ordered to call the offenders before them, and compel them to desist; “and they shall also cause spiritual persons to reside upon their benefices, as by law they are bound to do.”†

Now, when it is considered that in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. the four archbishops, of Armagh, Dublin, Tuam, and Cashel, the bishops of Limerick, Waterford, Cork,‡ Elphin, Emly, with all the bishops of the English Pale, had submitted to the King, we have sufficient evidence, considering the condition of the country and its inhabitants, for assuming that great progress had been made in reducing both clergy and people in general to obedience. Since the passing of the Act of Supremacy, so far was English authority from declining, that it had grown in extent and respect more rapidly than for centuries before. At Saintleger's departure in 1546, the Earls of Desmond, Thomond and Tyrone, the Lord of Upper Ossory, O'Connor, O'Moloy, the Carrols, McGeogehan, and other Irish Lords, assembled

* State Papers, 430.

† Carew, I. 213.

‡ Carew, I. 196.

at Dublin. In their letter to the King, they profess that Ireland was never more peaceable, nor in a better state of conformity.* Their statement is confirmed by the Irish Council: "As for the Irishry, albeit that your Majesty's laws be not current among them,† but there is many contentions and strifes among themselves, yet they more recognize and knowledge your Majesty to be king of this realm, and be more conformable to your Majesty and your grace's Deputy his commandment, than ever we knew them in our times."‡

This state of things continued without much alteration throughout the brief reign of Edward VI. Under the able administration of Brabazon and Bellingham English authority was steadily and temperately maintained. It was not likely to recede when Saintleger resumed his ancient place in 1550. He had brought instructions from England for introducing the English service book, to be used in English where English was spoken, in Irish where it was not. For this purpose an Irish translation was ordered; but how far this order was carried out, and what methods were adopted for procuring Irish type, I have no means of ascertaining. The new order was opposed by Dowdall Archbishop of Armagh and by certain of his suffragans, on the grounds "that every illiterate fellow would then be able to read the mass as well as the priest." The Deputy himself would have overlooked this act of disobedience, but Browne Archbishop of Dublin insisted in his zeal that Dowdall should be summoned before the Council. When Saintleger was recalled the Archbishop fled, and he remained abroad until the reign of Queen Mary.

* State Papers, III. 562.

† That is, they still adhered to the Brehon laws.

‡ Ibid., 561.

Dowdall was succeeded by Hugh Goodacre in Oct. 1552, when the notorious John Bale was created bishop of Ossory.* None of the three remaining archbishops followed the example of Dowdall. Whether his suffragans continued contumacious we have yet to learn. One of them at least, the bishop of Dromore, complied. Nor can any conclusion be drawn, from the absence of satisfactory evidence, as to the conduct of the rest. It is at least probable that some intimation would have been preserved in the reports of the deputies and others, had their defection been either general or obstinate. The Papal pretender to the primacy was a blind Scotchman, named Waucop, whose claims were supported by the French and the Scotch, but they found no encouragement even from those who objected to the royal supremacy. Such pretenders depended entirely for their authority upon foreign aid, not upon the supposed legitimacy of their claims, or the orthodoxy of their doctrine. They came and went as they spied their opportunity, wherever hatred of English rule or the chance of rebellion among native chiefs seemed to offer any prospect of success. It would be contrary to the whole tenor of their history to suppose that at this era Irish chiefs were diligent scrutinizers of the tenets and pretensions of rival ecclesiastics;—or that they were governed in their preferences of this bishop over that by any other consideration than their own interests or their hatred of English rule.

With the common people it was probably otherwise. The professors of the old faith still lingered among them; but they were of that class exclusively to whom bishops were least essential, and in general least favorable. The number and influence of the secular clergy in Ireland

* Morrin, I. 267.

had from time immemorial been of small account. They had, by common admission, done very little to evangelize the country, or maintain the religious faith of the people. These duties had fallen into the hands of the poorest and least educated of the begging friars;—men who had learned to endure every form of hardship;—very little removed in their education and worldly condition from those among whom they labored. Even in more civilized, wealthy, and orderly countries, this class of ecclesiastics professed no obedience to bishops;—it hung loose from episcopal authority. It acknowledged no head but the superior of its order, no bishop except the Pope. To the friars it mattered little whether Dowdall or Waucop was primate;—the nominee of an Irish chieftain or of an English king. They went on just the same; and, except for the fact that their houses had been generally suppressed, it is very doubtful whether the Reformation had much altered their position or diminished their scanty livelihood. Among the lowest and the poorest of the population, where none laboured, even in better times, they continued to labour still. In fastnesses, in moors, in inaccessible forests, where the native Irish found protection as well from the tyranny of his native chief as from the oppressive rule of England, these preachers, little better than outcasts themselves, still kept up, in their own rude way, the feeble sparks of religion. What mattered it to them who was bishop, or what were his officials, secure in a poverty which nothing could or would molest—secure also of a ministry, which no one was willing to share with them? These were the true priests of the native Irish population, not the bishops whom the Pope in his anger, or some native chief from ambition or a better motive, might appoint or countenance.

The conduct of Dowdall and others in submitting to the supremacy and afterwards refusing the English service book has sometimes been condemned as "shamelessly hyperbolic." But writers who make this charge forget that in those days at all events, whatever it may be in these, the acknowledgment of the supremacy did not necessarily involve recantation of the ancient faith. How could it, when the hierarchy and almost all the clergy, when even Henry himself at the passing of the Act, accepted not a single doctrinal tenet of modern protestantism, and regarded protestantism itself as no better than heresy? It was the assertion of the royal supremacy which brought out in more distinct and prominent relief the papal supremacy. And the most rigid denouncers of protestantism, the most zealous upholders of Catholic tradition, would have heard with astonishment the modern dogma that by accepting of the royal supremacy they forfeited all claims to Catholic communion. That doctrine was not set up until the reign of Elizabeth, with what effect we shall see hereafter.

When Mary ascended the throne she restored the Roman Catholic religion, but the Irish chiefs rebelled no less than they had done under her Protestant predecessor. What was it to them that the Pope had made over "to their Majesties his whole interest in the kingdom of Ireland?"* Before Saintleger the new Deputy arrived at his post, O'Connor had invaded Offaly, and O'Neill Louth. O'Bryan and the Earl of Thomond, though of the same race, were at deadly feud. The O'Carrolls were murdering and re-murdering. Shane O'Neill and Roe O'Neill, Tyrone (O'Neill) and Hugh McNeill were actively

* Hamilton's Calendar, I. 134.

employed in devastating each other's countries, and exterminating the blood of O'Neill. Ulster and Munster were disquieted by insurrectionary chiefs, who hated English strangers much, but native rivals more. Roman Catholic sovereigns found it quite as necessary to enforce order in Ireland by a strong hand, as Protestant sovereigns before and after them. Roman Catholic Deputies were compelled, or thought themselves compelled, to burn villages and fire upon rebels and traitors, as much as Protestant Deputies had done. Roman Catholic bishops were just as ready to turn the spiritual artillery of the Church upon the wild Irish as Protestant bishops—even Browne and Bale—had ever thought of doing before them.

In the instructions given by Philip and Mary to the Earl of Sussex, whose orthodoxy and adherence to Papal authority not even the Irish could call in question, the following directions occur:—

“As the disorders of Ireland, by the rebellion of the Connors and Mores, and the access and increase of the Scots, are so great and so many that the rebels cannot be reduced, nor the Scots expelled, their Majesties have determined to continue without diminution their present forces in Ireland.”

And again:—

“As the inhabitants of the North parts of Ireland are much given to disorder, and the potentates of the same are very much inclined to the Scots, the Deputy shall use his best endeavours to punish and redress their disorders.”*

Again:—

“Forasmuch as, for *lack of ministration of justice*, malefactors have of late years more and more increased, although the fees of the ministers of the law are nevertheless double, to the end they should ride abroad into wild countries to minister justice and see our laws executed upon the evil, we will that our Deputy forthwith

* Carew Calender, I. 273.

give the necessary orders to the judges, and see the offenders punished."

"As in the Irish countries, under Irish lords and others, great impositions, pains, orders, &c. are put upon the subjects *pro arbitrio et voluntate jubeatis*, and whoso refuseth is finally enforced to pay the uttermost penny without redemption, this being the chief mean for keeping the people under them in awe, and always ready to do their will, our pleasure is that our Deputy shall see to the reformation of these abuses."*

And, lastly, I submit to my readers the following extract from the "petty suits" made to the Queen by Archbishop Dowdall, who was restored by Mary to the see of Armagh in consequence of his adherence to the old religion :—

"Item, where there is no remedy or redress had against the Irishmen that doth not answer writ or bill for any hurts that they do, either to bishop or any other inferior prelates, but only by the censures of the Church as hath ever continued there: And yet some of the learned men there beith of that opinion that it should be cause of præmunire to curse any of them in any temporal cause, as well as to curse a subject, if remedy may be duly had by the course of the King's laws :—It may please Her Highness to grant me to have at all times liberty and license to exercise and minister all kind of ecclesiastical censures against the said *wild Irish* that do not answer writ or bill, neither remedy otherwise can be had against them but only by the same: And this with the reservation of all old liberties that Her Grace's ancestors granted to the see of Ardmaghen, and archbishops there, for the time being, with a protection to the said Ardmachen, being my chief see, that it be not hindered in time to come by Her Grace's Deputy or soldiers, as it hath been now of late."

In fact, whoever was the ruler, native or stranger, Protestant or otherwise, the same disorders prevailed, and had to be met by the same remedies. The mailed hand of authority could only repress violence by violence. Milder

* Carew Calendar, I. 253-5.

measures would have been considered by the Irish as a confession of weakness.

But the chief interest connected with Mary's reign centres in her proceedings in matters of religion; and on this subject I must say a few words. In the instructions given by the King and Queen to the Lord Fitz Water, *i.e.*, to Sussex, in April 1556, their Majesties thus declare themselves : *

"Our said Deputy and Council shall by their own good example and all other good means to them possible advance the honour of Almighty God, the true Catholic faith and religion now by God's great goodness and special grace recovered in our realms of England and Ireland; and, namely, they shall set forth the honor and dignity of the Pope's Holiness and See Apostolic of Rome, and from time to time be ready, with our aid and secular force, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries there, to punish and repress all heretics and Lollards, and their damnable sects, opinions, and errors. And where the most reverend Father in God, our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, the Lord Cardinal Pole, being sent unto us from the Pope's Holiness and the said See Apostolic Legate of our said realms, mindeth in brief time to despatch into our said realm of Ireland certain his commissioners and officials to visit the clergy and other members of the said realm of Ireland;—our will, pleasure, special request, and express commandment is, that our said Deputy and Council shall, in all and everything belonging to the function and office Legatine, assist, aid, and further the same commissioners, officials, their ministers, and commandments, for the advancement of God's glory and the honor of the See Apostolic, so that the same commissioners and officials shall at their return report no lack in our said Deputy and Council or any other our ministers and good subjects in this part."

Conformably to the determination thus expressed steps were taken to eject from their sees such of the episcopal clergy as had promoted the Reformation in the previous reign. Dowdall was restored to the primacy and the see

* Carew Calendar, I. 252.

of Armagh: Browne archbishop of Dublin, Staples bishop of Meath, Lancaster of Kildare, and Travers of Leighlin, were deposed for violating the canons of the Church, by contracting marriage; Bale bishop of Ossory and Casy bishop of Limerick anticipated their sentence by flight. In the room of these bishops, Hugh Curwin succeeded to Dublin, Wm. Walsh to Meath, Thos. Leveureux to Kildare, Filey to Leighlin, Lees or Lacy to Limerick, and Thonory to Ossory. In 1553 FitzGerald was made archbishop of Cashel, void by the death of his predecessor Edward Butler; and Roger Skyddy became bishop of Cork and Cloyne in 1556. These are the only changes of any importance affecting the Church as recorded in the rolls and state papers of Mary's reign. Of course the Mass was restored. Some ineffectual attempts were made to recover the Church property which had been sold or embezzled during the late reigns; here and there feeble efforts were set on foot to re-establish religious houses, and the married clergy were generally deprived. But a married clergyman was of rare occurrence, either in England or in Ireland, during the 16th century. The people had not yet lost the notion, with which they had been long familiarized, that the celibacy of the clergy was indispensable to their sacred functions. Had it been otherwise, the meanness of the provision made for them, the precariousness of their tenancy, and the non-existence or decay of parsonages, would have proved effectual obstacles to the married state in general.

But, however strong might be Mary's inclinations to the Papacy, she had no intention whatever of renouncing her supremacy. Those who have been accustomed to identify the royal supremacy with Protestantism, and to regard the acceptance of it as equivalent to a renunciation of the Roman Catholic faith, will be surprised to learn that by the

same authority by which the religious independence of this nation had been declared in the reign of Henry VIII., and the Six Articles enacted, by the same and by no other was the old religion restored under Mary; by the same and by no other was the Legatine authority of Cardinal Pole admitted and recognized. At the very outset of her reign Mary exalted to the primacy of Ireland, not Waucop the papal nominee, but Dowdall who had submitted to the royal supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII. In the earliest act* of her agreement with the Irish chief, Eugene Magennesse, captain and principal of his nation, it is expressly stipulated, next to his being the Queen's faithful subject, that he shall admit no "provisor from the Roman court." In the communications between her Council in England and that of Ireland† she styled herself "Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth *Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland*;" and in her proclamations she assumed the same authority. She issues her *congé d'élire*, sends her commission to archbishops and bishops whom they are to consecrate,‡ just as her father had done; she leases out abbey lands "with their appurtenances, both spiritual and temporal," to laymen, without a thought of their restoration.§ In the oath of the Deputy, Sussex, this clause is inserted: "Ye shall maintain and defend the laws of God and the Christian faith, and, as far as *their Majesties' laws do or shall permit*, the usages, rites, ceremonies, and liberties of Holy Church"|| In answer

* Dec. 6, 1553. Carew, I. 247.

† 20 July 1553. Morrin, I. 304.

‡ After her marriage she yielded more apparently to the Papal claims; or else was drawn in that direction by the influence of Philip and by other causes. See Morrin's Calendar, I. 337, 339, 340, 377.

§ Morrin, ib., 319, 321, 372.

| Morrin, ib., 378.

to a request from the Earl of Tyrone that a chaplain of his might be established in the priory of the Cathedral Church of Down, for which he had obtained the Pope's bulls, she desires the Deputy to inform the said Earl "that we intend to maintain our prerogative left unto us by our progenitors in that behalf."* With all her respect for the Pope, as the spiritual head of the Church, with all her desire of securing his approbation, with all her attachment to the old religion, it is quite clear that she never intended to abate or diminish that authority in ecclesiastical matters which her father and her brother had exercised before her. As their supremacy had been employed in maintaining "the rites, ceremonies, and liberties of the Church" conformably to their own interpretation of them, and that of the nation in their time, so hers is governed by similar considerations, but with different results.

On comparing the effects of Mary's government of Ireland with those of her immediate predecessor, it will be seen that, with the exception of the changes already mentioned, the state of that kingdom remained much the same. As English authority was not impaired in her hands, so also it was not materially advanced. In the Pale there was the same conflict of interests, which had always impeded the progress of order and of good government. Deputies and Councils did not work harmoniously together. Industry was depressed by heavy imposts. Theft and insubordination terrified the farmer, and drove him to abandon his land, or to follow the bad example of those around him. The scanty supply of labor compelled him to employ the native Irish, who made common cause with their countrymen, and not unfrequently betrayed their masters. Industry, regularity, and economy have not in general been

* July 6, 1558. Hamilton's Cal., I. 147.

considered as Irish virtues. It would have been little less than a marvel if they could have flourished at all in such a state of society and under such enormous disadvantages. But yet slowly and steadily, with many relapses, and in spite of heavy discouragements, the cause of order and good government was slowly making way. If any one will take the trouble to compare the condition of Ireland in Mary's reign with its condition under Henry VII., he will, I think, have little doubt upon this subject.

The same remark applies to the country outside the Pale. Ulster, governed by a native chief, and the focus of native independence, was no less turbulent than before. The disaffection of the province was continually fanned and kept alive by the incursions of the Scotch, the implacable enemies of England. It was impossible to maintain such an effective and vigilant guard along the sea-coast as should keep out Scotch volunteers, never reluctant to offer their services to Tyrone, and to recruit his exhausted mercenaries. It was the old Border warfare transferred from Northumberland to the Irish Seas. Always formidable to the English Deputies, it might have been more formidable still, had not the two allies been quite as ready to cut each other's throats as the throats of the English or of the Anglo-Irish settlers. Here, then, there was no improvement, and there did not seem to be hope of any. O'Neill and his numerous retainers, satisfied with an unlimited command of oatmeal, whisky, and "hairy butter," did not desire any change of condition which might have imposed upon them the disagreeable necessity of a more regular life, and entailed habits of industry incompatible with the dignity of an idle Irish gentleman. Such men had never worked, and never intended to work. Harassing their neighbours' cows, especially if those neighbours were Englishmen or under English protection,—stealing their

neighbours' corn, burning their houses or their farmsteads, carrying off their wives and their children, or leaving them to perish of hunger and nakedness,—these were adventures more agreeable to the restless humors of armed and needy retainers, whose love of mischief was stimulated by their idleness and their poverty. Not indeed that they had any special hatred of English rule beyond the restraint it necessarily imposed upon these habits,—or any pious and profound preference of the old to the new religious faith. They burnt churches as they burnt houses; they plundered the most orthodox priest with as little compunction as the most heretical Protestant.*

Of course no archbishop could reside in Ulster; churches and cathedrals fell equally into ruin. Papal nominees commanded no more respect than others. Perhaps the only ecclesiastic in the whole province who possessed any real authority was the Dean of Armagh, Shane O'Neill's brother, and his political correspondent with England.†

In Connaught and Munster matters wore a better aspect. The great chiefs of these provinces had Norman blood in their veins, and traced back their descent to the earliest conquerors of Ireland. The Burkes, the FitzGerald, the Stantons, the Barretts, the Curcies, the Butlers, the Barries, and the FitzMorrises were, as their names import, of a distinct race from the native Irish. Though from long residence in Ireland they had become in many respects *Hibernicis Hiberniores*, they still retained some relics of Norman usages and of Norman sympathies. Adopting, for the most part, the disorderly habits of those among whom they lived, they practised "all kinds of Irish exactions and extortions;"‡ consequently, like

* See Appendix A.

† See Appendix B.

‡ Carew Cal. I., 335.

the native Irish, they paid little regard to law and order. But they were not so unwilling as the Irish to submit to those feudal usages which had paved the way for good and regular government in England. They accepted more readily the division of their country into shires. They abandoned more easily the use of tanistry, they consented to hold their honors and their estates of the English crown. They showed themselves less resolute in their defiance of the English Deputy. For these reasons they were regarded by the O'Neills and others of unmixed Irish descent as upstarts and usurpers, only one degree more tolerable than the degenerate English settlers of the Pale.

It is not pretended that they submitted implicitly to English authority, or that they allowed English reforms to be introduced into their countries without a struggle, or that their professions of obedience could be relied upon whenever their blood was stirred by real or imaginary wrongs. The slightest spark was sufficient to fan such inflammable materials into a flame. The love of mischief and the love of strife spread with the celerity of wild-fire to the neighbouring tribes; circle succeeded to circle, wave followed wave in ceaseless agitation, until country after country and province after province caught up the same wild and maddening infection. Cause or no cause, injury or no injury, it made no difference. It is provocation enough for an Irishman, if he sees Irishmen at fisticuffs, to take part in the fray.* He joins in a quarrel as he joins in a funeral procession, without knowing or caring to analyse his motives; and he is often loudest in his grief and fiercest in his pugilism in proportion as he is ignorant of the person and the cause which has excited the one or pro-

* "They fight for their dinner, and many of them lose their heads before they be served with their suppers." Sydney to the Privy Council, Carew Cal., II. 52.

voked the other. Any such inquiry or deliberation he would resent as a reflection on his courage, or an imputation on his humanity. Modern historians appear to me to attribute much deeper motives to these stormy phenomena than the truth will warrant—to ascribe them falsely to an inveterate hatred of English rule and religious discipline,—just as, on the other side, Protestant historians of preceding centuries were wont to stigmatize as perfidious and hypocritical the readiness with which Irish chiefs promised submission, and the equal readiness with which they broke their vows on the slightest occasion. There was no deep-laid scheme of revenge, no profound policy in either case. The Irishman no more thought then, than he does now,—into whatever mischief or extravagance such humors might betray him,—that he was defying the Queen's authority. He was indulging his whim or his caprice,—no more: distasteful it might be to English notions of propriety, but, in his estimation, if ever he thought about it, it was no more than an agreeable pastime, not unbecoming a gentleman and a loyal subject. It is we, judging of Irishmen by English prejudices, who have given too serious an aspect and significance to these natural ebullitions; just as the same narrow spirit in the sixteenth century, of which I am speaking, led the English authorities into the mistake of supposing that if they could only succeed in introducing into Ireland those usages which were so intimately connected with good order and tranquillity here, the same happy results would ensue, and Ireland become as peaceful and as prosperous as England. The soil itself was uncongenial.

“To reduce,” writes the Earl of Sussex to Elizabeth, “the wild Irish to some certain kind of obedience, it will be convenient to alter their states from Irish election to English succession, the reasons whereof do appear hereafter.

"The election to the captainship of the country is the cause why the Irishmen do keep great numbers of idle men of war, that thereby they might be the stronger, hoping by their strength to be the liker to be elected captain upon a vacation. These men of war (armed retainers), being brought up and fed with idleness, cannot be restrained in time of peace from stealing and a number of other enormities. To maintain them in this life they have finding and expenses upon the country, whereby be brought in coyne and livery and all other Irish exactions, *which be the only grounds and causes of all the uncivil and detestable [dis]orders of that realm, and of their licentious disobedience to the Prince.* The taking away of this election, and granting of estates in succession to the heir-male, will give occasion to the captain to foresee that no man in his rule shall keep such force as he shall be able to disturb his son in his succession; and brothers not to have will to keep idle men of war for that purpose, when hope of election shall be taken from them." Instead of these irregular exactions he proposes that the Irish captains should take the yearly rent of a penny from the inhabitants; and "a perfect obedience to the Prince would ensue."*

Excellent advice unquestionably,—a type of English policy in all ages, and of English reasoning in reference to Ireland;—indisputable in its facts, 'unexceptionable' in its arguments; cool, thoughtful, and narrow-minded. It was the very incarnation of that principle which the Tudor sovereigns have been accused of disregarding. Their extreme desire of doing for Ireland what had been done for England, and had raised it to pre-eminence among the nations, made them overlook the difference in the habits, tempers, circumstances of the two people. "Do as you would be done by" was at the bottom of all their failures. The Irishman preferred irregular exactions to the regular yearly penny. His neighbour's cow beef, however tough, with starvation for the rest of the week, and a certainty of reprisals, was more pleasant to him

* Carew Cal., I. 348; compare also 339.

than the stalled ox of his own pastures and the monotony of peace. It was his taste, it had been the taste of his forefathers, and all further discussion about the subject was useless.

Queen Mary died on the 17th day of November 1558. Sussex was still Deputy. But in the following December Sir Henry Sydney, father of the more celebrated Sir Philip, was appointed Lord Justice, and Sussex crossed over to England. No Englishman ever tasted the bitter-sweet of the Irish deputyship, but sighed and prayed to leave it. No Englishman who had left it, but forgot in England the bitter, and, remembering only the sweet, sighed and consented to return to it; though with the fullest conviction that he should run the same gauntlet as before,—be vilified by his enemies in his absence, thwarted by his Council, ill supported by his sovereign, ruined in his fortune and probably in his reputation. The infatuation seems wholly inexplicable. To what must it be attributed? To the love of power, or the love of adventure? To fondness of Ireland, or to an almost Irish abhorrence of peace and monotony in England? At the commencement of 1559, we find Sussex preferring the most earnest supplications to Elizabeth to suffer him to continue in England. He had brought his wife, his family and his horses with him; he holds two offices of her Majesty as captain of the band of Pensioners and Justice of the Forests, the ordering of which “is enough *occupare totum hominem*.”* Then, the Lord Justice Sydney is a much better manager than he; he is the co-gossip of that dangerous chief, Shane O’Neill, and his influence over him is great. A few weeks after, he repeats his request, but in a more languid tone, to Cecil, then Secretary of State. In May

* Hamilton’s Cal., I. 152, 154.

we find him in full preparation for his return. Before the summer is come and gone he is once more "the Lord Deputy of her Grace's realm of Ireland;" for "the preservation of peace among her people, and execution of justice according to her Majesty's laws and usages:" so help him "God, all saints and holy evangelists." *

The first article in his instructions shows the principles of the new sovereign and of the Tudors generally. "The Deputy and Council shall set the service of Almighty God before their eyes; and the said Deputy and all others of that Council who be native-born subjects of this realm of England shall use the rites and ceremonies which are by law appointed, at least in their houses." †

To obviate any just cause of complaint, to remove even the appearance of inequality between the rights and privileges of the two kingdoms, the Deputy is enjoined to see justice impartially administered; and, "considering how needful it is in many cases to provide like laws as be of late established in this realm, the said Deputy shall therein confer with the rest of the Council there, showing to them the titles or books of the last Parliament here. And upon determination which of them may seem meet for that realm, either as they be, or with other alteration, the same to be accorded, and any other also to be newly devised for the weal of that realm, and, as the manner hath been, to return some person instructed therewith, to the end her Majesty, so allowing the same, may give authority for her royal consent to be given thereto by her said Deputy." The wisdom, the equity, the moderation of such counsels are worthy of the great sovereign from whom they emanated. What sanc-

* Morrin, I. 418.

† Carew Cal., I. 279.

tion do they give to the popular misapprehensions of arbitrary government under the Tudors ?

What was the nature of those laws "of late established," to which the Queen referred, may be easily seen by a reference to the Statute Book. Among them was the abolition of the mass, and the restoration of the royal supremacy to its former integrity. Whatever now may be thought of these acts it must be remembered that they were the recorded convictions of the nation, which the Queen, even had she been so inclined, was in no condition to oppose, and which, after they had been solemnly ratified by the three estates of the realm, she could not in justice have refused to put in practice. Her own inclinations certainly did not lean to the extremes of Protestantism. Like her father she was accused of favoring the ceremonial observances of the old religion; and there were many disputes among the more rigid even of the Protestant bishops and clergy whether they could with a safe conscience minister in the royal chapel, where, in spite of all their remonstrances, the Queen insisted on retaining lights and a crucifix upon the altar. But the national will had unequivocally declared itself against Popery, and the events of the last reign had entirely alienated from it the minds of the people of England. Severity had been employed, under the characteristic rule of a foreign sovereign, from which even its own ministers revolted. It had identified every attempt to restore Popery with associations the most repugnant to the profoundest feelings of the nation. No one lamented that the fatal experiment had come to a close by the death of Mary:—not even the Roman Catholics themselves.

Consequently the accession of Elizabeth was hailed with delight, as men escaping from an ugly dream rejoice in the freshness of the morning. The bishops, without

exception, refused to take part in her consecration, but these scruples were not shared by the great mass of the clergy or of the laity. When the Act of Supremacy passed the Commons, not a single dissentient voice was raised against it. In the Upper House only two of the temporal lords opposed it. Out of 9,400 ecclesiastics, the clergy who were deprived for refusing it amounted to no more than the following list: 80 rectors, 50 prebendaries, 15 masters of colleges, 12 archdeacons, 12 deans, 6 abbots and abbesses. No such momentous change had ever taken place in this or any country with less opposition. Here, at all events, the unanimity of the nation was scarcely affected by it.

But it has long been a matter of dispute how far these changes were accepted in Ireland. If English bishops refused them, and were deprived, were Irish bishops likely to be more compliant? Or even if the bishops of the Pale submitted and accepted the royal supremacy, is it probable that those beyond the Pale would follow their example, and bend to an authority in spiritual matters which they scarcely acknowledged in temporal? These doubts are not easily solved. First, because in no time during the reign of the Tudors did Ireland present such a uniform appearance that we can infer from the condition of one province what was going on in another. Next, because no sufficient proofs exist for forming an unerring judgment; but chiefly because writers in general are apt to form their notions of Ireland and of the condition of the Irish Church either from its appearance at later times or from its analogy to the ecclesiastical system of England.

It is necessary that my readers should disabuse themselves of the supposition that any such regular parochial system existed in Ireland, until long after the Reformation,

as was to be found here, or, if it did, that it was or could be regularly administered. Even here the parish priest had been rapidly sinking into insignificance and contempt, and parish churches were falling into ruins. The great monasteries had engrossed the endowments intended for the clergy. The instruction of the people in all but the poorest and most insignificant parishes was carried on by a vicar nominated by the religious houses, generally badly paid and entirely dependent on his wealthy masters. The jurisdiction of the bishops—crippled, limited, and confined by exemptions lavishly wrested from the Papal Court in favor of these powerful religious bodies, the eminent supporters of Papal authority against the national authority, both spiritual and temporal—extended year after year over a clergy diminishing in number, learning and importance. But it was far worse in Ireland. Here from time immemorial the wealth and dignities of the Church had been almost entirely engrossed by the monastic corporations. “As almost all the bishops in Ireland,” says Giraldus Cambrensis, “are chosen to the clerical office out of “monasteries, they fulfil to admiration the duties of the “monk, and neglect almost entirely those of the clergy “man and the bishop.”*

They had not improved in this respect, and were hardly likely to improve, between the time when Giraldus wrote and the Reformation. Monastic wealth and influence, advancing with rapid strides in this country from the reign of Henry II. to the sixteenth century, was not destined to recede in Ireland, where many causes were at work to oppress and pauperise the parochial clergy, and throw the care and instruction of the people into the

* Topog. Hib., iii. ch. 29.

hands of the religious orders. Were the turbulent laity or their ambitious chiefs likely to respect the secular priest or spare the parish church? Were the secular clergy themselves likely to remain in their cures under such heavy discouragements? Could the sacred buildings themselves be otherwise than the meanest and most ruinous, when their endowments were engrossed by bishops and abbots whose whole interest was centred in that monastic order to which they severally belonged? Even in England it might be questioned how far the picturesque effect of our parish churches would have been modified, if we could have seen them as they stood at the Reformation, and have separated from the poor unappropriated parish church those more splendid fabrics which owed their grandeur and magnificence to some neighbouring abbey. But of this there was nothing in Ireland. There the parish churches fell into utter neglect; and the reports even of the cathedrals in Ireland, sent to the Pope, reveal a state of squalor, decay, and poverty, utterly incredible to those who are apt to judge of the churches of Ireland by those of England. How could the churches of Ireland flourish when the hand of the spoiler was abroad?—when Irish and English, natives and settlers, were almost alike employed “in spoiling, preying, and burning?”—when neither “archbishop or bishop, abbot or prior, parson or “ vicar, or any other person of the Church, high or low, “ great or small,” cared to preach the word of God, or look after the spiritual instruction of the people? Such is the report of an eyewitness shortly before the Reformation; and all the evidences that remain to this day of the state of Ireland confirm its accuracy. The spiritual guides of the people were the “begging friars,” who ministered and preached in the open air, uncared for by abbots or

bishops, and equally careless of episcopal orders and episcopal authority.*

Therefore, when the Reformation in Ireland swept away the religious houses and their inmates, it found no substitute to take their places. These houses had become the great trustees for almost all the ecclesiastical property and endowments in Ireland. They had converted the great tithes to their own uses, leaving the smaller tithes and the poor offerings of a poor population for the support of a vicar. Half cleric, half farmer, and not unfrequently a sort of collector of the dues of the monastery, he eked out a miserable stipend by all sorts of contrivances, not always the most consistent with his holy calling. From an income of 10*l.* or 12*l.* Irish,—for these livings in Ireland did not amount, in many cases, to 40*l.* English,†—what could be spared for the exigencies of divine service or the repair of the church? What likelihood was there that such a minister could devote himself to learning, even if his congregation would have appreciated learning? His habits, his tastes, his indulgences, his pursuits, were those of his flock, from whom he scarcely differed, except that he had taken holy orders, and had authority to administer the sacraments of the Church. As for the rest he lived as they lived, caring very little about those doctrinal discussions which engaged the rest of Christendom, and troubling himself as much about the merits of the royal supremacy as he did about the translation of the New Testament into English.

* As the friars received their faculties from the Pope they were wholly independent of the bishops, who bore them no good will. They were, in fact, a sort of irregular interlopers on the old ecclesiastical system, and were encouraged by the Papal Court in its ingenious contrivance for a balance of ecclesiastical power. Like many such ingenious contrivances it helped more than anything else to punish the inventors of it, and subvert the Papal authority in the end.

† See Appendix C.

With the confiscation of the monastic property at the Reformation he had changed masters. His new patron was no longer an abbot, a prior, or the head of some conventual house, but a layman, English or Irish, who had contrived to obtain possession, by money, by favour, or by other means, of the monastic estates and their impropriations. His stipend remained as before. His pursuits, his education, his qualifications, continued the same. If he and his patron were unscrupulous, and the bishop not more than ordinarily vigilant, they contrived between them to dismantle the church of its lead, its windows, its stonework, and all that was valuable. In a few years church, vicar, and congregation all disappeared, and the small tithes equally as the great tithes fell into the hands of the patron. In other parishes the provision for the minister was so mean that no vicars could be found to take them. In others again the patrons, whether lay or episcopal, removed from the restraint of public censure and opinion, openly neglected to present a minister, let the tithes and glebe lands to farm, allowed the churches to fall, and the people to grow up in ignorance.

Long before the Reformation, and for some years after, there is one uniform complaint that the churches in Ireland are utterly ruinous, and the provision made for their maintenance by the King, his progenitors and nobles, for the augmentation of God's divine service and the support of His ministers, had been wasted and destroyed. The Earl of Kildare writes in 1525 that "all the churches, for the more part within the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, are in such extreme decay that no divine service is kept there."* The Earl of Ossory in 1532, petitioning Cromwell for a bishopric in Connaught (Enaghduhlen)

* Carew Cal., I. 38.

to be given to a clergyman of his own recommendation, describes it as worth only 20*l.* a year (Irish), the clergy far out of order, and the cathedral a ruin.* In the consistorial process, held at Rome 9 Nov. 1516, on the election of the Bishop of Clonmacnois, in the province of Tuam, the report states that the town consisted of 12 cottages built of straw and osiers; that the cathedral was unroofed; that it had but one altar, covered with thatch, and a small sacristy. Its annual income is returned at 33 ducats, and its revenues were paid in corn and barley.† Next year, in a report made from Ireland to the Pope, at the election of the Bishop of Ardagh, there occurs the following statement: "That part of Ireland which is nearest England is
" most civilized. The other part is brutal. The inhabi-
" tants live in wooden huts covered with straw. A large
" part of them herd with their cattle in the fields and in
" caves. Almost all are shoeless, and given to thieving.
" In the town of Ardagh there are not more than four
" wooden huts; scantily inhabited, in consequence of the
" interminable feuds which prevail among the Irish.
" Nothing now remains of the cathedral except the walls.
" There is an altar exposed to the weather. Its annual
" income is 10 ducats."‡

Of the state of Ross, on the resignation of its bishop in 1517, we find that the town consisted of 200 cottages; the cathedral was of stone, covered with a wooden roof, but without any pavement. Its revenues were no more than 60 marks. As late as the year 1569 the united sees of Cork and Cloyne were valued at little more than 40*l.* yearly.§

* Carew Cal., I. 49.

† Theiner, p. 518. These reports are from the Vatican.

‡ Ibid., 521.

§ Hamilton, I. 424.

This lamentable condition of the Church continued far down in the reign of Elizabeth. The metropolitan church of Armagh, as might be expected, had been again and again wasted and turned to any other than religious purposes. In 1561 it was fortified by the Deputy, and made a storehouse for soldiers' victuals.* In 1563 it was restored by the Queen to Shane O'Neill on condition that the dean and the clergy should be permitted to perform divine service in it without molestation.† But how well the Irish chief observed his promise is clear from a letter addressed by Thomas Lancaster to Cecil three years after, in which we find that O'Neill, on being repulsed from Dundalk, had "broken down" and burned the metropolitan church of Armagh.‡ Kilmakoagh, another cathedral, was in no better condition.§ "We perceive how greatly religion and justice be decayed in most parts," writes Elizabeth in 1578 to Sir William Drury, "the parish churches fallen down, and there no service said, or very seldom." He is therefore ordered to take such measures "as all those the several parish churches decayed may be re-edified, who in law are chargeable therewith, the parsons, vicars, or

* Hamilton's Cal., I. 174. This explains the reason why Adam Loftus, the primate, resided at Dublin; and fully disposes of the modern hypothesis, that whilst he was nominally primate the see of Armagh was really governed by the papal nominee, Richard Creagh. It is very improbable that when Elizabeth covenanted in 1563 with O'Neill for the restoration of the cathedral to the dean and clergy for the purposes of religious worship, these clergy could be Roman Catholics; or, rather, obnoxious to the Queen for refusing her supremacy. In fact, until the nomination of Thomas Lancaster, in March 1568 (Hamilton, I. 371), and the restoration of the cathedral by the Queen, it was probably in no condition fit for divine service. The same remark applies to other sacred edifices.

† Hamilton's Cal., I. 226.

‡ Ibid., 312, 325.

§ Carew Cal., II. 47.

“ their farmers, compelled to keep curates.”* In the same year, in reply to a complaint from the Bishop of Ossory, “ that not only the chiefest men of that town (as for the “ most part they are bent to Popery) refused obstinately to “ come to the church, and that they could by no means be “ brought to hear the divine service there with their wives “ and families (as by her Majesty’s injunctions they are “ bound to do), but that also almost all the churches and “ chapels or chancels within that his diocese were utterly “ ruined and decayed, and that neither the parishioners “ nor others that are bound to repair them and set them “ up could by any means be won or induced so to do,” the Deputy directs a commission to the bishop and others “ to compel such as ought to do it,” to repair and build the same.† In a report of the Bishop of Meath in the next year it is stated that one of her Majesty’s farmers of parsonages impropriate held sixteen benefices, and amongst them all there was not one vicar or minister maintained that could read English or understand Latin, or give a good instruction to his parishioners.‡ The same bishop, shortly after, in a report to Sir Henry Sydney of the state of his own diocese, asserts that out of 224 parish churches under him, 105 were appropriated without any resident parson or vicar. The only support for a minister were the offerings at the altar (altarages). There was no parsonage. The walls of the churches had fallen down; and the chancels were without doors or windows.

It will be observed that these remarks apply either to the churches within the Pale, or to those which fall more immediately under the cognizance of the English deputy.

* Carew Cal. II., 131.

† Ibid., 144.

‡ Ibid., 181.

It is easy to infer what would be the condition of the Church in remoter districts, where English authority was scarcely acknowledged, and the Protestant faith was only scantily admitted. Nothing, in truth, could exceed the general squalor, wretchedness, and poverty, with all their kindred evils, under which the Protestant church of Ireland then laboured in all respects. In England the Reformation made its way, not indeed without a struggle, but without "fuel of fire." If its garments were not wholly unstained, they were not, like those of the Reformation in Ireland, "rolled in blood." The Church in England quietly succeeded to a rich and peaceable inheritance provided for it by the piety and munificence of founders and benefactors; the Church of Ireland, reduced to a miserable pittance, wasted and spoiled for centuries by neglect, by disorder, and by civil dissension, struggled on for existence among a population generally poor and mostly inimical, who did not care to rebuild what their own hands had thrown down, and resisted to the utmost the efforts of those who were better disposed. The task of restoration was not easy. It could not be accomplished in a few years. It was continually interrupted by more urgent avocations. The wonder is that it ever succeeded—that there should be an Irish Protestant church at all.

I proceed then to consider how far the Deputy and Council in Ireland were in a condition to carry out the instructions of their Sovereign "to set the service of "Almighty God before their eyes" in their government of Ireland; and how far their efforts in this respect were, or were like to be, crowned with success. But here we are met with a preliminary inquiry, how far the English jurisdiction extended in the early years of Elizabeth? It has been contended by some that the whole hierarchy of Ireland submitted to the new government, with the exception

of the bishops of Meath and Kildare, who were deprived for refusing the oath of supremacy. By others it is urged that as the English Government, unfortunately for itself, had no such opportunity for the exercise of its authority as is implied in this supposition, none but those who were immediately obnoxious to its influence were likely to comply. That influence, it is asserted, did not then extend beyond the dioceses of Dublin, Meath and Kildare.

If, indeed, the acceptance of the royal supremacy in these early years had always been considered as identical with a profession of the Protestant faith, or was generally so considered by all the Irish bishops who held their sees under Queen Mary, we should probably have discovered in the Irish State Papers clearer evidences of their resistance to the instructions of Sussex and others, than are now to be found. But there was, as I have observed, a laxity in this respect; and many of the clergy, and almost all of the laity, however attached they might be to the doctrinal teaching of the Church of Rome, had not yet been taught to consider that their acceptance of the royal supremacy was at all inconsistent with ancient orthodoxy. That prerogative had been asserted by Henry VIII., by the bishops, and by Convocation, at the very time when each and all of them would have condemned to the fire any man who denied the authority of the Church, or of General Councils, or who might venture to question transubstantiation, the worship of images, or the invocation of saints. Any one who will take the trouble to examine Foxe's Martyrology will find that for one person who was punished for heresy before the Act, two at least were punished after it. It will be remembered also that the celebrated Six Articles, re-establishing every one of the distinctive tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, were passed at a time when the King's supremacy was main-

tained with the utmost rigor, and they were urged and approved of by bishops who had been foremost in defending the royal supremacy. That Act was no more than another step, and scarcely a step in advance of what had been asserted before, in the statute of *Præmunire* under Richard II., in the statute of *Provisors* under Henry VI., substantially re-enacted under Henry VII. What change then had the supremacy undergone under Elizabeth, to make it more offensive to Roman Catholic consciences? None. Why should men who had submitted to various changes, and most of whom had accepted their bishoprics with full knowledge of and consent to this obnoxious claim of the English sovereign, become more scrupulous under Elizabeth than they had been under Henry VIII.? Did one sovereign claim more than the other? Not in the least. It is easy to charge with servility those who complied with the requirements of the Government, and to praise the fidelity of those who refused; but the praise of consistency is at all events more due to the former than to the latter. Nor was it until many years after the accession of Elizabeth that the Roman Catholics were taught to believe that this article of the royal supremacy, which their forefathers had accepted in the belief that it was perfectly compatible with the ancient creed, could no longer be held by a Roman Catholic. During the early years of the Reformation the supremacy of the Pope had assumed an importance as the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiæ* it had never held before. It was by no means necessary, either in England or in Ireland, that a man should be a Protestant to declare that the Pope had *no right* to take tithe or toll or nominate bishops in the King's dominions. There was then nothing in the nature of this Act to give more special offence to Irish Roman Catholic bishops at the accession of Elizabeth than there

had been in earlier times; nothing to alarm their consciences at this period more than before; nothing to stand in the way of their interests, if they were swayed by interested motives.

But it may be imagined that as the English authority extended, as it has been affirmed, over so small a portion of Ireland, and reached nowhere beyond the Pale, the Irish bishops could have no motive and no interest in taking the oath of ecclesiastical allegiance to a Sovereign who could neither reward them for their compliance nor punish them for disobedience. The supposition rests on an erroneous assumption.

At the accession of Elizabeth, Armagh was vacant. The *congé d'élire* addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Armagh for the election of Adam Loftus, Oct. 30, 1561, is in the State Paper Office.* Hugh Curwin, archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor, appointed by Queen Mary, was continued in the same offices until the third of Elizabeth. Christopher Bodkin, archbishop of Tuam, had complied under Edward VI., and was in correspondence with the English Government in the first year of the new Queen.† He remained in possession of his see till 1572, when he was succeeded by Lealy.‡ In August 1559, Roland Baron, archbishop of Cashel, Patrick Walsh, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and Hugh Lacy, bishop of Limerick, were joined

* Hamilton, I. 181.

† Morrin, I. 505. Carew Cal., I. 282. The Deputy is ordered by the Queen to examine the requests made by the Archbishop of Tuam (Bodkyn) and the Bishop of Clonfert (Rowland de Burgh) in favour of the Dean of Tuam, and grant them, if not inconvenient to her Majesty's service. This, at all events, implies an acknowledgement of her authority far beyond the Pale. It implies also that both these prelates favoured the acts of the new Government, for this Wm. Lealy, the dean of Tuam, was appointed by Elizabeth to succeed Bodkyn in 1572.

‡ Lealy's appointment in 1572 is in Morrin, *ibid.*, 551.

in one and the same commission by the English Government with Thomas Earl of Ormond, the Treasurer of Ireland.* In 1562, Sussex proposes to Queen Elizabeth to appoint a President for Munster, and to join with him in Council the Archbishop of Cashel and the bishops of Limerick, Waterford, Cork, Emly, and Killaloe.† It would be absurd to suppose that he would have made such a recommendation if these prelates had not acknowledged the authority of the Queen, or had absolutely refused her jurisdiction. In the same year, Sussex writes to the Queen that the Archbishop of Cashel was "now in the Queen's disposition,"‡ but the Bishop of Limerick was "a stubborn and disobedient man in causes of religion, and hath committed offences whereby he hath, by the laws of the realm, forfeited his bishopric." But the Bishop apparently complied not long after, for he is found in 1564 acting in a commission with Lord Thomas Cusacke and other members of the Irish Council.§

Among the suffragans of these archbishops, Thomas Filey, bishop of Leighlin, in the English Pale, renounced by his oath and writing his allegiance to the Pope, and made suit for his bishopric.|| He was succeeded by Kavanagh in 1566.¶ Walsh of Meath and Leverous of Kildare were

* Morrin, I. 433.

† Carew Cal., I. 336.

‡ Ibid., 347.

§ Morrin, I. 492. There is a joint letter from him and the Countess of Desmond to the Lords Justices, dated March 1568, thanking them for their care of Desmond's lands, and asking their approval that James Fitz-Maurice may take the rule in the Earl's absence. This Countess of Desmond was a staunch supporter of English authority. (Hamilton's Calendar, I. 373.) It is said that Lacy was deprived in 1571, but not upon what grounds. Nor is his deprivation noticed in any State Papers of the period.

|| Carew, I. 282.

¶ Hamilton, I. 318.

deprived for disobedience. Walsh had been formerly prior of the monastery of Ballydrohid in the county of Cork, and under Queen Mary had been a great stickler for papal authority.* To these must be added John Thonory, bishop of Ossory, who is said to have been deprived in 1561, though there is no mention of the fact in any of the State documents of the time. The see was certainly vacant in 1565; and in 1566 the Queen commands Sir Henry Sydney, then Deputy, to see Christopher Gafney consecrated and installed in it.† These are the only instances, so far as can be ascertained from the records of both kingdoms, of any Irish bishops refusing the oath of supremacy. Of the bishop of Clonfert I have spoken before. Of Roger Skiddy, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, the restitution of his tempo-

* Morrin, I. 117. Walsh was appointed to his see in the first year of Queen Mary, but he does not appear to have entered upon it till some time after. There is a petition presented by him to Philip and Mary, in which he states that he was elected bishop by the chapter and clergy of Meath; "but not having his lawful confirmation from the universal Catholic Church, like other bishops, he could not with good conscience be consecrated." He states that he was sent to Ireland at his own cost, and was put on the commission for depriving certain married bishops and priests; and had been so much occupied in the execution of his office that he could not attend to his consecration. (Morrin, I. 337.) He was imprisoned in 1565. (Hamilton, I. 267.) Leverous had been schoolmaster to Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, and was recommended by Sir James Croft in the reign of Edward VI. as the fittest person to succeed Dowdall, deprived for nonconformity. (Ham., I. 118.) This would argue that Leverous was at that time a protestant. In Mary's reign he was made Dean of St. Patrick's. He appears to have been appointed to Kildare in 1555. Alex. Craik succeeded to Kildare in 1560 (Morrin, I. 435), but growing weary of his bishopric, and being ignorant of the language, the Queen appointed as his successor in 1563 Robert Daly, "he being able to preach in the Irish tongue, and well commended for his good name and manner of living." (Morrin, I. 487.) Meath was not filled, apparently, until the same year when Hugh Brady was admitted, to whom the Queen, in consideration "of his little substance aforehand," was content to "grant him favorable days" in compounding for his first fruits. (Morrin, I. 485.)

† Morrin, I. 499.

ralities, and his confirmation by the Queen in 1561, will be found in *Morrin*.* Skiddy resigned in 1567, and was succeeded by Richard Dyxon in 1570.† Dyxon was deprived for immorality in 1571, and the Queen nominated in his room Matthew Scaine. Alexander Devereux, bishop of Ferns, was succeeded by John Devereux, appointed by the Queen in 1566.‡ The year before she nominated James M'Cawghwell to the bishopric of Down; and in 1570 Morgan, son of M'Brian Arra, is allowed by her, for his maintenance in learning, to receive the profits of the bishopric of Kyballagh, "as no person could enjoy it " without the good will of the said M'Brian." In 1572 Stephen Kirwan is nominated to Kylmacow or Kilmacduagh, Barry to Ardagh, Brown to Down, who was afterwards set aside for Hugh Allen.§

To these facts, taken from authentic records, we must add that in 1566 Patrick Walsh, the bishop of Waterford and Lismore, was appointed by the Queen, in conjunction with Sir William FitzWilliams and Patrick Fynglas, to decide the controversies between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond;|| that although M'Cawghwell was kept out of the bishopric of Down by Shane O'Neill's brother, Meyler Magrath, the latter submitted to the Queen not long after, and was confirmed by her in his bishopric;¶ that Donald

* *Morrin* I., 466, 472.

† *Ibid.*, 539, 547.

‡ *Ibid.*, 497.

§ *Ibid.*, 493, 539, 551, 554. M'Cawghwell was not suffered to exercise his functions.

| *Hamilton*, I. 320. In June 1566 there is a letter from the Bishop of Waterford to Sir Henry Sydney, resigning the deanery of Waterford in consequence of age and infirmity, and recommending Peter White to succeed him. *Morrin*, I. 494. The terms of the letter leave it impossible to suppose that he did not comply.

¶ A.D. 1567. See *Hamilton*, I. 341.

Magonnell, bishop of Raphoe, is a witness to the treaty made in 1565, between the Deputy and Calvart O'Donnell, of Connalia, in which the latter agrees, among other things, that the Queen shall have the nomination of all bishops and other ecclesiastics in Connalia ;* that Patrick M'Mahon, bishop of Ardagh, can scarcely have been a supporter of the papal supremacy, as the Pope issued a bull against him in 1568, for non-residence and for leaving his cathedral in ruins.†

Unless, therefore, we are to imagine that all these instances of the exercise of her ecclesiastical jurisdiction by Elizabeth in Ireland were a dumb show, a romance, or a political fiction,—that the Deputies and Council in Ireland were so supine, negligent or ignorant, as never to complain, and never to betray the emptiness and vanity of the Queen's commands as well as the impossibility of complying with

* Morrin, I. 496.

† Hamilton, I. 362. I am unwilling to encumber these pages with a multitude of small details, but I find that Queen Elizabeth within the first ten years of her reign made the following ecclesiastical appointments beyond the English Pale, in addition to those already mentioned. In the diocese of Armagh, to Rathdrumin and Dromysken (402). In Tuam William Lealy, Dean of Tuam, to Gransear; John Brangan to Kilmekrian (402); Hil. O'Dounlay to Donmore (474). In Cashel, Nicholas Archdeacon, to the treasurership of the Cathedral, and to the livings of Keighmockmocke and Galvoly (481); John Archdeacon, to the chancellorship of the same (479); John Wale to Killenale (478); John Bightton to Croghane (467). In Cork, confirmation of John Miagh as proctor, &c. of the cathedral of St. Finbar (466); Andrew Skeddy to the chapel of St. John's (518); Thos. Gerrod to St. Miloch, Kynsale (402) In Cloyne, Wm. Flynne to the deanery (440); Wm. Kevan to the Holy Trinity, Ballyloghlany (442); Maur. Orodcan to Hatlin (508). In Emly, Thos. Mulryan to be chancellor (478); Dermot O'Mulryan to be archdeacon (441); Const. Aylward to the prebend of Downe (478); John Hogan and Thos. Hanyn to vicarages (ibid.). In Ardagh, Wm. Brady to the deanery (481). In Clonfert, Dion. More to Kylronane (402). In Clonmacnois, Pat. Morgan to the vicarage of Thesam (432). In Waterford, Malachy Barry to Loynan (478). The figures represent the pages in Morrin's Calendar.

them, we must admit that from the first year of her reign, and all through to the close of it, the Queen exercised her jurisdiction far beyond the limits of the English Pale. If that jurisdiction was sometimes evaded—if there were pretenders to sees, who claimed the name, though they possessed not either the revenues or the cathedrals belonging to their sees—that is no more than what happened in England. There were, of course, other bishops in Ireland, of whom no distinct notice is recorded in the State Papers of the period. Whether they conformed or not must be left to conjecture only. If they did not, it is hardly probable that they would have been permitted to continue in their sees. For though the reign of Elizabeth was not exempt from troubles, and Ireland was a continual thorn in her side, it must be remembered that those troubles were chiefly confined for many years to the northern province. In 1563 so much progress had been made in reducing this unhappy country to order, that the Queen could direct her Commissioners in Ireland, that, seeing the *whole* realm was in quietness,* and she had been often moved to establish councils with good presidents and assistants in sundry parts, they should confer with the Lieutenant and the Council on this subject. “And herein might be remembered what number of houses of religion, having sundry possessions and remaining unserviceable, and occupied by disobedient subjects, and light persons, going and coming from Rome with bulls and writings for the same; which houses, being with their lands brought to our possession, might serve for some good part for the

* This is no official exaggeration, as some might imagine. Even in Ulster, the *terra incognita* as it has been called of Ireland, we learn from a letter of Terence Danyell, the Dean of Armagh, O'Neill's relative, that the whole of the North was quiet, and all kinds of husbandry and the sowing of wheat were then carefully followed. March 25, 1564.—I. S. P.

“ yearly sustentation of officers and ministers of justice.”* If it be thought that the Queen would have remained satisfied with a general acquiescence in her authority, I must call attention to the very precise orders issued by her to the Lord Deputy in 1562, in which she directs him to see that all the nobility and others do their homage in the forthcoming parliament.† Upon repeating this command in 1563, you are to inquire, she says, “ in what
“ sort our laws are there observed for the orders of religion,
“ and what disorders you find therein, and by what causes
“ the same do arise, and to note well who be of our
“ nobility and Council therein conformable, and who
“ not.”‡

Nor must it be forgotten that there were other inducements in Ireland, as well as here, which tended to make the great Irish chiefs, and the bishops who were under their control, more subservient than otherwise they might have been; these were, leases and gifts of the abbey lands still remaining in the Crown. Many of them had been granted by the Sovereign as rewards for obedience or good service, and the possessors of them, whatever might be their religion, had no thought of parting with their monastic property, any more than the sturdiest protestant. These possessions had been originally conferred on the Crown by Act of Parliament; many still remained concealed; many had been usurped, and a just title to them depended on the grace of the Sovereign. In

* Carew, I. 358.

† Ibid., 329.

‡ Ibid., 359. See also the commission issued in 1564 to the Archbishop of Armagh, the Earl of Kildare, and others, to inquire into all disorders connected with divine service, to redress and reform all ecclesiastical errors, offences, and heresies, to remove all intruders into benefices, &c. Morrin, I. 489.

1559 the Earl of Clanricard petitions for the fee-farm of the nunnery of Killcienaught in his own country, and is gratified in his request by Queen Elizabeth.* Viscount Montgarret, James Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormond, the Earl of Desmond, the Baron of Dunboyne, prefer similar suits with similar results. The Patent Rolls of Ireland, as published by Mr. Morrin, reveal numerous instances of concessions made by the Crown, absolutely or at a small rent, of conventual lands and buildings, to trustworthy and obedient subjects, both within and without the Pale.

It is not to be denied that a large majority of the population in all parts of Ireland still adhered to the old religion; and that emissaries from Rome were employed to oppose the progress of those religious reforms which Elizabeth desired to introduce. But these efforts were neither systematic nor generally successful. Even if Irishmen, actuated by ambition or by better motives, were willing to undertake the duties and responsibilities of the episcopate, with all its perils, there were many grave objections, in the papal court, which stood in the way of their advancement. A Roman Catholic bishop must be trained to his office. He has to administer the laws and be guided by the traditions of a Church which denies the right of private judgment, and demands from its priesthood something more than a knowledge of the Scriptures, or a service in the vulgar tongue. He must have a professional education, which could not at that time be obtained in Ireland. If the hierarchy was to be respected and obeyed—for even then it was exposed to jealousy and disrespect—it would not do to add ignorance to its poverty. There might be candidates enough; whether they were eligible

* Carew, I. 282, seq.

candidates was another question. But why should the papal court appoint Roman Catholic prelates to every vacant see in Ireland? What was to be gained by such a proceeding? The preservation of the apostolical succession in every see? By the magnificent theory of ultramontaniam, the Pope is in himself the fountain of all spiritual dignity, the bishop of bishops, the ever present representative of all episcopal succession, which can never lapse or disappear, even when bishop, diocese, and congregation may have been swept away or trampled into indistinguishable dust by infidels and heretics. Was it to preserve the Irish Catholic in obedience to the Holy See? That was unnecessary; bishops had never been popular or influential in Ireland. The religious education of the people, such as it was, had been carried on by the religious orders, more devoted to Rome than the bishops themselves; more manageable and submissive than bishops; more acceptable to the people; supported at less cost. So, with occasional exceptions, with just so many bishops as were absolutely indispensable for ecclesiastical discipline, the Roman Court fell back upon a more modest system of ecclesiastical government, both in England and in Ireland, biding its time, as it always has done, until more favourable opportunities occurred. An occasional visit from the nuncio, a bishop here and there, as often non-resident as resident, an arch priest, and a vicar general in this or that diocese, were more effectual instruments for preserving and propagating the ancient faith, than a full blown ecclesiastical hierarchy, whose cathedrals were occupied by the nominees of Queen Elizabeth, and against whose persons the shafts of authority fell with an effect which priests of humbler rank and pretensions easily escaped.

The ill success attending these efforts whenever they were made must have convinced the Pope of their in-

utility. Of all quarters in Ireland where a papal nominee might have retained his spiritual authority in defiance of the English Deputy, Ulster was the most probable.* Here Shane O'Neill, proud of his ancestry, insolent from the number and turbulence of his followers, claimed absolute sovereignty, and threatened death and devastation to any subordinate chieftain who ventured to contest his demands, or was known to be inclined to the English. His arrogance had been increased by a victory gained over the English forces in the summer of 1561. Persuaded to visit England at the close of that year, and make his peace with the Queen, his subtlety, his audacity, his more than Irish readiness and extravagance, produced an impression on that precise and sober Court. Instead of passing the rest of his days in the Tower, as Kildare and Desmond had done before him, he was dismissed with honor. He was suffered to return to his native country with a testimonial to his virtue and patriotism.† More than all, he contrived to borrow 300*l.* of the Queen to pay his expenses.‡

As to fulfilling his part of the agreement, that was probably the last thought in Shane's mind. He flourished his certificate in the face of his enemies in Dublin, and then started off for Tyrone, to pursue precisely the same career he had done before. The next August he carried off from O'Donnell 20,000 head of cattle. When the

* "The North part of our realm" (says Elizabeth in her instructions to Sussex, May 1560) "hath been long time out of good and quiet order, by reason partly of the multiplication of the Scots under the rule of James O'Connell and his brother Sorleboy, and partly by the disorder of Shane O'Neill, the earl of Tyrone's son, and such like." Carew Cal. I. 292.

† His articles of agreement with the Queen (April 30, 1562,) will be found in the Carew Cal. I. 312; among them he engages to send to Dublin all the captains within his territory, in order to recognize the Queen's authority.

‡ Hamilton's Calendar, I. 193, 194.

Deputy summoned him to Dublin he refused to obey, until the evil done to his people during his absence in England had been redressed.* He was too subtle to be caught by fraud, too powerful to be crushed by force. Worse than all, he had contrived to make terms with Argyle and the Scots, and he corresponded with the enemies of England. Every day he was becoming more dangerous. The Northern chiefs were forsaking their duty, and adhering to this formidable chief. The moment he saw that the Deputy was in earnest, and was collecting forces to reduce his country, he anticipated vengeance by the humblest submission to the Queen, and the strongest professions of sorrow. So matters continued until the appointment of Sir Henry Sydney as Deputy, in 1565, O'Neill increasing in power, wealth, and audacity. "He is the only strong and rich man in Ireland," writes the new Deputy;† "he boasts that he never made peace with the Queen but by her own seeking; that the countries he has won with the sword he will keep with the sword." At this time he was able to bring into the field 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot. He was now in correspondence with Charles IX. of France, desiring that five or six thousand men should be sent to his aid, proposing to become his subject,‡ and offering to expel the English from Ireland. But his caution and good fortune forsook him. In July 1566 he invaded the English Pale, assaulted Dundalk, and met with a repulse. Won over

* He had put away O'Donnell's wife, whom he had taken prisoner, and now proposed to marry James M'Donnell's wife, "base sister to the Earl of Argyle." Hamilton's Calendar, I. 296.

† Hamilton, I. 289.

‡ Hamilton, I. 298. April 5, 1566. In a letter of the same date to the Cardinal of Lorraine, he enforces a similar request, urging his defence of the Romish faith. Hamilton, *ibid.* p. 299; see also p. 326.

by English gold, or disgusted at his arrogance, his Scotch allies turned against him, and he was shortly afterwards assassinated in a fray, the particulars of which are not very well known.*

Here then, if anywhere, it might have been supposed that the papal authority would have been respected, and that bishops appointed by papal nomination would have exercised their functions without molestation. What are the facts? The bishopric of Down was held by a papal nominee, but that nominee was Shane O'Neill's brother,† and the Pope had no option in the matter. Creaghe, the papal claimant of the primacy, was supported by the authority of Rome. He carried letters from the Pope to O'Neill; but O'Neill wanted the appointment for his foster-brother, Terence Daniel, Dean of Armagh, and the papal injunction was set aside.‡ The history of this titular primate is told in his own confessions, for most of his life was spent in the Tower, and it furnishes a curious illustration of the ecclesiastical proceedings of the period, and of the precarious condition of those who ventured to maintain the papal authority in Ireland. He had been a schoolmaster in the diocese of Limerick, when he attracted the attention of the papal nuncio, David Wolfe, a Jesuit. The nuncio sent for Creaghe, and finding he was a man of some learning, required him to go to Rome, and take upon him the archbishopric of Cashel or of Armagh. His expenses were

* June 2d. See Fitzwilliam's letter to Cecil. June 10, 1567.—Hamilton, 335.

† Meyler Magrath, Bishop of Down, submitted after the fall of O'Neill in 1567. See the Queen's letter to the Deputy, July 6, 1567. Her letter seems to intimate that there were other bishops in Ulster who did not hold their bishoprics of the Queen. Hamilton, I. 341.

‡ Hamilton, I. 253.

defrayed by Wolfe and the Bishop of Limerick.* He escaped from the Tower, where he was confined, in 1565; rejoined O'Neill; is found corresponding with the Lord Deputy Sydney, explaining O'Neill's conduct in burning the cathedral of Armagh, and wishing to know whether they are to be allowed their old service in the churches; a clear intimation that even in Ulster the Romanist services had been discontinued.† He was re-captured shortly after, on April 30th, 1567; was sent back to the Tower; was there in December, and so remained until July 1569; returned to Dublin; was again sent to England in 1575; was still there in March 1580, when he was brought before the Council for corresponding with papists and the King of Portugal.‡

No happier fortune attended Maurice Reagh, the titular Archbishop of Cashel. He either stole away into Spain in 1568, or was conveyed thither by James FitzMaurice to hatch treason against this country with the titular Bishop of Ross. There he continued until 1574, watching the preparations of Philip II., and expecting, like many others, to return to fortune and to honour when Providence should have blessed the efforts of the Spanish monarch, and gratified his ambition by the conquest of Ireland.§ Beyond

* Hamilton, I. 255.

† Ibid., 325.

‡ Lemon's Cal., I. 646.

§ Hamilton's Cal., I. 394, 401, 443, 446, and II. 33. In noticing Maurice M'Gibbon's, that is Reagh's, appointment to Cashel, the Rev. Alfred Lee has quoted a passage from the Loftus MS. in Marsh's library, under the year 1567. "This year complaint was made to the State at Dublin, how Maurice Reagh, an Irishman, has lately been at Rome, and there consecrated by the Pope's bull archbishop of Cashel, arrived in Ireland, and made challenge to the same see; which being denied unto him by the archbishop which was there placed by her Majesty, the said pretended bishop suddenly with an Irish skein wounded the bishop,

these and a few other scanty facts, nothing is heard of any Romish titular bishop in Ireland, not even of their names, during the earlier years of Elizabeth. It is clear, therefore, that the Government of this country could never have acknowledged these prelates or their jurisdiction. That was impossible, not merely on account of the opposition made by them to the Queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, but because, during the whole reign of Elizabeth, such was the unhappy position of all those who submitted to the Pope's spiritual authority, that they could not escape obeying his commands as a temporal sovereign. Their allegiance to the Pope bound them to be disloyal to England; to invalidate, to oppose, to undermine, by open rebellion or secret intrigue, a power inextricably linked with the ascendancy of the Protestant

"and put him in danger of his life." (Irish Episcopal Succession, p. 15.) In a letter from Lancaster, archbishop of Armagh, to Cecil (dated 2 Nov. 1568), we have the following notice of the same man:—"For Connowght, it seemeth it is quiet, for my Lord of Clanrecard is here with my Lord, and sheweth himself a good subject. Many complaints there is of the poor people for wrongs done unto them, which my Lord taketh great care to redress. Also one Morish Rioghe McGebbon (who came from the Pope) hath taken the Archbishop of Casshell traitorously out of his own house and carried into Spain, as some say, and he intends to supply his place at Casshell. For my part I durst not go to Armach for fear of the like; yet, notwithstanding, somewhat is done towards the church, for there is a roof cut for the chancel with shingles and all that appertaineth, but as yet not brought home, and all is by the means of that wicked man Tyrlo Lenocho and his followers; yet now that my good Lord is come unto us, I trust in God in the beginning of this next year things shall be brought to pass and take place to the glory of God, the honor of the Prince, and the profit of the country. The Parliament here beginneth the 17th of January. God grant it good successes and bring it to a good and fortunate end. Amen. I will not declare unto your Honour my poor state to I come myself, but, if it had pleased God and the Queen's Majesty, I would I were again waiting of Her Highness in her closet, with fasting two days a week. And thus I humbly take my leave of your Honour for this time, and as I shall learn further I will certify you."

religion, and inexorably opposed to all those claims of the papal supremacy which they had obliged themselves to maintain. There was at that time no other choice for those who sought their orders and their episcopacy from Rome, than Protestantism with loyalty, or Romanism with disloyalty. The English Government considered one as a sign of the other; and the numerous plots in which those of the clergy and laity engaged, who were foremost in maintaining the Roman Catholic faith, justified the policy adopted by the Government.

The ill fortune and death of Shane O'Neill made the Queen's authority paramount for a time in Ulster. Already the chiefs who dreaded O'Neill's arrogance and lawlessness had gladly made terms with the English Deputy, partly out of gratitude for the protection they had received, partly out of a desire to secure themselves from O'Neill's partisans. In October 1566, Calough O'Donnell surrendered all his rights to the Queen, granting her the nomination to all bishoprics in his country.* His example was followed by O'Connor Sligo† and by other chiefs of inferior note.‡ As the Queen's influence gained ascendancy in Scotland, in consequence of the mismanagement and unpopularity of Mary, the Scotch were less ready to assist O'Neill. The Queen of Scots, writes Cecil to the Lord Deputy, in February 1567, "is an unfortunate widow, and has "prohibited her subjects from passing into Ireland."§ The hopes of the English Government were elated by the fall of its most formidable enemy. It began to entertain projects for securing its success, by planting Ulster with Englishmen and refugee Protestants from Flanders. The

* Carew, I. 373.

† Ibid., 375.

‡ Hamilton, I. 339.

§ Ibid., I. 327

natives were to be freed from the inordinate tyranny of their Irish captains, and be taught to taste the sweets of civil order. Halcyon days were in store for Ireland, when the sword should be replaced by the ensigns of peace, and the imperial exchequer be no longer burthened by a heavy war establishment.*

But the storm had only rolled away for a time, to burst forth with renewed violence elsewhere. It was impossible for rebellion to spring up in any one quarter of Ireland without exciting the sympathies and even the secret co-operation of the disaffected in other directions; so it proved now. A feud had long raged between the Ormonds and the Desmonds, in the south-west. The Ormonds, allied by blood to Queen Elizabeth on the mother's side, had always espoused the cause of the English. For both reasons they were regarded favorably by the Queen, and for both were hated by the Desmonds. To be a retainer of the Butlers, or even one of their neighbours, was reason sufficient to provoke the resentment of their rivals. In the interminable feuds which necessarily sprung up between the two powerful and contiguous septs, the neutral and indifferent spectators, if any such there were, suffered equally with, if not more than, the most violent partisans. It was the sole consideration on each side, who could inflict the greatest amount of suffering and injury on the other. Blood could only be wiped out by blood; and, horrible to relate, in his mistaken thirst for vengeance, the sex or age of his victims, their guilt or their innocence, mattered little to the spoiler. The Irish are a generous people; but in these wars of rival clans nothing else was developed except thoughtless and indiscriminating ferocity. • If ever human nature realized in

* Hamilton, I., 336, 338, 340.

its most dreadful and literal interpretation that expression of being "drunk with the blood of the slain,"—when reason, reflection, and compassion were all dethroned by one masterless passion of the hour,—that strange and awful phenomenon was verified in these Irish wars.* If any Englishman imagines that these excesses were occasioned by the conquest of Ireland,—that the disorders and oppressions he is so apt to deplore were due to the stern and unjust rule of his forefathers,—let him ponder over the following extract. There would be no difficulty in multiplying evidence of a similar kind. History has often been unjust to the conquerors as well as to the conquered; it is never more unjust than when it represents the sufferings of Ireland as arising exclusively from the methods adopted by this country to bring it to a sense of order and good government.

"As touching the estate of the whole country, for so much as I saw of it, having travelled from Youghall to Cork, from Cork to Kinsale, and from thence to the uttermost bounds of it towards Limerick, like as I never was in a more pleasant country in all my life, so never saw I a more waste and desolate land, no not in the confines of other countries where actual war hath continually been kept by the greatest princes of Christendom; and there heard I such lamentable cries and doleful complaints made by that small remain of poor people which yet are left, who (hardly escaping the fury of the sword and fire of their outrageous neighbours, or the famine which the same, or their extortious lords, hath driven them unto, either by taking their goods from them or by spending the same, by their extort taking of coyne and livery) make demonstration of the miserable estate of that country. Besides this, such horrible and lamentable spectacles there are to behold as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles, yea, the view of the bones and skulls of your dead subjects, who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in troth hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold.

* Sydney's letter, in Hamilton, I. 330.

Not long before my arrival there, it was credibly reported that a principal servant of the Earl of Desmounde,* after that he had burnt sundry villages and destroyed a great piece of a country, there were certain poor women sought to have been rescued, but too late, yet so soon after the horrible fact committed as their children were felt and seen to stir in the bodies of their dead mothers; and yet did the same Earl lodge and banquet in the house of the same murderer, his servant, after the fact committed. Surely there was never people that lived in more misery than they do, nor as it should seem of worse minds, for matrimony amongst them is no more regarded in effect than conjunction between unreasonable beasts; perjury, robbery, and murder, counted allowable. Finally, I cannot find that they make any conscience of sin, and doubtless I doubt whether they christen their children or no, for neither find I place where it should be done, nor any person able to instruct them in the rules of a Christian, or if they were taught I see no grace in them to follow it, and when they die I cannot see they make any account of the world to come."†

These excesses, added to the suspicion that Desmond had abetted Shane O'Neill in his rebellion, induced the government to detain him until he could clear himself of the charges brought against him. He was committed to Dublin Castle in June 1567; sent thence to London with his brother John of Desmond; thrown into the Tower, where both remained until they were joined by the Countess; all exposed alike to the greatest privations—not having so much of their own as to buy them a pair of shoes, in the words of Sir Warhame Sentleger,‡ to whose keeping they had been entrusted in the latter months of their captivity. They were all set at liberty in 1573. Meanwhile Desmond's cousin, Sir James FitzMaurice, who had been appointed guardian of the Earl's estates during his absence, unfurled the flag of rebellion, either secretly

* This is no official exaggeration, as might be supposed, even in Ulster.

† Sir Henry Sydney to Queen Elizabeth, April 20, 1567, in I. S. P.

‡ Hamilton, I. 434, 450.

prompted by the Earl or urged on by his own ambition. The times were favorable to his purpose. The trade of the Spaniards was chiefly confined to the western parts of Munster. It was easy to carry on a clandestine correspondence with Philip II. and the Pope under the innocent disguise of commerce. The Scots in the North, ever ready to sell their services to any rebellious chief, flocked to his standard. The titular bishops, the friars, and other adherents of the Romish faith, lent the sanctity of religion to the cause of rebellion. Where these motives were not sufficient, dread of the rebels compelled the inoffensive to become partners in their confederacy. Their savage treatment of those who refused to join them, or offered the faintest opposition, can only be compared with atrocities happily now rare in the history of any country. The towns of Waterford and Limerick complained to Cecil that the traitors, not contented with spoiling the kine and the horses, were not ashamed to strip men and women naked, tormenting them with more cruel pains than "eyther Phalaris or any of the old tirants could invent."*

To add to these evils, the English government, in an inauspicious hour, had lent its ear to an old claim, revived by Sir Peter Carew, to large possessions in Munster. Sir Peter, by virtue of his descent from the first Carew, who had married the daughter of FitzStephen, the conqueror of Ireland, laid claim to certain seignories and lands, which had long since passed into other hands in the various changes and troubles to which Ireland had been exposed. The attempts of Sir Peter to revive an antiquated title alarmed the Butlers, whose apprehensions were still further disquieted by a project of the English government—never patient enough, so far as Ireland was concerned, to let well

* Hamilton, I. 412.

alone, and allow nature to take its own deliberate course—of erecting Munster into a presidency. Harmless as such a change might be, it was enough to condemn it, in the thoughts of the Irish, that it was a change. The disaffected gave out that her Majesty intended to overrun them with a new conquest, and the unknown word of President confirmed their fears. The Butlers joined with their ancient enemies the FitzGerald; and rebellion, in the emphatic language of Sydney, was once more “all the realm over, except in the English Pale.”*

Yet, formidable as the rebellion appeared, it proved, like many similar risings, more formidable in appearance than in reality. The heterogeneous materials of which it was composed had no cohesion. It flared up for a time, threatening incredible mischief, carrying with it devastation and destruction, and then it sunk as suddenly.† The Butlers repented of what they had done, and offered submission. “They had been bewitched, certainly;”‡—the only sensible explanation of most Irish riots and insurrections. In atonement for their faults they were now as ready to commit acts of fury and extravagance on the other side. The Spanish preparations were always preparations, and nothing more. The Pope had other vineyards of the church to look after, more promising for the time than Ireland; and though, on the massacre of St. Bartholomew’s, which seems to have been instantly known in Ireland, the friars and Romish emissaries tramped the country in companies of twenty or more, and held a council

* Hamilton, I. 411.

† One of the rebel chiefs, Sir Piers Butler, in an attack upon the town of Leighlin, burnt seventy houses, four young children, and killed nine men. Hamilton, I. 416.

‡ Ormond to Henegge. Hamilton, I. 433. See their submission, Carew Cal., I. 401.

in the abbey of Galway on the auspicious occasion,* Fitz-Maurice made no real progress.

Moreover, the English government, wiser in adversity than under the transient gleam of prosperity—less easily moved in misfortune from its national phlegm and sedateness—now acted with a consideration and forbearance which have ever been the real and only cause of its successes in Ireland. It made an arrangement with the Desmonds, and allowed them to return to Ireland; it overlooked the treasonable proclivities of others, accepted the submission in 1573 of the archtraitor FitzMaurice, and the rebellion was over. The hot-headed members of the Irish Council thought such moderation an ignominious ending, and said that the Irish gained their wills by rebellion.†

But when the English government seemed to concede most, it receded least from its fixed purposes. The liberation of the Desmonds, and their return to Ireland, were not disadvantageous to the progress of English authority, especially in Munster, regarded no more than as a stroke of policy. I do not know whether the ministers of Elizabeth are to be charged with aiming at no higher object than that of ruling Ireland by balancing one chief against another, but it is certain that the national feuds and jealousies which were sure to spring up without any adventitious encouragement among the native Irish or their Anglo-Irish leaders tended much more to their subjection than any power that England could bring into the field against them. Disunion had paved an easy way to conquest in the first instance; disunion completed and sustained it. Disunion, the necessary consequence of their moral and

* Hamilton, I. 490.

† The Deputy to the Queen. April 7, 1573. Hamilton, I., 499.

social evils, split into feebleness their most compact and powerful opposition. Again and again the big wave reared itself, threatening to overwhelm the tiny raft—for it was no more—and expended its fury in froth and foam, as incoherent and as purposeless as that. Such blind and desultory efforts, however prompted by fury, only exhausted the real pith of opposition, and left the authority of England more vigorous and resolute than ever. The fiery energy of the Irish, with vast odds on its side, was no match for the cool and deliberate pertinacity of the Englishman—especially the Englishman of that period—still less for that perseverance which nothing could daunt or fatigue. The result could be no other than it was—than it would be if the same course had to begin again. The conquest of Ireland was the triumph of order, of industry, of good government, of social progress, of civilization, of national union. These are lessons not to be learned by any people without the severe discipline of stripes and blood—still less by a people whose whole habits of life and strongest inclinations, —I am speaking only of Tudor times,—were most opposed to such lessons ; yet they must be learned by all nations, by gentle means or by stern. They are the only justification, as they are the only permanent safeguard, of conquest. And if any one imagines that in the sixteenth century our sole aim and object of governing Ireland was to keep it under at any hazard, simply out of the love of superiority, or of some equally selfish motive, he has read its history to little purpose. It must be obvious to any careful observer that the opposition of Ireland was not merely, nor yet so much, to English rule in itself, as to those institutions for the maintenance of justice, religion, order, and good government which that rule brought with it. If Irishmen hated the president of Munster because he was an Englishman, they hated him more because his presence

was a guarantee for justice, a protection against oppressions, a security for person and for property, which could no longer be trampled down by hot-headed chiefs in their rabid appetite for revenge, or by their idle retainers and galloglasses, who found plunder and violence more profitable and more honorable than steady industry. If they banded their forces to drive out the sheriff, it was not because he was an Englishman, or his presence a badge of oppression, but because they hated to see the land divided into shires, and that order introduced among them, which they had so often confounded, and reckoned it was their interest as it was certainly their pleasure to confound.

So the conquest of Ireland was not merely the conquest of the land, but the conquest of the habits, inclinations, and usages of the people. It was a conquest of reason over unreason,—of order over disorder,—of temperate restraint over unruliness and self-will, long habituated to recognize no control,—to run into ruinous and suicidal extravagance. This was the real difficulty of the English task; this the reason why, in its apparent prosperity, it appeared to recoil and make such little progress. This is the true reason why Deputies and Lords Justices despaired, and were often driven to their wits' ends. They might plant and water, but it seemed to them as if God would never give the increase; as if all efforts to win over the Irish to the cause of justice, order, and civil life were utterly hopeless.

One thing, however, was abundantly clear, that it must be done, and done at any cost. And though men's notions of duty and discipline were more stern and severe then than they are now, and disobedience and disorder appeared to them less deserving of indulgence, if regular government, if protection of life and property, if equal laws, if organization of industry, without which no people can command respect or keep rank among the nations, if all of these are

blessings, and worth many sacrifices, it must be remembered that Ireland owes them to what is often called the severities of the Tudors. Without that unflinching resolution of theirs to make no difference between England and Ireland, to treat loyal Irishmen as loyal Englishmen, to punish the treason and disorders of both with the same unsparing rigour, Ireland would have remained to this day the chosen land of endless feuds, of ever increasing crime, of poverty, oppression, and disorder; a waste, a barren wilderness of restless passions, open and defenceless to the strong hand of the spoiler. For, to suppose that these evils would have cured themselves, or that they ever showed any tendency to cure themselves when let alone, is contrary to the whole course of history. So thought Englishmen in those days, and acted according to their convictions. Let those condemn whose wisdom has been tested by equal difficulties.

By the year 1573 the government of Elizabeth had made so much progress in reducing Ireland to obedience, that it could proceed to erect a presidency in Munster, and lend a favorable ear to the settlement of an English colony by Essex in the north parts of Ulster.* The conditions which he offered to the Queen for this privilege, the manors he parted with in England, the settlers who were willing to leave their native counties and take part in the enterprise, are an evidence that whatever might have been the case ten years before, the wildest and least reclaimed parts of Ireland had ceased to be regarded with terror by the English. The ill-success of his enterprise is no more than might have been expected. The causes of it may be seen in his own account of his disasters.† Whatever courage

* Carew, I. 439 *sq.*

† Ibid., 445.

and spirit could accomplish was not wanting; but no courage could supply defects caused by an inconsiderate attempt at colonization by men who had made no adequate provision for their wants, who had never anticipated that their attempt would be regarded with unmitigated hostility by all the Irish of the neighbourhood, and even by those who might have been otherwise friendly to the English government, and that the supplies which they had failed to secure in England would of a certainty be withheld from them by the native Irish.* Essex, moreover, had enemies at

* Ham. I. 530. The following sensible letter, addressed by Thomas Wilsford to Burghley, points out the real causes of failure: "My humble duty remembered, may it please your good Lordship I thought it my duty to trouble you with these few lines; not that I mind to make any discourse of my Lord's proceedings and success here, for that I know your Lordship is sufficiently by his honour's letters advertised; only I mind to touch three points. First, I find this nation much more enraged with the fury of desperation than ever I have done heretofore, and that I gather doth come for that they suppose that this wars (*sic*) is taken in hand by her Majesty's subjects and not by herself, which is proved for that they all are desirous to write or send their messengers to her Majesty, for they are in despair to farm any part of the lands. Secondly, they affirm they are no rebels, for that they say it is not the Queen's wars, and that they do but defend their own lands and goods. Thirdly, I find such imperfections in our countrymen that through long peace had in England, they have lost the minds of soldiers, and are become weak in body to endure the travail, and miserable in mind to sustain the force of the enemy; and this, no question, doth grow of the fat delicate soil and long peace had in England; and therefore, nothing more necessary for a prince, that mindeth to keep his countries and dominions than some exercise of wars. This nation begin to know their own force and strength, and have learned the use and sorts of weapon[s], their places of strengths and advantages, and therefore high time to expulse this rebellious nation, for fear of utter ruin of the whole; and yet I think this North parts is the quietest place of Ireland. My Lord, it is not a subject's purse and countenance must do this; it must her Majesty only. The reformation of this countries is in effect the reformation of all Ireland. The Ardes is the place which her Majesty must begin withal to plant and store, and that will be the bawne and nursery to subdue all the North. It were the greatest pity in the world that so noble and worthy a man as this Earl is should consume himself in this enterprise, which by her Majesty's coun-

home, who were not sorry to see his enterprise languish ; and the Queen herself, too much inclined to be parsimonious, whilst enforcing her part of the bargain, was not, until it was too late, much inclined to vex herself if it proved a dear one to Essex. The letter which she addressed him, when, heart-broken and dispirited, he had ventured to lay his griefs before her, is so characteristic of the Queen and her times, that I cannot refuse to submit an extract from it to my readers.

“The humble and most dutiful manner of writing used in your two last letters, by the which, spoiling yourself altogether of your own affections, you do wholly yield and submit yourself to our will and pleasure, did not a little content us, whereby we perceive, after that the late exercise you have had of patience sithence your employment in that our realm [of Ireland], through a most toilful struggling with sundry cross and overthwart accidents, you have now at the length attained, to your great and singular commendation, a perfect conquest over such passions as heretofore bare some rule with you, and would hardly be restrained within the limits of true temperance, wherewith as you know, cousin, we have heretofore been somewhat acquainted. And though, perhaps, you may think that it hath been a dear conquest unto you in respect of the great care of mind, toil of body, and the intolerable charges you have sustained, to the consumption of some good portion of your patrimony, yet if the great reputation that you have gained thereby be weighed in the balance of just value, or tried at the touchstone of true desert, it shall then appear that neither your mind’s care, your body’s toil,

tenance, and no great charges, would be so easily brought to pass. I know and perceive he shooteth not at the gain and revenue of the matter, but rather for the honour and credit of the cause. Well, if her Majesty did know his noble and honorable intent, having a body and mind invincible to endure all miseries and extremities, so well as we do know him, surely she would not suffer him to quail for half her kingdom of Ireland. I know he will go through with this enterprise, if it cost him his whole earldom. Thus, craving pardon for my bold discourse, being moved in duty towards her Majesty to impart this to your Lordship, I humbly take my leave, desiring God long to prosper your health with much honour. Knockfergus, the 1st of December.”—I. S. P. Eliz. xliii.

nor purse's charge was unprofitably employed, for, by the decay of those things that are subject to corruption and mortality, you have, as it were, invested yourself with immortal renown, the true mark that every honorable mind ought to shoot at. And though you are to reap the chiefest fruit thereof, yet, next yourself, be you right well assured that we will give place to no other creature or second person living, by yielding that they can take like joy or comfort therein as we do. Now to come to your question, by the which you desire to know whether we think that your demands made unto us were grounded upon the respect of your own benefit or our service, you shall, for answer thereof, understand that we conceive for both, interpreting, as we do, the word benefit not to import that servile gain that base minded men hunt after, but a desire to live in action, and to make proof of your virtue, and, being made of the metal you are, not unprofitably, or rather reproachfully, to fester in the delights of English Egypt, where the most part of those that are bred in that soil take greatest delight in holding their noses over the beef pots. And thus much touching your question."*

But whatever misfortune might attend on the private enterprise of Essex or of similar adventurers, the authority of the English Government made slow but unfailing progress. Under the active and vigorous administration of Sir John Perrot, Munster was fast settling down into the condition of an orderly and well-regulated province. Sir John was a bluff soldier, whose policy was centred in one idea,—the necessity of obedience. From that policy he never swerved, let the consequence be what it might; and as he never failed to carry out this idea with the precision of a soldier, and the determination which marked his character, rebellion seldom ventured to raise its head in Munster during his government with impunity. But even here we meet with one of those incidents which remind us of the days of romance rather than the sober and preciser era of the sixteenth century. This was no less than a challenge

* The Queen to Essex, 2 Sept. 1575; Carew MS., 628, f. 234, and Domestic State Papers, xlv. 82.

on the part of Perrot to meet Desmond with twenty-four associates on each side, and determine the war by single combat. The letter which Perrot wrote on this occasion to the Earl of Ormond takes us back to the days of the tilt-yard.

"My very good Lord, seeing that it is concluded that the long brabbling between me and James shall be ended by combat, that is to say, 12 horsemen to 12, and likewise 12 footmen to 12, with indifferent armour and weapon, of the which I must one and be the other, which must be fought on Thursday next, either at a place called Emely, or else by Knockloughy, I have thought good to let your Lordship know thereof, heartily praying your Lordship that your brother Edward Butler, with all your force of the chiefest horsemen, galloglass, and shot, be here with me on Thursday next. Because that I have here but one band of footmen, and that I dare not trust such others of the countries so well as I put my trust in you and yours, I pray you spare your horse, if you can, and I will send him again if he live, or else your own asking for him at your pleasure. I trust very shortly to make end of this war, and to overthrow the rest of these Geraldines, which do so much annoy her Majesty's subjects. My Lord, I have promised that there shall be no hurt done unto him by any of your Lord's men, until such time as the day be past, and [I] have promised him peace, that no man shall hurt him, nor none of his, till this matter be tried. And so he likewise hath promised to do the like unto all her Majesty's subjects. So desiring your Lordship to wish well to your friend in this attempt, I bid you most heartily farewell.

"From Kilmallocke, this 18th of November 1571." *

* I. S. P., Vol. 34, No. 29. No wonder that more moderate Irishmen regarded this extraordinary encounter with some alarm. Upon enclosing this letter to Cecil, Ormond writes as follows :

"My very good Lord,—I do send here enclosed a copy of my Lord President's letter, written upon sight thereof (which maketh me almost at my wit's end), but knowing no better remedy both for the honour of the Queen's Majesty and safety of the poor number of soldiers there, lest the traitor should have his will of them, being far greater in number than they, I think it good to resort thither forthwith with such force as I have now on the sudden. The manner of the President's dealing herein is strange to me. I will stay his Lordship (if I can by

At the close of the year 1575, Sir Henry Sydney was re-appointed to the government of Ireland. He had succeeded the Earl of Sussex as Deputy in 1565, and held the office for two years, when he returned to England. Sir Wm. FitzWilliams became Deputy in 1570, and upon his resignation, in the autumn of 1575, Sydney accepted the vacant post. No one was better fitted, by past experience, and by temporary absence from the scene of his former labours, to form an accurate judgment of the condition of Ireland. No one was better able to ascertain whether, during those few years, Ireland had improved or not under English rule. He was not likely, either from temper or from circumstances, to be misled, or to form too flattering an estimate of its condition. What Deputy, however honest and impartial, was prone to over-rate the labours of his predecessor, or to find the Ireland of reality equal to the Ireland of his imagination? Not long after Sydney's arrival, he took an opportunity of visiting the whole of Ireland, beginning with the north and ending with the north-western provinces. The account left us of his visitation furnishes the most authentic and correct information by far of the

" any means) from this attempt, and will with all my heart join with him
 " myself and my company, to fight against the traitor and his whole
 " company, rather than he should so barely hazard himself with so few.
 " I intend, God willing, to be at Kilmallocke tomorrow with my Lord
 " President; and pray God it may so happen as we may go to it of all
 " hands against the traitors and their force, upon such ground as may be
 " meet for us to encounter them. What shall pass hereafter I will, God
 " willing, advertise to your Lordship, and pray God I may send you such
 " news as yourself would be most glad to receive touching these matters.
 " God send your Lordship all good hap, and us a good hour against
 " these villains.

" From Cashell, this 20th of November 1571.

" My brother Edward is on my Lord President's side, if this combat go
 " forward. Mr. Justice Plunket desired me to let you know that this day
 " Walter Fitz John Bourke is condemned for treason."—I. S. P. *ibid*.

state of the country after it had continued seventeen years under the rule of Elizabeth, and is substantially as follows.*

Starting from the Pale, he travelled towards Knockfergus (Carrickfergus) on the 5th of October 1575, accompanied with 400 foot and 200 horse. Passing from Drogheda to Dundalk, and thence to the Newry, he found the whole country in policy and good order; the land was well "manured;" the towns had improved in beauty and building, and were well planted with inhabitants. O'Hanlon's country, next to the Newry, and the Fews on the east of it, were in extreme disorder, partly from "the intolerable" annoyances and spoils of their neighbours in both "borders, as well English as Irish," partly from the non-residence of those to whom the lands had been granted. The country of Magennis, though now independent of O'Neill, was still suffering from former disorders. Thence to Kinnaliarty, desolate and waste, full of thieves and outlaws, none of the former owners caring to occupy the land, as it had been conferred by the Queen on Capt. Nicholas Malby. Dufferin was wasted, but Lecale was greatly improved since the arrival of Essex. Ardes (Armagh) the same; "for there are many freeholders of English race, of "ancient habitation there." Crossing the water at Belfast, his passage was opposed by an Irishman named McNeill Brian Ertaugh. Olandeboy was wholly uninhabited; Knockfergus much decayed and impoverished; no ploughs were going where many were going before; churches and houses had been burnt, the inhabitants had fled, and not more than six remained; "yet they so comforted to hear of "her Majesty's gracious disposition to wall their town,

* The abstract of these letters will be found in Carew Cal. II. 30 *sq.*, and at full length in Collins, I. 75 *sq.*

“ whereby they assure themselves of safety and quiet
“ dwelling hereafter, as that hope hath and doth procure
“ and draw divers to resort and build there.” The Glynnnes
(on the west coast of Antrim), held by the Scots under Sorley
Boy, was full of corn and cattle. Kilultagh he found rich
and plentiful, but the captain of it insolent. All Dun-
gannon was wasted. The cathedral of Armagh was in ruins,
and the town miserable. Here he had an interview with
O'Neill and his wife, both of whom were desirous of living
like good subjects, and were anxious to receive a patent
of nobility from the Queen.

Turning to the English Pale, Louth was much im-
poverished by the continual concourse of soldiers passing
to and from the North; Carlingford, Dundalk, and Ardee
no better; Drogheda was improved by the great expenses
of the Earl of Essex; the rest of the country in a state of
recovery, for the gentlemen were “willing to obey, and
“ forward to serve.” Meath had been “cursedly scorched
“ on the outside,” by the incursions of the O'Connors and
O'Molloys; was not yet recovered, but in a good way to
be, and a great deal the better for “the good neighbour-
“ hood and just dealing” of O'Reilly in Connaught.
Sydney commends him “as the greatest Irishman,” and
his country as the best ruled by any Irishman in all Ire-
land. The border baronies of West Meath had been
sorely spoiled and wasted by the rebels, but the Deputy
was in good hope of their reformation, especially through
the exertions of the Baron of Delvin. Annaly or Long-
ford was in better wealth and order since it had been made
shire ground than it was before. The county of Kildare
was greatly impoverished, partly by thieves, partly by the
disorders of the O'Mores; “and in one barony of the said
“ county, called Carbery, it was constantly affirmed unto
“ me by old Henry Cowley, with tears in his eyes, that

“ that barony was 3,000*l*. in worse case than it was the
“ last time before I was there with him.” Carlow was more
than half wasted, for the same reason ; Wexford in the
same condition, mainly through the dissensions of English
captains. The Irish counties of the O’Tooles and O’Birnes,
in the east of Leinster, are commended for their good
order. The same remark applies to Ferns. King’s
County was spoiled and wasted by the decay of the Eng-
lish tenants, and the great increase of the native inha-
bitants. They were defended by an English garrison of 200
men, but the charges far exceeded the revenues. In
Queen’s County, Rorie Oge occupied what portion he
liked, and wasted it at his pleasure. Whilst the Deputy
was at Maryborough, the Earl of Clanricarde came, and
very humbly offered his services. Upper Ossory was now
well governed under the new baron, who was contented to
have it made shire-land. “ The last of this province in
“ this my account is the county of Kilkenny, which I find
“ in very bad case, yet by many due circumstances proved
“ to be the sink and receptacle of innumerable cattle and
“ goods stolen out of many other countries ; but undone
“ by their own idle men, and partly by harbouring of
“ protected rebels, which yet was done by order and for
“ the avoidance of a greater or at least a more present
“ mischief.” Here Rory Oge, the cause of much of this
disorder, appeared, and promised amendment.

In a subsequent letter Sydney continues his narrative.
Leaving Waterford, of which he speaks in terms of great
satisfaction, he slept at Corraghmore, and found the whole
country in excellent order, which he attributes chiefly to
the suppression of coyne and lyvery. “ And albeit the soil,
“ for the most part, of itself is very barren, yet is there not
“ any gentleman or freeholder in that country but may
“ make more of an acre of land there than they have of

“ three in the county of Kilkenny. The next country of
“ the Decies (near Dungarvan) belonged to Sir James
“ FitzGerald, four times as large as the former, full of idle
“ vagabonds. The lord of it was a spendthrift, and his
“ land so spoiled and wasted that it did not afford competent
“ food for a mean family.” Thence to Dungarvan Castle,
much decayed by the rebellion of James FitzMaurice.
Here he was met by the Earl of Desmond. Leaving Dun-
garvan, the Deputy proceeded to Cork, where he was
received with every demonstration of respect, and remained
six weeks. “The good estate and flourishing of that city
“ well approveth the good effects of resident authority
“ amongst* them, for it is so amended, as in so few years
“ I have seldom seen any town; and out of doubt if
“ ministration of justice be continued, it will daily mul-
“ tiply in people and amplify in building.” Here he
was met by a large company of the Irish nobility and
others, and many of the ruined relics of the ancient English
inhabitants, as the Arundels, the Rochfords, the Barretts,
the Flemings, and others, whose ancestors did once live
like gentlemen, but now are in all misery, oppressed or
banished from their own. Many widow ladies were there
who had been wives to earls and others of note. All of
those then present were anxious to do homage, and hold
their lands of her Majesty.*

Leaving Cork he entered the county of Limerick, and
lodged at Kilmallock, “lamentably spoiled and burned
“ by that vile traitor and rebel James FitzMorris; but
“ so speedily again re-edified, as surely it is not almost

* Sir Henry had forgotten to state that whilst he was in the neighbour-
hood of Cork he had visited Kinsale, and thought it had suffered much in
the late rebellion, “yet through the continuance of justice and English
“ government near them it held its own well enough, and was on the
“ mending hand, the people honest and obedient.” Collins, *ib.* I. 102.

“ to be credited, but by the constant report of them that
“ knew it and saw it then, and now have perused and
“ seen it again; for where there was not one roof nor
“ floor left unburned, few or no houses, within the wall,
“ are now uncovered; whereby the benefit and good
“ fruit of English laws and forces most sensibly is felt;
“ without which, the people confess themselves they
“ would for ever have abandoned that place and sought
“ some other habitation, and the like desolation become
“ of that town, as may be seen by ruins of many other
“ within this land, whom Irish rebels have suppressed,
“ and English forces and government failing, were never
“ since restored.”

Thence to the city of Limerick, where he was entertained with greater splendour than he had ever witnessed. Here many of the ancient Irish and Anglo-Irish nobility had met to receive him; “all lamenting the spoil and waste of the country,” and begging to have English laws planted among them, and English sheriffs to see them executed. Among those who presented themselves on this occasion were Ulick and John Burke, sons of the Earl of Clanricarde, “ execrable evil doers,” since pardoned; the Earl of Thomond, and two of the M’Namarras, anxious like the rest for the establishment of English rule. Munster was generally in a state of reformation in consequence of the establishment of a President; and the Deputy was of opinion, that if Sir John Perrot, who had left Ireland the year before, had continued in his charge until Sydney’s arrival, Munster would have been found as obedient as Wales. Most of the people in Munster were “ papists, and that in the malitiously degree,
“ *et novarum rerum cupidi*,” delighting in ravin and licentious life; above all James FitzMorris, “ a man subtle,
“ malicious, and hardy, a papist in extremity, and well

“esteemed and of good credit among the people.” Fitz-Morris held secret intelligence with the Pope and the Spaniard. Without some English commander had charge of the province, such as Sir Wm. Drury, it appeared to Sydney impossible that the people could be kept from rebellion. He recommends the same arrangement for Connaught.

From Limerick he advanced into Thomond (Clare), attended by the Earl and the rest of the O'Briens, formerly kings of Limerick. They were all at enmity with each other. “These,” he says, “are the greatest doers and “only undoers of their own country and neighbours, yet “so near kinsmen as they [are] descended of one grand-“father.” Among all the gentlemen and chiefs who attended him there, he could not find one of English blood, although that county had once belonged to the Earl of Clare, and had formerly been held by Englishmen. The whole district was in such a state of desolation, “as,” says Sir Henry, in a sort of grim pleasantry, “if they were “not a people of more spare diet than others are, both of “flesh, bread, and drink made of corn, it were not possible “that a soil so wasted could sustain them; and yet many “they are not in number.”

The first night he lodged in the dissolved friary of Coyne, the next night in the ruined see (palace or cathedral) of Kilmakogh, next day at Galway. Here he held a court and heard their complaints; “wherein I found plenty of “murder, rape, burning, and sacrilege, and besides such “spoil of goods and cattle as in number might be counted “infinite and in quantity unmeasurable, *and indeed the “whole country not able to answer a quarter of that which “was affirmed to be lost amongst them.*” After some trouble he brought the dissentients to agree to hold their lands of the Queen. Connaught he divided into its

present four counties. From Sligo he received nothing but letters; at Mayo, the Clandonells and M'William Ewghter, its most redoubtable chief, paid him their respects. "I found M'William very sensible, though
" wanting the English tongue, yet understanding the
" Latin; a lover of quiet and civility, desirous to hold his
" lands of the Queen, and suppress Irish extortion, and
" to expulse the Scots, who swarm in those quarters." At Athlone the old chief did his homage to the Deputy, and received from him the order of knighthood. He desired to have an English sheriff in his counties, the same as Sydney had appointed throughout the province of Connaught. The Deputy was justly proud of this success; for M'William was the most powerful chief in the west, in a country the most distant and most difficult to keep in order. There were with him at the same instant five men of note, all Englishmen, once Lords and Barons of Parliament, who had exchanged their English names for Irish; "but so base and barbarous barons are
" they now, as they five have not three hackneys to carry
" them and their train home." He found the town of Galway greatly decayed, owing to the dissensions of Clanricarde's sons. The citizens, much reduced in number, had lost their wealth, and with it "their wits and hearts." During his abode there he was constantly attended by the Earl of Clanricarde, the Earl of Thomond, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishops of Clonfert and Kilmakogh, and the Baron of Athenry (Birmingham), "as poor a baron
" as liveth, and yet agreed on to be the ancientest baron in
" this land." They all desired to hold their lands of the Queen, as the only security against spoil and oppression.

From Galway he passed to Athenry, "the most woeful
" spectacle that ever I looked on in any of the Queen's
" dominions; totally burned, college, parish church, and
" all that was there, by the Earl's sons, yet the mother of

"one of them was buried in the church." The town was as large as Calais. Thence to Roscommon, through a country "indifferently manured, by reason of the Earl of Olanricarde's force, whose friends and followers fare well, "the rest go to wrack!" Here he was met by O'Connor Don, whose ancestors were kings of Connaught. Between Roscommon and Athlone, some of the richest land in Ireland, the petty lords and gentlemen were in great distress, harassed and spoiled by the Scots. He took order among them for the better administration of justice and the preservation of order. He also made great intercession with the Queen to have Essex appointed as president of Connaught; that done, he had hopes that the wain of Ireland should bring home its harvest within very few years, if "not to England's gain, yet without England's charge." From Athlone Sydney returned to Dublin.

These letters were concluded by one specially addressed to her Majesty, in which he entered upon certain details respecting the condition of the Church in Ireland. "So deformed and overthrown a church there is not," he says, "in any region where Christ is professed, and preposterous it seemeth to me to begin reformation of the politic part and to neglect the religious." Not only is the information contained in the letter of the highest value in enabling us to form a correct judgment on this important subject, but it exemplifies the spirit and the feelings of thoughtful Englishmen of those times.

After referring to his former letters, of which he has no doubt the substance had been communicated to the Queen, he proceeds: "Now, most dear mistress,* and most honoured

* Let these and other letters be a standing rebuke to those who, especially of late, have decried the administration and character of Elizabeth.

"The homage done her was not born of wit,

"Wisdom admired, zeal took ambition's place."

“ sovereign, I solely address [myself] to you, as to the only
“ sovereign salve-giver to this your sore and sick realm.
“ The lamentable estate of the most noble and principal
“ limb thereof, the Church I mean, as foul, deformed,
“ and cruelly crushed as any part thereof, by your only
“ gracious and religious order [is] to be cured or at least
“ amended.” He then instances the diocese of Meath, of
which a report had been prepared by the bishop, showing,
that of 224 parish churches, 105 were impropriated and
leased out to farmers, who reaped great gain of them beyond
the rent paid to the Queen;—“ no parson or vicar resident
“ upon any of them, and a very simple and sorry curate
“ for the most part appointed to serve them.” Of the
whole number 18 only were able to speak English; the rest
“ were Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little
“ Latin, less learning or civility. All these live on the
“ bare altarages (as they term them), which, God knoweth,
“ are very small, and were wont to live upon the gain of
“ masses, dirges, shrivings, and such like trumpery, goodly
“ abolished by your Majesty; no one house standing for
“ any of them to dwell in. In many places the very walls of
“ the churches down, very few chancels covered, windows
“ and doors ruined or spoiled. There are 52 other parish
“ churches in the same diocese, who have vicars endowed
“ upon them, better served and maintained than the other,
“ yet but badly. There are 52 parish churches more, re-
“ sidue of the first number of 224, which pertain to divers
“ particular lords, and these, though in better estate than
“ the rest commonly are, yet far from well. If this be
“ the estate of the church in the best peopled diocese and
“ best governed country of this your realm (as in truth it
“ is), easy it is for your Majesty to conjecture in what case
“ the rest is, where little or no reformation, either of re-
“ ligion or manners, hath yet been planted and continued

“ among them ; yea, so prophane and heathenish are some parts of this your country become, as it hath been preached publicly before me that the sacrament of baptism is not used among them.” He then insists upon the evils brought upon archbishoprics and bishoprics, partly by the prelates themselves, partly by their “ noisome neighbours,” and he sums up his description by reducing the whole to three causes ; ruin of the churches, want of good ministers, and incompetent maintenance.

During Sir Henry’s progress his attention had been called by the loyal inhabitants of the Pale to the great burthen occasioned by the “ cess,” that is, the right of the Deputy to levy provisions for the use of the different garrisons in Ireland at a fixed rate of payment.* As these rates were lower than the market price of the commodities sold, and remained fixed in all seasons alike, they proved not only a great hindrance and discouragement to industry, but were easily converted by the malicious into a bitter act of oppression wherever an obnoxious or independent inhabitant was concerned. The idle, the improvident, or the unskilful producer, whose goods were of the least value, escaped ; the industrious and the skilful, who contrived to make the best of the land, and raise the best crops, were, as a

* In a letter to the Privy Council Sydney thus explains the word. “ Lest this name of cess, being not a usual word there (in England), might seem to carry some secret mystery in the term, being misconceived, may it please your Lordships therefore to conceive that cess is nothing else but a prerogative of the Prince, and an agreement and consent of the nobility and Council, to impose upon the country a certain proportion of victual and provision of all kinds to be delivered and issued at a reasonable rate, and, as it is commonly termed, *the Queen’s price*.” Carew, Cal. II., 66.

In his letter to Queen Elizabeth he enters into further details, and tells the Queen that for the most part the cess was levied upon the five English shires and certain Irish counties adjoining, and distributed according to the number of the ploughlands. Collins, Sydney Papers, I. 180.

matter of course, singled out, and became the sufferers. In Dec. 1575 they had proposed to the Deputy a money composition in lieu of this assessment. The offer appeared to Sydney not without advantage to the Queen's service, as it was evidently the first step towards a system of regular taxation in Ireland, and a means for raising a fixed revenue for defraying the expenses of the government. But as it seemed an innovation, and he was unwilling to make the change on his own responsibility, he wrote to the Council in England, desiring their advice.

On his return to Dublin, the inhabitants of the English Pale drew up a memorial* in which they stated that they had for some years past been oppressed with cesses and exactions, contrary to the laws. Their corn, beef, mutton, and other "accates" were taken from them at mean and base prices, to their impoverishment. Professing their duty to her Majesty, they begged of the Deputy to suffer a deputation to proceed from their body to England, and represent their grievances to Elizabeth. They asked Sydney to support their cause. Finding that their request was not favorably received, next year some of the most considerable inhabitants of the Pale, including Viscount Baltinglas, the Baron of Howth, and others of no less rank, memorialized the Council of England, and entrusted three gentlemen, named Scurlock, Nettervill, and Burnell, to support their petition. Their estimate, as they call it, of the cess, and the loss and hindrance sustained by the country in consequence of it, is very instructive. Here it is.

One thousand beeves at 9s. sterling the beef, the price allowed by the Council; if they were sold in the market they would be worth 20s.† Beer malt and wheat, 1,000

* Carew, II. 58.

† Sydney admits in a letter to Elizabeth that a cow heretofore sold for 6s. was now worth 20s., and all things else in the same proportion:—

pecks, at 2*s.* 6*d.* the peck; if sold in the market, 5*s.* the peck. Oat malt, 700 pecks, at 16*d.* the peck; in the market, 3*s.* Muttons, 3,900, at 1*s.* each; in the market, 2*s.* 6*d.* Veals, 130, at 1*s.* each; in the market, 5*s.* Porks, 240, at 3*s.* each; in the market, 8*s.* Bacons, 12, at 5*s.* each; in the market, 13*s.* 4*d.* Butter, 2,580 gallons, at 9*d.* the gallon; in the market, 2*s.* 6*d.* 300 lambs, answered by the Lord Deputy, at 3*d.* each; worth 1*s.* 700 pigs, at 3*d.* each; worth 1*s.* 200 geese, at 3*d.* each; worth 6*d.* 160 capons at 3*d.* each; worth 6*d.* 1,500 chickens at $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* each; worth 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

Horses standing at livery, $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* per diem, costing really 4*d.* each; and grooms, with two meals a day, $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, worth 4*d.* each.

This estimate is followed by a census of the provisions levied in Ireland during the administration of the Earl of Sussex, from 1556 to 1562, and again in the year 1575.

Influenced partly by that spirit which every provincial governor feels, that it is his primary duty to maintain the prerogative of the Sovereign undiminished, partly by his tendency to under-estimate grievances of this kind, where the Queen's service was concerned, Sydney was disinclined to sympathise with the petitioners. He told them that there were 1,000 soldiers in garrison; that their pay was insufficient; that the Queen's burthens were heavy. In

but then, he pathetically adds, "the soldier may not have a less proportion
 " in food than he was wont to have; for he eateth now as he was wont
 " to do, and thereof he may not be much scanted; so that, except your
 " Majesty will increase the soldier's pay, I cannot see how to ease the
 " country more than I have done." (Collins' S. P. I. 219.) The Queen,
 who inherited the parsimonious tendencies of her grandfather, could never
 be brought to see that the expenses of the Government must of necessity
 keep pace with the increase of prices. She was constantly at war with
 her ministers in her desire for economy, and broke their hearts by insisting
 on the impossible combination of greater efficiency with reduced means.

the end he offered to commute the cess for a charge of four marks on every ploughland. To this proposal they turned a deaf ear, as it took the shape of a perpetual land tax. If the garrison were diminished, or dismissed altogether, the cess would cease accordingly ; not so the tax. As neither party would give way, the cess was imposed as in the previous years.

Great discontent followed. The more so, as now for the first time the Irish government resolved to extend the cess equally to all estates, without regard to those exemptions which had been hitherto pleaded. In past years many landlords, by the favour of previous Deputies, had contrived to procure immunity from the impost, and consequently it fell with greater burthen on the ever decreasing circuit of the non-exempted lands. But this reform, though conceived in the spirit of equity, only added fresh numbers to the malcontents, and increased the general dissatisfaction. A second conference was held within the Pale, when the opposing party exhibited a petition to the Deputy, requiring a discharge from cess of every kind, and boldly condemning the exaction as illegal. They requested leave to repair to England ; if not, that the Deputy should submit their petition to the Queen, supporting it with his own recommendation. After much discussion, he declined to take either course. The tax, he contended, was strictly legal ; it had been imposed since the reign of Henry IV. It was the undoubted prerogative of her Majesty. Those who now repined at it were gentlemen and rich men, well able to bear the burthen. In no previous time had they lived "so civilly and able in diet, clothing, and household as at this day ; marry, the poor churl never so beggarly." The poor man's burthen would be lighter now that these "busy-headed lawyers and malcontented gentlemen" could no longer escape their own share of

the burthen, but would have to contribute like the rest of their neighbours.

There was reason on both sides, as there generally is in discussions of this kind; though it was not Sydney's policy to admit it. The condition of Ireland had rapidly changed within the last few years; and there can be no better evidence of its improvement than that which is furnished by this dispute. The steady rise in the value of its produce is an index of its increasing prosperity. Sydney tacitly admits the fact in his letter to the Privy Council. "When the cow," he says, "was commonly sold " for 8*s.* or 9*s.* sterling, the peck of wheat for 2*s.* 8*d.* or " 3*s.*, and the mutton at 12*d.*, and the rest after like prices, " this burthen was not felt, but [there was] such an agree- " ment betwixt the soldier and the countryman, and so " desirous and loving [they were] one of another, as there " was no repining, but so welcome was the guest to the " host, as there was ever grief and sadness at their de- " parting each from other. And now, although as much " be paid as ever was in rate, yet the price growing higher, " and the insolency of the soldiers more than it was wont " to be, in exacting money upon the poor farmers, and " sometimes escaping uncorrected for the same (which " happeneth as seldom as never if they be complained " upon) provoketh this kicking and spurning at [the] " cess." *

Nettervill, Scurlock, and Burnell repaired to England; but petitioning in those days was not without its perils, especially where the royal prerogative was really or only apparently concerned. On the 14th May the Queen wrote to the Deputy† in very sharp terms, complaining of these peti-

* Carew, Cal. II. 67.

† Ibid., 78.

tioners at Court, and of the allegations made by them as tending to the manifest overthrow of her prerogative. She loudly condemned the authorities in Ireland for permitting her right to be impugned by open speeches and arguments without committing the principal offenders. "We have," she continued, "already given order for the punishment of " the parties sent over with the said letters, not in respect " of their coming over to lay before us their griefs, but for " that they did, since their arrival here, both by speech " and writing, maintain the imposition of the said cess to " be a matter against the laws and customs of that realm, " although they do now acknowledge their offence." She then orders the Deputy to send for the lords and gentlemen who signed the letters; and in failure of their consent to maintain the Queen's prerogative in this matter, he is ordered to commit the chiefest of them to ward.*

The examination of these patriotic repudiators of an exaction, as grievous as it was unjust, before the Privy Council in England, may be seen in this Calendar, Vol. II., p. 61. They assert that the imposition was of comparatively recent origin, and ought to be regulated according to the market prices. They pointed out, in terms of great moderation, the inequality of the assessment—its uncertainty—its mischievous effects upon industry; "they would have their burthens not to rest in " discretion, but to be grounded upon law."† In the end they suggested what appeared to them a more economic and impartial method of providing for the expenses of the soldiers, and expressed their willingness to contribute their own proportions to such a rate to the uttermost of their power.

* Carew, Cal. II. 79.

† Ibid., 63.

This explanation of their motives and conduct was not deemed satisfactory, and they were committed to the Fleet, "for their presumptuous behaviour,"* in the early part of May following. In conformity with instructions received from England, the Deputy summoned before him the chief persons who had been engaged in this opposition to the cess. On their refusing to retract and submit, he committed them to the Castle of Dublin. Among the number were some of the noblest and most loyal residents of the English Pale.†

Though the Deputy could not deny that this exaction was a fruitful instrument of oppression, and an unjust source of profit to swarming victuallers and under-agents employed in its collection, this protest appeared, naturally enough, the mere result of faction and discontent. He could not help regarding it, in some degree, as a personal slight to himself and his authority, which he was bound to resent. In his letters to the Queen and the Privy Council in England he urged them not to give way, but to bring the chief agents to a sense of their duty by methods not uncommon in the reign of the Tudors. Their punishment, he thought, for their "undecent and undutiful speech," would bring many to more pliancy and due obedience. "This Scurlock," he tells her Majesty, "has
" purchased more and builded more than his father, grand-
" father, or all his surname ever did, and his chief mean
" and credit to get this was by being attorney to your
" sister. Nettetvill is the younger son of a mean and
" second justice of one of the benches, born to nothing, and
" yet only by your Majesty's bounty he liveth in better
" countenance than ever his father did. Burnell's father

* Carew, Cal. II., 80.

† See Carew, ib. 60.

“ is alive, and an old man ; but neither in youth nor age
“ lived or was able to live in half that appearance that
“ this man doth.” “ Of Burnell,” he tells the Council, “ I
“ will say little, but I wish he had been better occupied ; for
“ he is a man well spoken and towardly enough otherwise,
“ if he would have applied himself to his profession, and
“ followed his clients’ causes, and not so busily have
“ meddled with her Majesty’s prerogative, *which is not*
“ *limited by Magna Charta, nor found in Lyttleton’s*
“ *Tenures, nor written in Books of Assizes, but registered*
“ *in the Remembrances of her Majesty’s Exchequer.*”^{*}
The lawyers, it is clear, were beginning in those days to
grow troublesome, not only in England but in Ireland,
and the feud was already commencing which was destined
soon after to separate them more widely than ever from
the men of Sydney’s rank and sentiments.

But this was not the only or the chief reason for
Sydney’s fixed and resolute dislike of them. Had it not
been for this unseasonable opposition, his design of raising
a revenue from Munster would have been successful. He
had reasonably expected to have been able to maintain an
efficient force on foot without burthening the Queen’s Ex-
chequer, or being compelled to make annual suit to her—
a task as disagreeable to her ministers as to herself—for the
sums required to carry on the Irish government. Moreover,
the opposition from such a quarter was as unexpected as
it was ungrateful. At all events, the well-to-do inhabi-
tants of the English Pale had least cause to complain of
harsh treatment, or to set an example of insubordination
to their inferiors. “ Their land,” he tells the Queen, “ was
“ never more universally tilled, nor fuller of cattle than
“ presently. Their cities and towns more populous than

^{*} Collins, I. 179.

“ ever in memory of man. Their houses so far exceeding
“ their ancestors’, that they may be thought rather to be
“ another and a new people than descendants of the old.
“ In bestowing of their children, a gentleman I have
“ known of this age give more than three baronies in
“ times past. In plate and all other furniture of their
“ houses, or apparel of themselves, wives, and children,
“ there is as great odds between present age’s people
“ and their predecessors as in England there is between
“ a yeoman and a good squire. Besides the number
“ trebled of their sons, kinsfolk, and friends now by them
“ kept in the universities and at the study of the law of
“ the realm, to that which their elders kept; and each
“ one they have standeth them in treble charge that one
“ stood the others in before. And there be some principal
“ gentlemen that have their sons in Louvain, Dôle, Rome,
“ and other places where your Majesty is rather hated
“ than honored in, and it is to be supposed not without
“ their charges. And as dear as all things are, they fare
“ more delicately and chargeously than ever they did.”*

These may be the words of an indignant, they are not the words of an unreflecting or unobservant, man. They furnish the most conclusive and unanswerable evidence of the growing prosperity of the English Pale under the reign of Elizabeth. Whatever might be the faults of her government, however severe and intolerant in some respects, it is clear that her rule was connected more intimately than any other with the prosperity of her subjects both in England and in Ireland. The proofs on this head are unexceptionable. Her admirers, therefore, and her ministers, of whom Sydney was not the least, might be forgiven if, with these evidences of the prosperity of her

* Collins, I. 182.

rule before their eyes, they were not inclined to see her authority impugned, and regarded with rough impatience, as impertinent and unpatriotic, any attempt to scrutinize her prerogative, or restrain it within strictly legal limits. There was not one of the grand and chivalrous spirits, that languished at the foot of her throne in the blaze of her majesty, that would not have concurred in Sydney's sentiments, and have deemed any other incompatible with true knighthood. Such narrow notions as those of Nettervill and his companions might comport well enough with the pinching and contracted study of Lyttleton's Tenures and the Book of Assize, but the glories of regality, and that divinity which hedges a king, must be worshipped to be understood; they must be felt by minds of royal and noble mould to be duly appreciated.

But though Elizabeth might be provoked at first by a fit of irritation to resent such acts as affected her prerogative with extreme displeasure, when consideration returned she rarely failed to re-examine the whole subject, and arrive at juster conclusions. These men had acted with great moderation—they were loyal English subjects—of some mark and consequence—not itinerant retailers of sedition. They had professed their anxiety to support her authority in Ireland by all lawful ways. Perhaps also justice, and the necessity of a strict example, had been amply satisfied with the imprisonment they had undergone. In August* Secretary Walsingham wrote to Sydney, “that Scurlock, “Nettervill, and Burnell, since their submission† made “here, by reason of the sickness of the plague which is “in the Fleet, where they were prisoners, are enlarged “upon good bonds to remain in the city or within 10

* 1577. Collins, I. 202.

† See it in Carew, II. 83

“ miles thereof, until further order be taken with them.” The Queen herself began to think that there was some reason in their complaint.* She would not indeed abate an inch of her authority, nor fail to insist on the most explicit submission from those who had ventured to impugn it, either here or in Ireland, but she held out a hope that if they were conformable, though she would not relieve them of the cess this year, she might be induced to give order for its abolition hereafter. An amicable arrangement now became possible. The lords and gentlemen of the Pale, following the example of their agents in England, submitted, and acknowledged their offences, “ so far forth every way as they had committed the same;”† the cess was arranged more in conformity with actual prices; and at length, in the spring of 1578, this dissension, which had at one time threatened to convert all the English residents in Ireland into inveterate opponents of the government, was quietly appeased, just as a new rebellion started up, which demanded the undivided energy and attention of all concerned.

But meanwhile Sydney had been recalled to England; and we shall hear of him no more in connexion with this history.

* Carew, II. 118.

† Ibid., 124, 133.

APPENDIX A.

THE DISORDERS OF THE IRISHRY IN THE IRISH PALE OF IRELAND, and the cause of Waste and Decay of the same. The STATE of the ENGLISH PALE; the cause of Waste and Decay thereof; with the cause of Debate between them both.*

FIRST, it is to be understand that the land of Ireland was divided into several kingdoms, and so continued of long time, until the coming of King Henry the Second, who then did win by conquest the more part of the same land, and the same gave and departed amongst his nobles and certain English gentlemen and others that went with him into Ireland, in reward of their service there done, where they both planted themselves and remained as obedient subjects to the King and Crown of England and his laws, and maintained the same. The rest of the land some he put under tribute, other some were never by him conquered, and they both so left continued and maintained their old customs, which were the laws of the Brehons, which before the conquest was used. And as those then planted by the King maintained the laws of England, and continued the same by them and theirs successively until this day, as the English Pale and civil towns doth maintain and use the same, even so the others, aswell that were put under tribute and they that were never conquered, as also those by them since subdued brought under their rule, doth maintain the Brehons' law as they did before the conquest, which custom they continue in the Irish Pale, who are now the more part of the realm. The race and stirpe of them this day do maintain and use the same contrary to God his law, and also repugnant to the Queen's Majesty's laws and all other good and civil orders.

So all the lords and gentles of the Irish Pales that are not governed under the Queen's laws are driven and compelled of necessity to keep and maintain a number of idle men of war, as they may be able always to rule their own people at home and exact their neighbours abroad, as their need shall require in their

* State Papers, Ireland, Eliz., vol. I. no. 73.

wars, which they commonly use and maintain against those that pretendeth any right to that they at any time have or do sometimes possess by wrong ; giving neither place to law nor yet good orders, but working every one his own wilful will for a law, to the spoil of the country and decay and waste of the common weal of the same.

The charge and finding of the men of war of every private Irish Lord is such a burden to his country as keepeth the same ever in great poverty, and by that means bringeth them that taketh most pain to most penury, and those that getteth all to gain nothing ; whereby husbandry is so hard to live by as very few covet it, as no plenty can prosper, but ever scarcity, where this is used, not only hindering the good but forwarding the evil, so far that the most mischief of all the land is fed and nourished withal. This is called Coyne and Livery. Besides this they have many other customs, exactions, and undertreddinges, so that in a manner all that ever the tenants can win with their weary working the lord hath at last, if his need be such in wars, or otherwise he will take all that his tenants have and destroy them in a day ; and he never the better himself, for(as aforesaid) idle men of war eateth all together.

And thus their countries are impoverished, as inhabitants having nothing left to cherish or care for (unless sometime a few cattle which the poor people are forced to drive with them wheresoever they go, for finding their Lords' men of war), they, as careless of their behaviour, become as idle as the rest stealing by night and robbing by day, as at last stirreth them to war one Lord against another. Although [they do so] until they have spoiled and wasted one another's country yet no malice can increase their enmity so much one against another but upon every occasion they become friends, and join their former dispersed strength in one force against the Queen's Majesty and her liege people.

For their religion.

The appearance of their outward behaviour sheweth to be the fruits of no good trees, for they exercise no virtue, nor yet refrain or forbear any vice, but think it lawful to do every one what him listeth, as thereby should seem they neither love nor dread God, nor yet hate the Devil. They are superstitious and worshippers of images and open idolaters. Their common oath they swear is by books, bells, and other ornaments, which they use as holy relics. If for any greater cause they take the name of God, they seldom perform unless to do a shrewd turn. Their chief and solemnest oath that

bindeth them is by their lord's or master his hand, which whose forsweareth is sure to pay a fine or sustain a worse turn. The Sabbath day they rest from all honest exercise, and the week days they are not idle but worse occupied. They do not honour their fathers and mothers so much as they do reverence strangers.

For any murder they commit [it] should seem they do not so soon repent for whose blood they once shed. They lightly never cease killing of all that name, although nothing akin, so many as they can find ever after, whom they may overcome.

They did not so commonly commit adultery, not for that they do profess or keep such chastity, but for that they seldom or never marry, and therefore few of them [are] lawful heirs, by the laws of the realm, to those lands they presently possess.

They steal but from the strong, and take by violence from the poor and weak. They know not so well who is their neighbour, as whom they favour with him they will witness in right and wrong.

They covet not their neighbour's goods, but command all that is their neighbour's as their own.

And this ungodly life they lead, and pass their years without amendment, until their dying day, that they are able to do no more harm, without knowledge of God or understanding of his Word, which they never hear truly taught, nor can, for lack of good ministers to instruct and preach the same; nor yet will any minister take pains without living, which is not to be had where there is neither church nor parish, but all decayed and waste, nor can be inhabited to increase a parish without people, nor anywise people will come to inhabit and dwell where is neither defence of Law nor equity of Justice maintained, as they might enjoy the fruit of their labour.

Which is every King's part and charge, to minister Justice to his people, and the Queen's Majesty's our liege sovereign presently more bound thereto than any her Grace's noble progenitors hitherto were, who by style had but the name of Lords of Ireland (although all princely prerogative withal) before her Highness' father, of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, to whom by Parliament was given the title, style, and name of King of Ireland, and now her Majesty's possession by lawful succession.

And withal her Majesty, under God, of whom her Highness hath received also the charge, as most worthy for the supreme government of his creatures, her people, within these her Highness' own realms and dominions, as besides Christian charity and princely dignity her Highness oweth to God, by that title to reform and

direct and lead those blind and wilful ignorant people to the knowledge of God his most holy Word, to the salvation of their souls, which he so dearly bought; as if the Angels of Heaven rejoiced so much at the conversion of one sinner to repentance, what joy, solace, and welcome shall our most dear Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth have for converting, or rather recovering, of so many a thousand lost souls as at this present are in Ireland, ready to go on headlong to the Devil, if her Grace seek not speedy remedy to prevent the same, as by their fruits shewed there is already a great many gone to his dam !

THE STATE of the ENGLISH PALE and CIVIL SHIRES and the Queen's Majesty's great charge in keeping and maintaining an Army there for the defence of the same.

Who lying in the English Pale, where commonly the most number of soldiers do sojourn at cess, both footmen and horsemen, with their double horse and horse boys dispersed in the civil shires, which is such a burden to the liege people of the same as hath greatly impaired the good state of the Pale, where they are not so serviceable; for when the Irish maketh any entry by sudden roads upon the borders of the English Pale, although the Governor might within four hours assemble the captains for the defence of the Pale, no captain is able to assemble his band in four days, which is too late to pursue the enemy, who is gone three days before with the spoil of the country.

When for more ease and better defence of the Pale the soldiers are sent to lie upon the borders in peace time, where, a great number being cessed upon a small territory, the burden is so heavy to the inhabitants, upon whom if they but lie one quarter of a year, the poor people liven the worse seven years after. And although in war time the living of the soldiers there be such service indeed as causeth enemies to forbear that border for the time, yet is that service so dear bought as all that the poor man saveth by the defence of the soldier's presence, when the soldier is gone, the enemy cometh and taketh all away; so as between the soldier and the enemy the poor man hath nothing left.

And where a certain number of soldiers continually do lie in garrison at the Newerye and Knockfargus, they are also most commonly found for their provision by cess out of the English Pale to as great charge as before. Although some more ease they

find by their absence than when they are lodged in their houses, and to the Queen's Majesty an increase of charge by as much as freights and carriages by sea and land, with great allowances to victuallers and clerks, as sometime the charges is more than the principal provision so transported is worth at the arrival, and sometime the whole perisheth by shipwreck, as every way the Queen's Majesty is a loser. And lying thus in garrison, as they use their service, they are a defence to themselves only, and a burden to the poor inhabitants dwelling about them (who dependeth upon the Queen's defence), whom they daily oppress and spoil, and cannot defend them when they have done; nor yet defence can they be to the English Pale, which is so far off from the one (which is Nophargus), and may be diversly and many ways annoyed by the Neles, the Fewes, and others, as those which is in the Nyuerye can neither prevent nor let the enemy coming in, nor yet rescue at their going forth any thing they take away. Nor yet can so few as they are in those garrisons be a scourge to any enemy of force, who may easily keep from them that he listeth not to lose, as nothing they can get themselves unless they make a sudden raid, as commonly they do upon those with whom they have no war, and take a prey of them; who, to revenge the same, cometh and spoileth all the poor people that dwelleth about those forts, to their utter decay and waste. As at this day there is not any way within ten mile about Knockfargus six plough land manured with tillage [or] any kind of grain; but all that province waste, where was five or six hundred ploughs before the garrison were planted there; so neither can any of those garrisons plant or sow anything abroad whereof they can assure themselves to reap the fruit; nor yet will the enemies suffer their own people to plant or improve any commodity near those forts, lest the soldiers should thereby be relieved: and so between both all waste.

And when they lie in garrison in the Irish enemy's country, as sometime was maintained a garrison at Ardmaughe, Belefurst, and of late in Glanarme, Mountsendall, Island Sydneys, Castle-Town, Don-Lewse, and other places, they were also furnished for their provision for the most part by like cess out of the English Pale as before, and to the Queen's Majesty more charge than any the others were, by as much as the English Pale for carriages by sea and land is further distant to those remote places than the other garrisons upon the borders were; and keeping of fort in the heart of the enemies' country, they were a defence and stay and strength only to themselves in those pieces which they kept, wherein they

were shut up as they could neither relieve themselves by anything they could get in the country itself, being waste, as it is always so kept by the enemy of purpose; nor yet could they be so easily victualled of the Queen's provision, but sometime with conduct, to more charge and trouble than the rest, as was Ardmaughe, which cost the English Pale many men's lives and their garrisons lost with victualling thereof; and of late Glanarme, Mount Sendall, Donnlewse, Island Sydneye, and others, whereof some were lost by casualty, as of late Castle-Town, Island Sydneye, Donlewse; and those that were kept and impregnable to the enemy were, after great charge bestowed, abandoned and voluntary given up to the Irishry again in better case than it was before.

And when in time of war with any Irishry of power, as of late with one Nele, and such like, occasion moveth the Governor to proclaim a main journey for 30 or 40 days to invade the enemies' country, the Governor goeth with the army and force of the English Pale, to their great charge, where they continue out their days whilst their victuals last, and then fain to return home again, as many times they do, without booty or other harms they do or yet can be done to a waste country, the inhabitants whereof, whilst the English host is in their country, shunneth all their cattle into woods or pastures, where they continue until the English Army be gone; and then do they come into the plains of their country with their cattle again, where they are as ready anew to invade and spoil the English Pale as before; as commonly they do bring with them great booties out of the borders of the same, whereof if recovery be not made by hot pursuit of some part of that they take away, very seldom or never can be found anything of theirs worth the having to be taken from them for the same again. So as by these appearances, wheresoever the service is done, the same is a charge to the Queen's Majesty, a burden to the liege people, to the decay both of them and the English soldiers, fretting one another of themselves, with small defence to the Pale, nor yet can be any great scourge to the enemy, who always gaineth by our losses, and we never gain by them, although we win all that we play for, the stakes being so unequal, viz., not a penny against a pound, for that the English Pale is planted with towns and villages, inhabited with people resident, having goods, chattels, corn, and household stuff, good booties for the Irish enemies to take from us, and their countries being kept of purpose waste uninhabited, as where nothing is, nothing can be had.

And thus the crown of England, being at charge this 37 years past since the rebellion of Thomas FitzGerrelde, at which time the same army were sent into Ireland, which hath cost your late father, of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, and your late brother and sister, and now your Highness' time, not so little as the sum of thirteen or 14 hundred thousand pounds in all that time. And until this day they have neither won to your Majesty obedience of people, nor yet increased your revenue by any territory of ground they have annexed to your Crown, saving Lexe and Ophale, which yieldeth to your Crown a yearly rent, although not so much as it standeth your Majesty in wages to the farmers thereof that do dwell upon the same for the only keeping and defending of the same, unto whom was paid wages before 30 thousand pounds for keeping thereof waste, and could not find the means to make twenty acres worth a penny a year rent to the Queen's Majesty ; but since they have had property and fee-farm thereof, they have learned the way to make every acre worth 20*d.* a year rent to themselves, and that well paid by the poor churls and native inhabitants of those countries, whom they could not frame to any better use but as enemies to the Queen's Majesty whilst her Highness was at the charge of keeping ; but since they have obtained and had the fee-farm thereof to themselves, they have found the mean to make of those that erst were called rebels to the Queen to become to themselves profitable tenants.

Where the Queen's Majesty's charges is increased of late extraordinarily four or five thousand pounds a year, bestowed upon presidents and judges, with their retinue, for deciding of causes, in remote parts, as it was then devised, for more ease and less charges for the people inhabiting thereabouts than to go to the Courts to Develyn, so far off ; and where the laws was executed but in one place within the realm, the train now of the president[s and] justices at hand is such a burden to the poor liege people of those provinces, who dependeth upon the Queen's Majesty's laws to be defended, as they are all by the same now impoverished and decayed in worse case than they were before, as they complaineth ; and saith that when they went to Develyn to sue for their right, though their charges was great, yet they saved somewhat ; but now, since justice is come to their doors, it, say they, leaveth them nothing ; and as for the Irishry of that province, that are of power of themselves able to take by violence and hold the same perforce, they will neither go to justice to give right to their neighbours, nor tarry at home to take wrong. And

thus all services in Ireland, as the same is yet used, is a great and continual charge to the Crown of England, no ease nor benefit to the liege people of Ireland, but pain and penury a consuming of them and the English soldiers, as a bough with the wind, and native people fretting one another of themselves, and the Irish unreformed, or yet the rebels and enemies repressed, who keepeth their countries waste of purpose, as having nothing to lose, but living by the spoil of others.

ACTS and GOOD ORDERS for the appeasing and ceasing of causes of strife and contention among the people, to increase peace generally.*

APPENDIX B.

28 March 1568.

To the LORDS JUSTICES of IRELAND.†

We greet you well. Forasmuch as amongst divers other things which we have found necessary to be considered for the weal of that our realm of Ireland, we perceive no one thing more convenient to be speedily put in order within the province of Ulster, than to have the metropolitan See of the Church [of] Armagh to be provided of an Archbishop, whereby the multitude [of] dispersed people our subjects of that diocese, being very large, might be recovered to the obedience of God, and consequently live in good order and peace under our government; for which place and room we have made choice for divers respects of one of our ordinary chaplains, Mr. Thomas Lancaster, who heretofore was Bishop of Kildare in our said realm, and therein for his time proved very laudably, and since that time hath been very well acquainted in the said parts of Ulster, having been also lately in company with our Deputy in all his journeys within our said realm, using himself very commendably in preaching and teaching, and very faithfully, painfully, and discreetly in all other services committed to his charge, as by our said Deputy we be duly informed. And thereupon having determined to call him to that promotion to be Archbishop of

* This document appears to be unfinished.

† State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, Vol. XXIII., 86. This document is a draft, corrected by Cecil.

Armagh, we do will and command you that immediately upon the sight hereof, ye do in our name and by such authority as you being our Justices jointly, and you our Chancellor separately, have and hold, proceed to the direction and execution of this our pleasure both to the nomination and commendation of him to the Dean and Chapter there, and to the ratification, confirmation and giving our royal assent to his election; and further also to charge and command such archbishops and bishops as you shall think meet, to proceed to the consecration of him, and to do all other manner of things that by law and custom is or shall be requisite for the perfecting of this our royal pleasure. Furthermore, where we are given to understand that the said church of Armagh and the house of old time belonging to the Archbishop there in Armagh is decayed, and chiefly by the late rebel there Shane O'Neill spoiled and ruined; our will and pleasure is that speedy conference be had with the Dean and Chapter of the said church, and with such others principal heads, lords, gentlemen, and freeholders within the same diocese, for contribution to be had as well of money, or that may be in value of money, as of the labor, handiworks, carriages, timber, and other stuff within the said diocese, towards the re-edifying and repairing of the said church and house for the Archbishop, or of so much thereof as shall or may be by any good policy for the time obtained. And for the furtherance thereof our will and pleasure is, that in our name the said Archbishop, and such other as he shall appoint under him for those works, may be aided and assisted by our commission royal to take up timber, stone, carriages, workmen and all other things necessary, in like manner and for the same prices as though the same were for our own proper works and buildings. And generally we will you to do all manner of things that may be thought unto you meet for the furtherance of this good work, for our meaning is to have the service of God hereby furthered and advanced, to the example and introduction (instruction?) of all others within the said parts of Ulster for the repairing of their churches, which we hear say to be in such lamentable ruin, by the late rebellion in those parts, as in some place[s] there scanty remaineth knowledge of the places where the churches were built; and where there do remain any tokens, the ruins be such, as in the same scanty is coverture for wild beasts; which thing as it is greatest to be lamented, so do we think it most necessary to be first recovered; wherein as we know our Deputy will, at his coming, further the lack to the utter-

most of his power, so we will and require you to omit no time for the preparation of things necessary to the same.

APPENDIX C.

INSTRUCTIONS given by her Majesty the 18th of April 1579 to the right reverend father in God Adam Archbishop of Dublin and Robert Garvey Bachelor of the Civil Law, her Highness' commissioners for faculties within her realm of Ireland, thought convenient to be observed by them in executing their Commission annexed to the same.*

ELIZABETH R.

Signed the 25 of May 1579.

1. First in consideration that there are not for the present men to be provided within that our realm sufficiently qualified to be placed in such rooms and cures as are void ; we have thought meet for a time, until it may please God to increase the number of able men, to tolerate the granting of dispensations for two benefices with cure, with clauses of permutation as it is usual in the dispensations within this realm, so that the benefices taken by permutation do not exceed the tax of—, and the distance of twenty miles, and so as the cure of both be duly served, and the incumbent be resident upon both equally as nigh as may be convenient.

2. We are also pleased to grant them authority to create notaries, such persons as they shall find to be skilful and of good name and reputation, and give license upon necessary considerations, upon forbidden days, to eat flesh, with such conditions as the Archbishop of Canterbury useth.

3. For health, inevitable danger of life, and study in one of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, the said causes being well examined and proved, we can allow that dispensations be granted for non-residence to dure no longer time than —, and so as the persons dispensed withal, having two benefices or other ecclesiastical living, after the said years be resident upon one of them, and having but one benefice in some place, to be allowed by the

* This paper is taken from a private MS. in the handwriting of Lord Justice Pelham's Secretary, containing a large number of important public documents for the years 1578 and 1579. It was apparently the property of Sir Francis Walsingham.

said Commissioners, with conditions that the benefices be not destitute of necessary service, during the absence of the incumbent, by virtue of such dispensation.

4. And for as much the benefices within this our realm of Ireland are very small, the country being spoiled and unpeopled, as it lately hath been, we are contented for a time to tolerate these our said commissioners shall have authority to dispense with such persons as they shall find meet and worthy to have with any two cured benefices, any deanery, archdeaconry, or any other dignity, or prebend, within any Cathedral church of that realm; so that the same deanery, archdeaconry, or other dignity or prebend, do not exceed the yearly tax and value of——.

5. Although we think trialities within this realm of England to be utterly inconvenient and unmeet to pass; yet considering the smallness of the benefices of that realm of Ireland, and being informed that ordinaries there, by unions, many times without due consideration of the worthiness of the persons, in respect of whom they unite, do in effect grant the commodity of four benefices to one man, the said commissioners may grant to men of learning and worthiness dispensation for three benefices, so that they exceed not all the value of 40*l*. and be not distant above twenty miles.

6. And for as much as within that our realm of Ireland we are sometimes to employ in our service, and the service of our estate there, men studied and learned in the profession and knowledge of the civil law, and that such men are most commonly so slenderly provided for there, that they be not able to live by the use and practice of their study, we are pleased to permit our said commissioners to grant unto such persons, and such as they shall find of good disposition and towardness by study, to increase their knowledge, for their better ability to serve us and the church of that our realm of Ireland, dispensation to take and retain for their better maintenance one ecclesiastical living or promotion, notwithstanding that they be not in orders, provided that the cure of such living be duly served by an able man, to be allowed other by our said commissioners or by the ordinary of the place where such a living is.

7. And whereas it is oftentimes seen that persons unlawfully born by their study and diligence profit so well in learning and virtue, that they be fitter to serve in the church than many other that have not the like defect, and we think it not lawful to deny such persons the reward of their good abilities, being themselves without blame and offence, we are likewise pleased that our

said commissioners shall and may, from time to time, dispense with such persons unlawfully born; as well to take orders as benefices ecclesiastical, excepting the degrees of bishops and deans of cathedral churches, the same deaneries being above the yearly value of 50*l.*, if they shall find them such for manners and learning as shall prove profitable members for the Church.

4. And like as our pleasure is that dispensations commonly called *Perinde valere* whereby any other man's right is impeached, are for good causes to be restrained, so we think that such persons ecclesiastical whose livings for lack of dispensations are voidable, and whereunto no other can justly make claim are favorably to be relieved and considered of, as well in respect of their continuance in their orders and ministry, as for retaining of their benefices, therefore we are pleased that our said commissioners may grant to such persons such kind of dispensation and *Perinde valere*, as shall be needful for them, except there be suit commenced against them, or right grown to another in the benefice, before the granting of such dispensations.

9. Last of all for that we think overmuch liberty in the granting of faculties touching the enjoying of ecclesiastical livings to be a matter very prejudicial to the furtherance of the service of God, and true religion, now by our laws established in our realms of England and Ireland, our will and pleasure is, that by you our said commissioners no other faculties be granted but for such causes and in such cases as are before expressed, straightly requiring you to draw our meaning no further or to other purpose, in this behalf, than the words of these our instructions do plainly and simply import.

25 May 1579, Regni Eliz. 21^o.

Fra. Walsingham.

CAREW MSS.

ELIZABETH.

1589.

March 10.

Vol. 618, p. 86.

1. SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, Lord Deputy, to all MAYORS, SHERIFFS, &c.

Whereas we intend to make a present journey into Connaught, and have appointed the Master of the Ordnance's company of horsemen to meet us at Athboye on Wednesday, the 19th, these are to command you to furnish them in their travel with sufficient horsemeat and man's meat for one night, and a breakfast, in each one place, for which they shall pay ready money, according her Majesty's usual rates; having given them especial charge that they shall use no extortion or oppression, nor receive any money of the country, and that they shall travel — miles by the day.

10 March 1588.

Copy. P. 1.

March 18.

Vol. 618, p. 19a.

2. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY WALSHINGHAM.

"If my wife have occasion to pray your Honour's aid to help her for the payment of wages due unto me to bring her hither into Ireland," I humbly beseech you to give her your furtherance.

Dublin, 18 March 1588. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

March 18.

Vol. 618, p. 19.

3. SIR GEORGE CAREW to his cousin, JOHN STANHOPE.

I cannot live contentedly with the office which her Majesty hath bestowed upon me, unless I might dwell in hope "at some times, when there is no occasion of service here, to obtain leave to behold her eyes, the world's glory, in whom all accomplishments of honorable virtues and rarest perfections do most plentifully abound." "Be an humble suitor to her Majesty that if I cannot get leave of the Governors, whereof I have small hope, that she will pardon me if I take leave, for in

1589.

very truth I account myself in dutiful services and affections so far bound unto her beyond the ordinary band of a subject, that my life is hateful unto me when I am not employed in her service or present in her sight."

18 March 1588.* "Per James Woodward."

Copy. P. 1

March 18.
Vol. 618, p. 20a.

4. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

The last proportion of munition sent into this realm was brought into the storehouse here with less loss or waste than usual. Such wants as are needful to supply the store I have delivered in a note to my Lord Deputy, who hath sent the same to you by this bearer, my servant. If it please your Lo. to like of such demands and rates, as under my hand my uncle George Harvie can show you, I will make powder within this realm to the quantity of six lasts by the year. I will provide all other habiliments of war at a rate, provided I may borrow money of the Queen. My wife's stay in England is only for my wages, to pay my credit before she departs the realm.

In my uncle Wyngfelde's last accompts I find that a culverin lost at the Dyrrey, when it was burned, was afterwards recovered by George Thornton, now captain of the Queen's ship *The Popengaye*, who delivered it to Sir Henry Sydney, then Lord Deputy, by whose commandment Sir Henry Pallmer, at that time his servant, transported the same in her Majesty's ship called *The Hare* into Bewmarrishe, where it continued, until of late years, as I understand, one William Thomas, a servant to my Lord of Leicester, carried the same to Carnarvan, where now it remaineth. This culverin I think the officers of the Tower have not in their charge.

18 March 1588. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

March 18.
Vol. 618, p. 20.

5. SIR GEORGE CAREWE to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN (SIR THOMAS HENEAGE).

Thanks for your letters. The troubles now feared are but a-breeding. Ulster of late years hath stood firm for the Queen; but now it is in danger through the rooted malice between O'Neale and the Earl of Tyrone about certain lands which are in controversy between them. O'Neale, to suppress the Earl, hath lately enlarged upon sureties out of his prison Con O'Neale son to the traitor Shane O'Neale. O'Neale erecteth companies of soldiers in his own pay, and hath sent into the Out Isles for Scots. The Earl, on the other side, doth wage great numbers of men, and expecteth Scots to come to his aid.

* Altered to "1589."

1589.

Connaught is now the most troublesome province. The Bourkes and gentlemen of Mayo and other countries are in arms, and an English gentleman called Browne, a councillor of that province, has been slain with 25 of his men. O'Rourke, besides his own force of 600 men, hath waged a greater number than his own. The Lord Deputy, to appease these disorders, beginneth his journey in person towards that province upon the 18th of this month. Pheaghe McHugh, the fire-brand of Leinster and gall of Ireland, lieth very quiet, but is ready to play his wonted parts, if the other provinces do not lay down their arms. They of Munster do yet bear their late afflictions, so ripe in memory, and are so beggarly that, unless Spanish supplies come to their aid (which generally through the kingdom is wished), there is no doubt of their obedience.

Dublin, 18 March 1588. "Per Woodward."

Copy. Pp. 2.

March 25.

6. SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 618.*

"Money disbursed by me, as Attorney to my Mother and my two Aunts, for and concerning the administration of my Uncle's goods, and otherwise in their business, since the 23rd of June 1588.

"To a messenger, to carry a letter from Dublin to Mr. Treasurer into the county of Wexford about John Sheryffe's examinations, 10s. To one of my men, for his own charges and his horse, to ride to Mr. Treasurer to the county of Wexford, 26s. 6d. For the copy of Sheryff's examinations to a man of Mr. Treasurer's, 30s. To Hopper, the receiver of the revenue, for an acquittance, 5s.† To the Queen for one half-year's rent due at Michaelmas last past, 1588, 32l. 15s. 3d. To Doctor Forde, for the letter of administration, 53s. 4d. To Mr. Heathe, the Register, for his fee, 10s. To the officer that keeps the seal of the Prerogative Court, 5s. To Mr. Beelinge, the lawyer, for the bands he made between my uncle Harvyne and me, 10s. To Mr. Belinge's clerk for his pains, 3s. 4d. Money lent by my mother to my Lady Newenham, which I am authorized to receive, 27l. To the Queen, for one half-year's rent due at our Lady Day 1589, 13l. 8s. 3d. To Hopper for an acquittance, 5s. To Ralph Byrtche, for his riding charges into Munster, for himself and his horse, about my uncle's business, 3l. 6s. 8d. For a commission to the Sheriff of Dublin to attach John James or his goods, 5s. For a commission to the Sheriff of the county of Dublin to attach Jo. James or his

* Near the end.

† This item is repeated here, and it occurs once more below.

1589.

goods, 5s. For the copy of Mr. Fenton's letter for Dunboyne, 5s."

In Carew's own hand. P. 1.

March 26.

Vol. 618, p. 19.

7. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.

Upon the arrival of my Lord Deputy in this realm I was an humble suitor to your Honour for the poor men under my leading, in respect they have not the cesse accustomed, for their continuance in sterling pay, at 12*d. per diem*, which they have received ever sithens her Majesty granted augmentation to her army, but now by instructions are debarred from it. A horseman is unable with 6*d.* to feed himself, his horse, hackney, and boy, and to keep them furnished. The benefit of my uncle's patent her Majesty did most graciously bestow upon me. I beseech your favour for them.

Athlone, 26 March 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

March 26.

Vol. 618, p. 21.

8. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Not long since I wrote to you for a supply of munition, &c. Upon the arrival of my Lord Deputy I became a suitor to your Honour for the poor men under my leading, that as they have no cesse, they might continue in sterling pay at 12*d. per diem* as hitherto.

26 March 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

April 7.

Vol. 605, p. 119.

9. JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

I thank you for your letter. With Mr. Vice-Chamberlain I conferred of you. He found the Queen ill disposed, as he says, but would take some other time. Myself offered your letter, but she looked for one to herself, for so your promise was to her, as she said. I told her of your desire to see her. She said it was your own fault to go away, but you were so importunate for the place, as you seemed careless of tarrying here. After some arguments she said, if the service there did permit your absence, you might come at any time, and of this you were the best judge. News will grow stale ere they come, and here be none pleasant. As for a hobby, we shall have leisure to give and take hereafter.

Whythaulle (Whitehall), 7 April.

Holograph. P. 1 (gilt-edged paper). Addressed.

Endorsed by Carew: My cousin John Stanhope's letter by my wife, 7 April 1589.

Vol. 618, p. 38a.

2. Copy of the preceding.

1589.
May 10.
Vol. 605, p. 121.

10. SIR THOMAS HENKAGE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

I have dealt with her Majesty by your desire for your company of horse; likewise touching that my Lady your wife spake unto me for, viz., to be of the Council. For the latter, I had answer you were young yet; for the former, her Majesty refers all things to her Council. Sir John Perrot, who is especially trusted by her Majesty, has promised me to give you all furtherance in this matter. I wish you to write to him on the subject.

From the Court, 10 May 1589.

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed: Sir George Carey, Knight. Endorsed.

Vol. 618, p. 37a.

2. Copy of the preceding.

May 24.
Vol. 618, p. 86a.

11. To SIR GEORGE CAREW, Master of [the Ordnance], and SIR THOMAS W[ILLIAMS], Muster Master and Clerk of the Cheque.

By the Lord Deputy.

According to the Council's letters dated at Nonsuche, 13 July 1589,* these are to require you to see Herbert Wood restored again in the place he formerly had in the office of the Ordnance; his pay to begin from 2 February last.

Note in the margin: "A warrant for the placing and entering of an armorer in his former state, 24 May 1589."

Copy. P. 1.

May 27.
Vol. 618, p. 21a.

12. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR JOHN PERROT.

For the favours showed me in the time of your government here, as also since that time continued in the place where you now live, which by several letters from Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, my wife, and others I daily understand, I cannot show myself sufficiently thankful. The continuance of my horsemen in sterling pay is by her Majesty chiefly referred to your Honour to consider. I beseech you to favour me and my poor men. The proceedings of the government here you are advertised of from here by the State, and also by particular friends, your old followers. I am unwilling to be too busy to censure of matters that do not appertain to me; yet if you wish it, I will furnish you with such occurrants as this place will afford; but whatsoever I shall write, I humbly crave it may be suppressed.

Dublin, 27 May 1589. "Per Jonas Q[u]arrees."

Copy. P. 1.

* If this date be correct, the date of the warrant must be 1590.

1589.

May 27.

Vol. 618, p. 22.

13. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN (SIR THOMAS HENEAGE).

According to your Honour's advice I have written letters of thanks to Sir John Perrott. I thank you for furtherance of my wife in my suits. "As for that which her Majesty makes stay of in respect of my youth, it is a thing incident to my office both here and in all other places, and no rare matter in martial governments for men of my years to be placed in that room." The greatest cause that moves me to desire it is to remember the Deputy and Council of things necessary to be done in her Majesty's service that appertaineth to my office, which for want of knowledge in their proceedings I cannot do. In my last letters I wrote one untruth, which was my Lord Deputy's going into Connough, wherein he deceived more than myself. He has since made a journey upon McMahon. Agreement made between O'Neale and the Earl of Tyrone. Commissioners, all of the long robe, were sent into Connough, to compound a peace with the rebels, who are nearly 3,000 strong. Sir Richard Bingham, for want of soldiers, was enforced to erect sundry companies of footmen of this country birth, one of the which was overthrown, and two others could not be brought to fight. The 2nd of next month my Lord Deputy goeth in person to that province, in hope to establish a peace; for the rebels pretend not their hostility for malice that they bear unto her Majesty, but for particular dislikes that they conceived against Sir Richard Bingham.

I beseech you let me know whether Ireland doth breed anything that may please the fancies of your Honour and my Lady.

Dublin, 27 May 1589. "Per Jonas Quareles."

Copy. Pp. 2.

May 28.

Vol. 618, p. 34a.

14. WARRANT by LORD DEPUTY FITZ WILLIAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

To have in readiness his "other ten horsemen yet here remaining" to attend the Lord Deputy into Conaght on the 2nd of June.

Dublin, 28 May (*year omitted*).

Copy. P. 1.

June 2.

Vol. 618, p. 86.

15. COMMISSION to [SIR GEORGE CAREW and others].

By the Lord Deputy.

Whereas by an accompt of Jaques Wyngfyld, late Master of the Ordnance, passed in 1575, certain ordnance were then remaining in Connaught, these are to authorize you to examine and inquire whether the said ordnance be yet remaining, or how many have been to any other place translated; and to return us a certificate, under your hands or the hand

1589.

of any of you, of the said ordnance, or any other ordnance in the said province.

2 June 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

June 19.
Vol. 618, p. 85a.

16. COMMISSION from the LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Repair to that part of Tomond upon the sea where some of the Spanish fleet perished, and where there are certain pieces of ordnance meet to be recovered, carrying with you artificers and setting forth boats and other necessities.

19 June 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

June 20.
Vol. 600, p. 239.

17. ARTICLES of PEACE made with the BURKES and O'FLARTIES.

"Whereas Sir Moroughe ne Doe O'Flartie, knight, chief of his name, William Burke, *alias* the Blind Abbot, eldest of the Low Burkes, Edmond Burke McThomas Evagherie, Meyler Oge McWalter Faddo Burke, David O'Dowde, chief of his name, Hughe Duffe McMoroghe O'Flartie, Shane McMorice, Walter McTibott, *alias* McTibott, Shane McThomas, Tibott Rooghe McTibott McGibbon, Jonocke O'Donell, Edmond McTibott, Robert O'Mayle, Walter Kittaghe Burke, Walter ne Mully, Teg Roe O'Mayle, and Dualtaghe O'Connor, of the sept of O'Connor Dun, being the chief and principal of such as lately entered into action of rebellion in the co. of Mayo and in the country of Ireconaght, the most of them brought into Galway, against the coming of us the Lord Deputy thither, by the Lord Primate, the Lord Bishop of Meath, Sir Robert Dillon, and Sir Thomas Lestrangle, knights, commissioners appointed for that service, have at Galway aforesaid, the 12th of this June 1589, in the body of St. Nicholas' church, exhibited to the Right Hon. Sir William FitzWilliam Knight, Lord Deputy, and the Council there present, upon their knees, their humble submission" (*which is quoted at length*). Upon which submission, we, the Lord Deputy and Council, with their full consent, concluded, ordained, and agreed in manner and form following:—

(1.) That every sept shall deliver in pledges for observation of the peace.

(2.) That the said confederates shall disperse their forces.

(3.) They shall forthwith deliver to the Lord Deputy such Spaniards, Portugalls, and other foreigners of the Spanish fleet as are now amongst them."

(4.) To make satisfaction of all spoils and hurts done by them since 30 May last.

(5.) To abide such order for all preys, spoils, and other hurts as shall be agreed upon by commissioners.

1589.

(6.) To pay such fine as the Lord Deputy shall lay down.

(7.) All which being performed, they shall have her Majesty's general pardon.

At Galway, 20 June, 31 Eliz., in the presence of the Archbishop of Tuam, the Earl of Clanricarde, the Bishop of Kildare, the Bishop of Elfin, the Bishop of Kilmacoghe, the Lord Birmingham, the Lord of Trimellston, the Baron of Donkellin, Sir Hubert Burke McDavye, the Mayor and Aldermen of Galway, and others.

Signed: John Armachan, Tho. Midensis, Robert Dillon, Lucas Dillon, George Bouchier, Tho. Lestrangle, Geoffrey Fenton, William Burke the Blind Abbot's mark, Sir Moroghe ne Doe O'Flartie's mark, and others.

"Subscribed by the parties within named, and solemnly sworn upon the Holy Evangelist, as well for the performance of the peace and all and every the articles within contained, as for their loyalties and duties to her Majesty henceforth, and for payment of her Majesty's composition money, in the presence of those whose names are underwritten."

Signed: W. Tuamen., U. Clanricarde, &c., &c.

Signed at the commencement by Sir Wm. Fytz Wylliam, Lord Deputy.

Copy in Carew's hand. Pp. 4. Endorsed: Published in the Court House of Galway, 28 (*sic*) of June 1589.

June 22.
Vol. 618, p. 25.

18. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM,
Lord Deputy General.

Since our coming hither, being so weakly appointed both in skilled men and means, we have spent our time to good purpose, for already we have weighed three pieces of artillery of brass (*dimensions stated*). Yesterday we fastened our haulters to a cannon of battery or basalyke, as we suppose by the length, for they lie at four fathom and a half of water; which was so huge that it brake our cables. Our diver was nearly drowned, but Irish *aqua vitæ* hath such virtue as I hope of his recovery. If the diver of Dublin with his instruments were here, I would not doubt to bring good store of artillery from hence; for if I be not deceived, out of our boats we did plainly see four pieces more. As yet I cannot find any small pieces of brass or iron. I think the inhabitants of this country have gotten them. Our boats are weak. Sir Thomas Strange's boat would do us good service, for we think to lade it away with ordnance, two of our boats being already loaden. Command some victuallers of Galway to bring us beer and bread; and an oyster dredge or two, in hope to scrape somewhat out of the seas.

Dunmore, 22 June 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

1589.
June 23.
Vol. 618, p. 39a.

19. The LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

I am glad of your success in the action you have in hand. I have dealt with Sir Thomas Le Strange for the sending of his boat to you. Victuals shall be despatched hence at this next tide. The diver of Dublin, if you think he may do good there, shall repair to you with all speed. The inhabitants of those parts have doubtless recovered the small pieces.

23 June 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

July 1.
Vol. 605, p. 88.

20. The COUNCIL in ENGLAND to SIR WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAM, Lord Deputy.

Requesting him, according to the tenour of her Majesty's letters, dated 1 February 1587[-8], to admit Sir George Carew to the Mastership of the Ordnance, vacant by the attainder and conviction of Sir William Stanley.

From the Court at Nonsuche, 1 July 1589.

Signed: Chr. Hatton, canc.; W. Burghley; A. Warwick; James Croft; T. Heneage; Fra. Walsingham.*

Contemp. copy. P. 1.

Vol. 605, p. 130.

2. Another copy.

"This is a true copy.—W. FytzWylliam."

July 8.
Vol. 617, p. 293.

21. POPE SIXTUS V. to DERMOND MCCRAGHE, Bishop of Cork. †

Brief, empowering him to absolve all ecclesiastical persons in his diocese, who, though formerly heretics and not holding their benefices by lawful title, have unduly received ecclesiastical revenues, and to compound for the restitution of the same to the churches from which they were derived. Also to grant dispensations to persons who have married within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity.

Rome, 8 July 1589, 5 pont.

Copy. Latin. Pp. 2.

July 25.
Vol. 618, p. 86.

22. WARRANT by the LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Whereas we intend to repair into Connaught and Thomond, taking our way by Limerick, and to be at Kylkeny upon Monday night, 11 August, we require you to send your 30 horsemen to attend us, and to meet us at the bridge of Laughlyn the said day.

Castle of Dublin, 25 July 1589.

* The substance of this document is given, but without the date, in Mr. Morrin's Patent and Close Rolls, Vol. II., p. 168.

† "By the Pope's donation" is added in the margin by Carew.

1589.

We command all her Majesty's officers, ministers, and subjects to provide for your said company sufficient horsemeat and man's meat for one night and a breakfast in each one place, for which they are to deliver ready money or else the officer's bill.

Copy. P. 1.

July 27.

23.

— DALLAWAYE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 618, p. 84a.

"Since my coming into the North I have learned that there are two Spaniards and a Scottish captain come over to weigh the ordnance in the Routt; and it is reported that there is great store of gold and silver there; and that the Spaniards and Scottish captain hath brought the King of Scots' letters for their better aid to Anguise McConnell and to Sorleboy; but that is a thing uncertain to me but by report, but for certain the men are in the Routt, and purpose to proceed in the matter. I thought it good to acquaint your Worship withal, for that your Wo. had some conference with me in that matter."

In the margin: "From Auncyent Dallawaye, the 27 of July 1589."

Copy. P. 1.

July 30.

24.

SIR HENRY BAGNALL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 618, p. 84.

"My most worthy, good Uncle,—I long to hear of the safe arrival of your best comfort. If she be come, let her know that there is no artillery left at Dunluce to draw you from her. The King of Scots, as I hear say, sent for the same, and at first they did weigh two great pieces. I am sure they have all, and are gone. The troubles between the Earl and Shane's sons doth increase mightily, and I think when the nights grow long they will do much harm; and, under colour of them, many other do start out to make spoil. . . . Heartiest commendations to yourself and good Mr. Delves and all his household."

30 July 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

Aug. 1,

25.

LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 618, p. 39a.

Albeit I have written that you and certain of your horsemen should attend me this journey into Conagh, I countermand my former letters. You are to be employed in bringing hither ordnance from Chester, and in other her Highness's service.

1 August 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

1589.
Aug. 1.
Vol. 618, p. 84.

26. COMMISSION from the LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Repair to that part of Ulster upon the sea where some of the Spanish fleet perished, and where there are certain pieces of ordnance meet to be recovered, carrying with you artificers, and setting forth boats and other necessities.

Kilmainham, 1 August 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

Aug. 1.
Vol. 618, p. 84.

27. COMMISSION from the LORD DEPUTY to CAPTAIN THORNTON.

Whereas we have appointed Sir George Carewe, Master of the Ordnance, to repair presently over into England for the safe bringing hither of such store and proportion of ordnances and munition of her Majesty's as are now remaining at Chester, we command you to furnish and set in good readiness her Majesty's gallyon, called *The Poppingay*, to attend the said Master of the Ordnance, not only to Chester, but, upon your return, into Ulster, to recover certain Spanish ordnance there wrecked.

Kylmaynham, 1 August 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

Aug. 5.
Vol. 618, p. 22a.

28. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY.

I pray your pardon that I did not certify you of the return of the Queen's ship, with the arrival both of munition and money, by the last messenger that my Lord Chancellor* sent to you. According your directions, I did entreat to go northwards; but Captain Thornteton, until he hear from your Lo. again, is desirous to stay, being commanded, as he saith, by the Lord Admiral† not to fail to be at Chester the 24th of this month. I have received a letter from Sir Henry Bagnall, dated three or four days before I departed this realm; by the copy whereof you may perceive what the Scots have done at Dunluce in July last, about the time of your being in Connaught; yet those pieces that be under the water I presume are there still. Sir Walter Raleigh hath sent a servant to pray me to come to him, which I would very gladly do, but will not depart from hence until you have returned answer to my Lord Chancellor.

Dublin, 5 August 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

Aug. 9.
Vol. 618, p. 24.

29. LORD BURLEIGH to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

For that upon the decease of Mr. Wingfilde, late Master of the Ordnance, there were no perfect remains taken of her

* Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin

† Lord Howard of Effingham.

1589.

Majesty's stores, and his administrators have procured and called upon the furthering and finishing of his accompts; send over hither such of the said remains as you have, as well for Dublin as for other places, and also the book of the issue of the store for one year after Mr. Wingfeld's decease. And for that it is thought you took new remains of the store in June or July 1588, when yourself arrived there with the Lord Deputy that now is, you shall do well likewise to send over the same. Make due search and inquiry where all ordnance that remained upon the determination of Mr. Wingfeld's accompt for Michaelmas 1575, and all ordnance received sithens, now rest and are placed.

9 August 1589.

Note in Carew's hand: "Delib' per Chapman."

Copy. P. 1.

Aug. 24.
Vol. 618, p. 26.

30. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"This day, Sir George, I received your letter of the 16th of this month by this bearer, the pursuivant, being glad of your and my Lady your wife's arrival in good safety, together with her Majesty's treasure and munition. I would that the Lord Admiral had not written unto Captain Thornewton for his repair to Chester; so might he have gone with you about the ordnance by Dunluce, which I heard of by Surleboy, and likewise from Captain Henshewe, was assayed by some out of Scotland to be wayed, but left still in the water." Take with you 50 of Mr. Marshal's footmen, and the two half bands which be already at Knockfargus, and Mr. Warren's 20 horsemen from the Ardes, in your way thitherwards, providing cables and other things either out of your office or by the help of the Lord Chancellor in Dublin. At Knockfargus you will obtain great boats and casks. "As I am sorry for one respect you shall want the use of her Majesty's ship, so am I, on the young, fair lady's behalf, glad that it goeth to Chester, assuring you, my good knight, I had rather bear the charge of the weighing of the ordnance than that she should be so much as afraid of a pirate; much more that any pirate should carry such a jewel away." I trust on Tuesday, the 26th, to be towards Galway; praying I may be remembered to my good Lady your wife, though not acquainted with her.

Ennis, 24 August 1589.

P.S.—If there be any other matter needful more than the commission herewith sent, the Lord Chancellor will give you the same.

Note.—"This letter I [Carew] received at Lysmore, Sir Walter Ralighe being present, the 26th of September 1589."

Copy. P. 1.

Vol. 618, p. 39a.

2. Another copy of the same, but dated 26 September.

1589.
Aug. 25.
Vol. 618, p. 23.

31. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR JOHN PERROT.

For the favours which my wife in my suit hath received at your hands, I am most bound to you. My Lord Deputy is now in Connough to confirm his late peace made with the Burkes. O'Rorwke, in his beggarly fashion a proud prince, stands upon great terms. Since the death of McMahon, Hugh Roe, his brother, by the Lord Deputy and Council was made captain of the country; but Bryan McHugh Oge, Lord of the Dartry, was possessed of the same.* To establish Hugh Roe, forces of the garrison were sent by the Deputy; against whom Bryan armed all that he could make, who, with the help of the Earl of Tyrone and of McGwyer, were well-nigh 1,000 men. But Bryan left the country, and is gone to O'Rorwke, and the Queen's forces are returned. The sons of Shane O'Neale (for O'Neale will not seem to be a party) and the Earl of Tyrone have gathered great forces on either side. The Earl hath twice of late escaped very hardly.

Dublin, 25 August 1589. "Per Lawles."

Copy. P. 1.

Sept. 28.
Vol. 618, p. 25a.

32. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

I am grieved that my going into Munster to welcome my Lord Warden into this kingdom hath so unfortunately fallen out that I cannot altogether excuse myself from blame. Your letter from Innis, in Thomond, dated 24th August, I received not until the 25th (*sic*) of this present month, so I supposed you did not intend to employ me to search for ordnance in the North; but I left order with the Clerk of the Ordnance to perform that service in my absence. I am upon urgent occasions detained by my Lord Warden, who by no means will let me depart until his coming to Dublin. I am in fear you will be offended with my absence.

Lysmore, 28 September 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

Oct. 1.
Vol. 605, p. 137.

33. SIR JOHN PERROT to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

The bearer hereof, being my man and brewer, has signified to me that you have much favoured him since my coming from thence, which I take thankfully. As he is returning thither, I pray you to continue your goodwill toward him.

York House, 1 October 1589. *Signed.*

Postscript (unfinished).—"I thank you for the news you wrote unto me. I will do what I can for you touching your"

P. 1. Addressed. Seal torn off.

Vol. 618, p. 37a.

2. Copy of the same.

Note by Carew: "Delib' per Hye."

* "Stone" in MS.

1589.

Oct. 28.

Vol. 618, p. 23a.

34. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Your letters of 9 August I received not until 20 October, by reason of my being in Munster to make search for her Majesty's great ordnance. The remain of the stores at Dublin at the death of my uncle Wingfelde was, by the direction of Sir John Parrot, surveyed by Mr. Secretary Fenton and others, and returned into his hands, with whom it remaineth. The issue thereof by the Clerk of the Ordnance from that time until the 16th of July following in anno 1588 (which was the day of the taking my remain) appeareth in bills remaining in the office. The remain that I took in Dublin is indented between the Lord Deputy that now is and me. The rest of the remain, which at my uncle's death were in Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Knockfargus, were not taken until my coming over. The greatest store in Ireland, out of the castle of Dublin, lieth in Limerick. Ever heretofore a clerk was allowed to attend that place, but Sir John Perrott, I know not for what cause, discharged him; wherefore I procured my Lord Deputy's letters to Jordan Roche, then mayor, to take it into his custody. I should either be allowed a clerk there, or the ordnance should be by sea carried to Cork or Dublin. The great artillery in this kingdom I have almost thoroughly examined, having myself ridden to take view thereof in all parts. This morning I entreated Sir Thos. Cecyll to walk into the storehouse to see the portion of match which in December last in "dryfates" came into this land. It is altogether rotten, having been in Flanders with my Lord of Leicester, where it took water. Command the officers of the Tower that we may be supplied in better sort.

Dublin, 28 October 1589. "Per Lawles."

Copy. Pp. 2.

Nov. 12.

Vol. 618, p. 27.

35. SIR W[ALTER] RA[LEIGH] to the LORD DEPUTY.

When I was with you I forgot even my chiefest suit—that you would write [to the Queen] in behalf of my cousin Sir George Carewe, commending his sufficiency to be of the Council. I showed your letter to her Majesty, who willed me to entreat you to write a similar letter to herself or Council, "which also she willed Mr. Dellves by word of mouth to deliver." You cannot by any favour so much bind me as by favouring my said kinsman.

London, 12 November 1589.

Note in Carew's hand: "Delib' per G. C."

Copy. P. 1.

Nov. 22.

Vol. 618, p. 24a.

36. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR WM. FITZWILLIAM, Lord Deputy.

Certificate of munitions to Mr. Treasurer is every half-year required, but I cannot find any record of established rates whereby to value them. May it please you (as once heretofore

1589.

in Queen Mary's time hath been done) to appoint a rate of every particular munition.

Dublin, 22 November 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

Dec. 28.
Vol. 605, p. 140.

37. SIR WALTER RALEIGH to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

My retreat from the Court was upon good cause. If in Ireland they think I am not worth the respecting they shall much deceive themselves. If the Deputy be not as ready to stead me as I have been to defend him, be it as* it may. When Sir William FitzWilliams shall be in England, I take myself far his better, by the honorable offices I hold, as also by that nearness to her Majesty which still I enjoy. I am willing to continue towards him all friendly offices, and I doubt not of the like from him, as well towards me as my friends. I have been most kindly dealt with by him. For the suits of Lismore I will shortly send over order from the Queen for a dismiss of their cavillations. Commend me to Mr. Solicitor, with many thanks for his friendly dealing therein. For Hardinge I will send you money by exchange. If my builders want, supply them. I look for you here this spring, and will return with you. The Queen thinks that George Carew longs to see her, and therefore see her.

The 28th of December. *Signed.*

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed.

Endorsed by Carew: "28th of December 1589."

Vol. 618, p. 39.

2. Copy of the same.

Dec. 29.
Vol. 605, p. 143.

38. SIR THOMAS HENEAGE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"Cousin, the last letter I received from you I did withal as you desired me, and as her Majesty commanded me when herself had read it every word, and that was, I burned it. The only fault her Highness found was that you did write no oftener to me." Write nothing but that you know to be true. Be a diligent servant, and not costly.

From the Court, 29 December 1589. *Signed.*

Vol. 618, p. 37.

2. Copy of the same.

Note by Carew: "Delib' per Garland."

Vol. 618, p. 85a.

39. To SIR GEORGE CAREW, Master of the Ordnance.

Warrant by Lord Deputy FitzWilliam to see present order taken with some man of skill for refining 71 barrels of powder, now unserviceable, at the rate of 2*d.* ster. the pound.

"Given ——— 1589."

Copy. P. 1.

* "Att" in MS.

1589.

Vol. 618, p. 87.

40. To SIR THOMAS W[ILLIAMS], Clerk of the Cheque.

Warrant by Lord Deputy FitzWilliam to enter in the cheque rolls the clerk who is to be appointed by the Master of the Ordnance to take charge of the store of munitions at Limerick, at 18*d. per diem*, as heretofore the clerk there hath been allowed.

Copy, undated. P. 1.*

1590.

Jan. 2.

Vol. 618, p. 26.

41. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZ-WILLIAM.)

I hope that by the last occurants out of England your Lo. doth assuredly understand whether any invasion be intended by the King of Spain against this realm. If foreign force be looked for, it is very requisite that a supply of munitions should be sent. If it please you, I will send one of my servants into England to call upon the Council there for a proportion to be brought hither. Write by him for speedy despatch, for I could never have any servant returned in six months. Refer the wants to my report, which I will send to my Lord Treasurer. The treasure being come over, I pray that I may have your letters to the Treasurer's officers, upon the receipt of Captain Thorntons's bills, to be satisfied of the 30*l.* which I lent the Queen to victual her ship into England. In behalf of my poor gunners and artificers I beseech you to imprint them somewhat.

Oddor, 2 January 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 10.

Vol. 618, p. 40.

42. The LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Of the men whom you should have sent hither, there came only 17, and of those more than half single-horsed, and but 3 armed. As the service is likely to continue, send hither a dozen well horsed and armed, that I may turn home the rest of your number above 20.

Galway, 10 January 1589.

Postscript.—I have written to my Lord Chancellor that Hewet shall pay your men 20*s.* apiece.

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 5.

Vol. 618, p. 40.

43. The LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

In a letter of 25 January the Privy Council [in England] have willed me to deal with you in these words:—

"Give order to Sir George Carewe, Knight, Master of the Ordnance, to cause forthwith to be conveyed from Corck to Lymeryck such and so many meet carriages for great ordnance

* See No. 34.

1590.

as may mount and furnish the four demi-cannons, culverin, and other pieces remaining there, either wholly dismantled, or their carriages nothing serviceable; and you shall likewise require him forthwith to certify hither unto us how much of the munition contained in the late certificate sent hither to me, the Lord Treasurer, is serviceable, and withal that he cause the thousand calyvers (which he hath signified may be made fit for service) [to] be with all convenient speed repaired and amended."

Dated at the Castle, 5 February 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 7.

44.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 618, p. 27.

Yesterday I put you in mind how needful it was that great care be had that the munition now coming into this realm should be carefully viewed before it pass the officers' hands of the Tower. You replied, you thought it too late. By that branch of the Council's letters which you sent me, it would seem that as yet the proportion for Ireland is but preparing; and I do not understand by any of my friends out of England that a determined proportion is yet resolved upon. I should be very willing to post to London to attend this business.

Dublin, 7 February 1589.

The mounting of the great ordnance and stocking of the calivers may be done by the clerk of my office as sufficiently as by myself.

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 9.

45.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to LADY DRURY.

Vol. 618, p. 27a.

A letter of condolence [on the death of Sir William Drury].*
Dublin, 9 February 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 10.

46.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

Vol. 618, p. 27a.

I have sent this bearer, my servant, to attend on the Council for conduct of the munitions. What munitions are here in store, &c. I have delivered to my Lord Deputy in several notes. "The landing of the Spaniards we daily expect, and hope in God, if we be in any competent manner supplied with men, munition, and money, to make the like reckoning of them as my Lord Graye did in his government. For if they be many in number, and we strong in horsemen (as it is most likely we shall), hunger will starve them. If they be but few, our fault is not to be excused if they escape. This in likelihood will fall unto them if by sea they be kept from supplies." Once again I beseech you to be a mean that the poor horsemen may be continued in their former wages.

Dublin, 10 February 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

* Killed in a duel with Sir John Boroughs.

1590.

Feb. 10.

Vol. 618, p. 28.

47. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR JOHN PERROT.

Thanks for your letters sent by your poor old servant Robert Hye. "The daily alarms that we have of the Spaniards landing begins to breed fresh blood and stir up the decayed spirits of the garrison here (beforetime, for want of money, clean overthrown) with a lively hope to finger some coin, which seldom or never since your being here we have been accustomed to handle." Our want of money and munition is very great. "Respecting the small number of souls that live in Ireland we have great abundance, but three months' war, if the garrison be increased, as it is here reported, by 8 or 10 thousand men, will breed a great dearth among us." The horsemen are greatly decayed by reason that their wages of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. *per diem* are unable to furnish them like soldiers. If the Queen's ships carefully keep the coast the victory must needs be ours. Sir Richard Byngham is now in the midst of his business in the country of Maio, and his force is great; therefore we hope he will end these troubles very quickly. All wants in my office I have delivered to the Lord Deputy under my hand.

10 February 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 19.

Vol. 618, p. 28a.

48. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the QUEEN.

I have written to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain (Heneage) what I know or suppose to be true, as it pleased your Majesty to command me. I have been of late an earnest suitor to my Lord Deputy to give me leave to go into England "as well to behold your sacred Majesty, in whose royal person all singularities and virtue's absoluteness do abundantly appear, as to show my thankfulness for your gracious bounties." The rumour of Spanish invasion denies me that happiness.

Dublin, 19 February 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 19.

Vol. 618, p. 28a.

49. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR THOMAS HENNADGE.

Your letters of 29 December I received on 4 February. I will observe your precepts. We have had many alarms of the Spaniards' landing, which is daily expected. The garrison, though small, will prove themselves brave men. The mere Irish will take part with the strongest, "but those of English race, and especially the gentlemen of the Pale (although for the most part throughout the kingdom they be degenerated and Papists), the Bourcks in Connough, now in action, and some other loose men of mean quality excepted, will either fight for the Crown of England or at the least continue neutrals." If the Spaniards land before we be supplied, it is to be feared a general revolt will ensue. Of munition and money our wants are very great. Of victuals, a short war

1590.

with the increasing of the garrison will breed a dearth. The best mean that we have to annoy the enemy is our horsemen, of whom the greater part are not able to keep themselves furnished. The ships will keep the enemy from supplies by sea.

Limerick, Waterford, and Cork are now to be fortified. Cork can hardly or ever be fortified, yet upon the river, towards the sea, many convenient places may be found for annoying the shipping in their passage towards the town.

I have sent this bearer, my servant, into England to conduct the munition assigned for Ireland. I would gladly have been the messenger myself, as I desire to see her royal person, "whose presence, more than princely, adorned with incomparable virtues, are by the wise rightly and worthily esteemed the beauty of our age."

Dublin, 19 February 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. Pp. 2.

Feb. 19. 50. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN (SIR THOMAS HENEAGE).
Vol. 618, p. 29a.

This last summer you were moved to speak to the Queen that I might be called to the Council Board in this kingdom. The Lord Deputy has now written to you to that effect. Assist me as hitherto. Sir Edward Wa[terhouse] told me that you wanted a foot-cloth nag, which I will send you.

Dublin, 19 February 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. [19?] 51. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).
Vol. 618, p. 29a.

I send you "the true copies of the remains which after my coming to the office were taken at sundry times, as that in Dublin, which remains, indented between my Lord Deputy and me, [were] delivered into my charge the 16th of July 1588." The former remain, taken immediately after the death of my uncle, Wyngfelde, is in Sir John Perrott's custody, delivered unto him by the surveyors, Sir Geoffrey Fenton and others. That in Corcke I found in the office appearing upon the accompt taken of John Fagan, the clerk there, 8 December 1587. The remain at Carrygfergus likewise appears upon the accompt of the clerk Thomas.

The remain at Lymerick, where I found no clerk in charge, was taken by Jourden Roche, then mayor, who will no longer take charge of it without entertainment. I have often made petition for a clerk there. The issues of the store for one whole year after my uncle's death I have sent to you. I have not yet perfected the note of the great ordnance, because in some remote places no certificates have been returned. The best store of great artillery, that in Dublin excepted, lies in

1590.

Galwaye and Lymerick upon the ground unmounted, which for want of elm planks in Ireland cannot be redressed.

Dublin, — Feb. 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 20.
Vol. 618, p. 30.

52. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

I have received from my Lord Deputy a branch of a letter from the Council.* The ordnance at Lymerick may be mounted, with some charges in cutting "them"† fit to the pieces and sending them overland from Corcke. 1,000 calivers are unserviceable; only 600 are worth the repairing. Flasks and touchboxes unto them we have none serviceable; timber to stock them, ready seasoned, is not to be had; neither sufficient workmen; for I know not but two in this realm that have knowledge how to stock a piece. I pray we may be supplied of these wants. A note of the remain serviceable in the store, as also a certificate what we want, I have delivered to my Lord Deputy. I send my servant to attend you for conduct of munition. Commonly the worst in the store is sent to us, as Sir Thomas Cicill can witness. Cause the Lord Deputy sometimes to imprest me with money. "I would undertake, if I had the office planked under foot, framed in good order, well covered, the munitions in it repaired, to keep it at my own charge ever hereafter at a very small rate." Sundry things do daily run into decay.

Dublin, 20 February 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 20.
Vol. 618, p. 30a.

53. The LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM) to SIR THOMAS HENNADGE.

Sir George Carewe is a gentleman in all respects very well qualified. The place he holds here of Master of the Ordnance has also been accustomed in most of his predecessors to be graced with the calling of a Councillor. Be a means that by her Majesty's warrant he may have admission to that calling.

Castle of Dublin, 20 February 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 20.
Vol. 618, p. 30a.

54. The LORD DEPUTY to SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

I find in your cousin Sir George Carewe sufficiency not only for the calling he now has, but also for a greater. Be a mean that by her Majesty's warrant he may be admitted to this Council Board.

Castle of Dublin, 20 February 1589. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

* See 5 February, No. 43.

† The "carriages"? See Nos. 43 and 58.

1590.
Feb. 20.
Vol. 618, p. 30a.

55. The LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM) to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

I crave pardon to recommend the matters and servants appertaining to the Master of the Ordnance, and pray you to think of his sufficiency for this Council Board, "being virtuously given, and of judgment beyond his years."

Castle of Dublin, 20 February 1590. "Per Woodward."

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 22.
Vol. 618, p. 31.

56. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY.

As certificate of munition to Mr. Treasurer is required every half-year, please to write to their Lordships, to signify their pleasures, whether the rates accustomed—(the copy whereof I have sent you enclosed)—shall be continued, or some others established for every particular munition.

Dublin, 22 February 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 28.
Vol. 605, p. 88.

57. To the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, Lord Chancellor, and SIR NICHOLAS WHITE, Master of the Rolls.

Warrant by the Lord Deputy for cancelling the letters patent granting to Sir Thomas Perrot the office of Master of the Ordnance, conformably to her Majesty's letter dated Greenwich, 1 February 1587, directed to Sir John Perrot, then Deputy.

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 28.
Vol. 618, p. 86a.

58. WARRANT by the LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

The Privy Council, by their letters of 26 January, have required us to take order with you, the Master of the Ordnance, for the mounting of the four demi-cannons and other artillery at Lymerick, and also for the transporting overland of meet carriages and wheels for the same from Corcke thither. Imprest and take up, as well within liberties as without, one gunner, one carpenter, one wheelwright, one smith, and one engineer, with a convenient number of men to help and assist them in the execution of the premises, at the usual wages; and also to take up iron, timber, rope, and other things, paying ready money to the owners.

The last of February 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

March 6.
Vol. 618, p. 31.

59. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN (SIR THOMAS HENEAGE).

I wrote to you about 20 February. The coming of the Spaniards is no less expected. In Connaught Sir Richard

1590.

Byngham has killed the Blind Abbot, the chief of the Burckes, whom they called McWilliam, and other men of note; whereupon the galloglasses and the greatest number of the Burckes submitted.

Dublin, 6 March 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

March 9.
Vol. 618, p. 31a.

60. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

The master of a ship of London has arrived at Waterford with munition—powder, lead, and match in unequal proportions. This should be remedied in the next supply. He has brought 1,000 muskets and 1,000 armours, but makes no mention of any morrians to the muskets, or pikes or halberds to the armours, with which we cannot be supplied in this kingdom. Have consideration for the increase of the number of gunners and artificers within the office of the Ordnance, as there are only eight, "besides four already placed at the forts, and but single manned in every needful art belonging to the office."

Dublin, 9 March 1589.

"Pikes and halberts I can supply out of the storehouse in Dublin to furnish 500 armed men, but morians in the store I have not any."

Copy. P. 1.

March 11.
Vol. 618, p. 40.

61. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to the MAYORS of WATERFORD, CORK, and LIMERICK.

Whereas I have written to you for assisting this bearer, Sir George Carewe, with three several sums of money (100*l.* in all), to be allowed in the next accompt of the impost and customs; lest upon the uncertainty of satisfaction that way you should grow doubtful to supply his want, these are to require you to help him with those sums; and if not out of the impost and customs, they shall be repaid out of her Majesty's treasure.

11 March 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

March 13.
Vol. 618, p. 40a.

62. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Upon your repair to Waterford, Corck, and Lymeryck, cause 200 baskets to be made in each of those towns, of the manner and fashion set down by Mr. Edmond Yorcke. They must be portable for a man; and the handle (?)* in the top

* "vundle" in MS.

1590.

must be of strong leather to be cast about the bearer's neck. Also in each of the said towns have 200 other ordinary baskets made, as they are necessary for the fortifications in hand.

13 March 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

March 14.
Vol. 618, p. 31a.

63. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

If my purse hold out I will see the contents of your letter satisfied. The number of baskets that Mr. Yorcke demands of all sorts is 1,200, which at 4*d.* each will cost 20*l.* Cause Charles Huett to furnish me with more than I asked for. "If Mr. Yorcke were well acquainted with Ireland he would never go about to break the ancient custom of this realm, to collar a churl in leather whose ancestors have from the beginning been followers to the wythe." I will therefore attire the baskets in their right kinds.

Kylcollen, 14 March 1589.

Write a letter to all the three mayors and command them to get me workmen for these baskets.

Copy. P. 1.

March 17.
Vol. 618, p. 86.

64. The LORD DEPUTY to the MUSTER MASTER and CLERK of the CHEQUE.*

Whereas there is arrived at her Majesty's store at Waterforde a great proportion of armours, muskets, and other munitions, which without good keeping will fall into decay, we have thought it requisite that one armourer and his man (at 9*d.* and 6*d.* ster. *per diem*) should be appointed by the Master of the Ordnance. These are to require you to make due entry in the cheque rolls.

17 March 1589.

Copy. P. 1.

March 21.
Vol. 618, p. 32.

65. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

"Upon Sunday last in the afternoon I came to this superstitious city of Waterford, where ever since until this hour I have been busied in unlading the munition. House room convenient, with much ado for reasonable rent, I have gotten, in the which all things be placed. The armours and muskets with the air of the salt water are cankered with rust, and much impaired and broken." While they remain here in store an armourer with his man should be waged at 9*d.* and 6*d.* *per diem*. Of basket-makers I have found but two. If Mr. Yorck

* "Sir T. K." in MS., in mistake for "Sir T. W.," i.e. Sir Thomas Williams.

1590.

requires more haste, send two or three workmen from Dublin that make "clyffes," to instruct others. At Corcke I shall have the like want. I have bought 60 hand-baskets sent hither by Sir John Perrot out of the store to carry "ode."

"The 19th of this present a barque came into this river out of Bryttayne. The news it bringe[th] is a continuance of the great preparation in Spain, but whether be for England, Ireland, or Bryttayne uncertain, but most like, as they think, both for England and Ireland."

Waterford, 21 March 1589.

"Mr. Mayor of this town is informed that Spaniards are already landed at Smerweeke, but the reporters are not of any credit."

Copy. P. 1.

- March 23. 66. SIR THOMAS HENEAGE to SIR GEORGE CAREW, Master
Vol. 605, p. 117. of the Ordnance in Ireland.

Another and a better occasion will bring you a longer letter from me. The last I received from you, being sick at my house, I sent to her Majesty, with whom I have since dealt, but can get no resolution for placing you as you desire and are fit. I hope in time to bring it to pass with the help of Sir John Perrot, who has promised his aid.

At the Court, 23 March 1589.

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed: To my very good cousin, &c.

- Vol. 618, p. 37a. 2. Copy of the same.

- March 30. 67. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZ WILLIAM).
Vol. 618, p. 32.

Upon Monday, the 22nd, I left Waterforde. I have been here in Corcke six days. The occasion of my stay so long has been want of garrons. If my instructions were not to carry the carriages overland, I would have sent them by sea. The occupation that Mr. Yorcke has put me to greatly troubles me.

Corke, 30 March 1589 (1590?).

Before I depart from Lymerick, send your pleasure what shall be done with the brass ordnance that I brought to Galway this last summer. I have no means for mounting them.

Copy. P. 1.

- March 30. 68. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).
Vol. 618, p. 32.

On the 19th I received of Henry Cripps, shipmaster, the last proportion of munition, but not altogether in the same nature as he did receive it by indenture with Sir Robert Constable. I received cannon corn-powder instead of fine corn-powder. The match and lead were very unequally

1590.

proportioned, for the soldier is to have lead and match of other than* equal weight to his powder. The 1,000 Handborough and Flanders corslets can never be issued to the garrison, as they are badly shaped and rotten. They were, as I think, of Sir Thomas Gressam's providing, and should be returned to the Tower. I also received 1,000 muskets complete, which are very excellent good, but not a morian, which is as great a want as we have any; neither to the 1,000 corslets either pike or halbert, which things we cannot be supplied of in this kingdom.

Not long since I sent one of my men to attend your Lordship and the rest of their Lordships for a supply of munitions. 30 March 1590. "Per Skyddye de Corke."

Copy. P. 1.

May 2.
Vol. 605, p. 153.

69. The LORDS of the COUNCIL to certain COMMISSIONERS.

A letter lately came to her Majesty's hands, supposed to be written from Sir John Perrott, of the Privy Council, to the King of Spain, importing a foul and disloyal intent in him. This letter, as is supposed, was had from one Sir Denis O'Roughan, priest, now or late prisoner within the Castle of Dublin, who, with one Henry Birde, was formerly detected and condemned in the Castle Chamber before the Council and others there for counterfeiting Sir John Perrot's hand to three warrants whilst he was Governor there, containing also very bad matter. As her Majesty thinks that it is a malicious practice, she has commanded us to require you to take into custody the said Sir Denis O'Roughan, and examine him for bolting forth of the truth. Interrogatories are sent herewith. We authorize you to commit into safe custody any person whom you shall find to be an actor or culpable in this matter. After the examination, send him hither to us by her Majesty's pursuivant sent over for the purpose.

From the Court at Greenwich, 2 May 1590.

Signed : John Cant.,† Christopher Hatton, W. Burghley, [W.] Cobham, Tho. Buckhurste, Fra. Knowles, James Croftes, Fra. Walsingham, John Forteskue.

Addressed : To the Lords [Bishops] of Meath and Laughlen, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Nicholas Whyte, Sir Ed. Waterhouse, Sir Ed. Moore, Justice Walshe, and Mr. Calthorpe.

Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed.

May 8.
Vol. 618, p. 33.

70. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN (SIR THOMAS HENEAGE).

I have received your letters, and thank you for being so mindful of my causes.

* "ether theym," in MS.

† John Whitgyft, Archbishop of Canterbury.

1590.

"Upon Easter Tuesday last* it was my ill hap to be sent for amongst others by the Lord Deputy (to what purpose until all was done I knew not), to be at the hearing of certain speeches which he used to a lewd priest before certain Commissioners that were appointed out of England to examine him upon certain causes concerning Sir John Perrot. Truly I do protest unto your Honour, before the Majesty of God, that if I had known of the cause then in handling I would not have been present at it; for in causes of such weight, and especially when they concern my honorable friends and superiors, I have no liking to intermeddle myself in them." Excuse me to Sir John Perrot.

"The words that his Lordship used were very temperate, not once naming, as far as I remember, either man or matter, but for the most part his speech tended to his own justification, that he never practised with the priest, but willed him to say the truth without fear of any man, but no more."

Cork,† 8 May 1590.

Copy. P. 1.

May 9.

Vol. 618, p. 33.

71. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN.

Among your advertisements how I should demean myself in this kingdom one was, that I should, in all things, be a profitable servant. That I am not unmindful of your precepts may be witnessed by that which I have lately done, as may appear by a note under my hand given to the Lord Deputy (Fitz William) to be sent to their Lordships (the Privy Council) to consider of, where you shall find that the issue of the munitions to the army doth advantage the Queen almost in every 400*l.* issued 100*l.* gain, above the rates delivered to their Lordships by the officers of the Tower and sent hither. I could do her Majesty acceptable services, if I were better established in my office.

"This last Easter holidays I came out of Munster from mounting the artillery at Limerick, which place with small art may be made impregnable. The opinion of the merchants there, as also in Waterford and Cork, is, the Spaniards will not visit us, in whom (being so much Spanish) small credit is to be reposed." The forces and munition sent hither have confirmed the inconstant and rebellious disposition of this nation, and no revolt will take place even if the enemy land.

"Here goeth a report that the enemy meaneth first to land in this river, and so presently to make his approach to the city. How he may do it with his great vessels I cannot imagine, St. George's Channel being so full of shoals as it is, and his small bottoms cannot carry many men, neither yet

* 24 April.

† The words "from Corke" are in Carew's own hand, but the two following letters, written the next day, are dated at Dublin.

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will they put them to adventure before they have placed the great shipping in safety for a retreat." Almost all our forces have been sent into Munster, where it is supposed the enemy will land. He will be forced to fight at every strait; or, if he lie intrenched, he must content himself with his ship fare, for fresh victuals will be kept from him.

The 1,300 footmen lately sent over, who came very ill-furnished, and the 600 erected in this kingdom, have altogether emptied the serviceable munitions that were at Dublin in store. Hereof I have written to my Lord Treasurer and the Lord Deputy.

Dublin, 9 May 1590. "Per Skyddye de Corke."

My Lord Deputy means to keep 400 soldiers which are now in the town. He once had appointed them garrison places, but his determination is altered, I think for the best.

Copy. P. 1.

May 9.

Vol. 618, p. 33a.

72. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

From Cork on 30 March I advertised you of the receipt of a proportion of munition brought to Waterford from the Tower of London by one Crypps, master of *The White Hart*. I have transported the carriages overland from Cork to Limerick, and mounted all the artillery there, and built a house to keep it in. My servant James Woodward, whom long since I sent into England for munition, I beseech you to despatch hither. Our greatest store, of six lasts, is at Waterford. At Dublin, by reason of the late rebellion in Connaught, we have not above two lasts. These eight lasts go very fast. Of all habiliments of war we need supply.

At my return to Dublin I received of my Lord Deputy the rates of the munitions sent over by the Privy Council, noted in some places in the margin with your Lordship's hand, after what rate the same shall be issued to the garrison. I found that her Majesty would be a great loser thereby, of which I informed my Lord Deputy. I send you a note respecting the prices of the munitions.

Dublin, 9 May 1590. "Per packet per Baptist."

Copy. P. 1.

May 10.

Vol. 616, p. 116.

73. SIR JOHN PERROT on TANISTSHIPS.

Reasons to move your Lordships (the Privy Council) to cut away the Captainries and Tanistships used among the mere Irishry, to the end that the seignories of the Irish lords should descend from father to son, according to the common laws of England.

(1.) The seignories of many of the Irish lords are as big as shires in England. They have always chosen within themselves the most ancient and warlike man to be the chief of

1590.

that name and seignory, who levied imposts for his own maintenance, and for that of his kearn, galliglas, and shot. In such countries the Queen's writs and processes were not current, nor any rent paid her. In some few of late years they would give to the Deputy for his goodwill a reward of 200 or 300 kine to confirm such elections, but the Queen never had anything. Two and sometimes three were elected, which bred war amongst themselves, and he that was the weakest commonly obtained aid of the Deputy.

(2.) Owing to the captainries and tanistships it was necessary to maintain soldiers to defend the Pale from the daily incursions and spoils made by the O'Reylies, the O'Farralls, McMahon's country, the McGwires, the captains of Dartrie, the Fewes, Ferny, the O'Hanlens, and others, who did not care what evil they did, for they were sure their children, commonly bastards, would not have their seignories till all the rest of the eldest and worthiest of the house were sped.

(3.) Sir Henry Sidney made a law, 11 Eliz., to cut off all captainries and seneschalships, except those granted by letters patents. The exception was mischievous, for it is all one whether the Deputy or the Irish name the captain.

(4.) Finding this Act produced no reformation, Sidney made another in 12 Eliz., authorizing the Deputy to grant letters patents to the Irishry that would surrender their lands to her Highness, and have the same granted back to them in fee tail or fee simple.

(5.) In the time of my government I was commanded to take surrenders of such Irish lords as would make surrenders to her Majesty of their seignories, and to grant the same back again to the same lords and their heirs male or heirs general. I persuaded Sir John O'Reyly, Sir Rosse McMahon, Sir Oho O'Hanlen, Sir Cooner McGwyre, Shane McBriean, Neale Oge McFelem, Sir Con McNeale Oge, Sir John O'Doherty, the captain of Killwarlen, O'Connor Sligoe, O'Connor Done, Sir Brian O Rowrke, Sir Murragh ne Doe, Agnus McConell, the Lord of Cantire, O'Moloye, and many other lords to do so, and reserved from them about 2,000*l.* annual rent to the Crown, besides risings-out of sundry horsemen and footmen, and other customs. The escheat of their lands will fall to the Crown, with ward, marriage, and relief, as in England. I lost near 1,000*l.* in preferring the public good to receiving cows for making captains and seneschals, placing in their stead shreves, justices of the peace, and other officers, whereby peace was secured. Many of the great lords came to Dublin to take their leaves at my departure.

(6.) All this tends to prove that the surrendering of their land, and taking the same back again, must breed quietness, obedience, and profit. Love to their children will make them fearful to offend the laws, and desirous to build houses, purchase lands, and grow wealthy. I wrote a pamphlet about 10 or 12 years past upon this subject.

1590.

II. "For [Fergus?] O'Farrell's case, whereof question is made."

The O'Farrolles never enrolled the indenture between themselves and Sir Henry Sydney. They never surrendered their lands according to the covenant made 20 years past, but held them by the tanist and captainry granted by Sydney. As the indenture ties none but such as be living, I doubt much whether the grant to Mr. Malby be good or not. It is covenanted in Sydney's indenture that the Lord Deputy may grant an estate to them and their heirs of such lands as they will surrender. In the grant made by me I have performed that covenant, so that all who allege that I have varied from the said covenant are much deceived, and I am greatly misused in the report of the Deputy's letters. I see no cause why the rest of the O'Farrolles, now living and privy to the indenture, may not surrender their lands, as O'Farroll Bane and Feaghney O'Farroll have done, notwithstanding anything in my patent to the said Faghney.

"Where they say that the said O'Farroll Bane, who surrendered his lands at one time with the said Faghny O'Farrell, being the greater lord of both, against whom nothing is said, and the said Feighny, with the rest of the O'Farrells, do pay 200*l.* ster. yearly to her Majesty; they pay the said 200*l.* sterling now to Malbye, but the same is gotten with great difficulty, for I made many warrants whilst I governed there (by commandments hence) to the sheriffs to distrain them with force for the payment thereof, and they got from her Majesty above 500 marks yearly, when they granted to pay her Majesty the foresaid 200*l.* sterling; for the O'Farrells were bound to find her Majesty 200 galliglas for a certain time; whereby her Majesty got nothing by that covenant, but lost."

Feaghney was appointed captain by Sydney, and was afterwards to become seneschal of his country, but I never thought fit to perform that covenant. No captain or seneschal should ever be appointed in that country, because they have justices, sheriffs, and other officers.

Fergus has no reason to find himself grieved, as Keadagh is before him; nor either of them, so long as Faghny O'Farroll is alive.

To find faults with my letters patents [to Faghny] would be a dangerous example. When they were issued, we could not get a sight of the said indenture, which was consequently exempted from their influence.

The lands appertaining to the captainry of O'Farrell Boye are not above five plough-lands.

Pp. 5. Endorsed: "10 Maij 1590.—Sir John Perrott's opinion touching the difference between the surrender of lands and the tanistship, captainship, and seneschals; as also concerning the O'Farrells' cause."

1590.

May 18.

Vol. 605, p. 155.

74. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

Headed in Carew's hand : " A letter from Sir G. C. to the Lord Deputy touching Sir John Perrott and Dennis O'Rowghan ; which letter was required by the Lord Deputy, but Sir G. Carew would not deliver it unto him."

" Whereas you required me for my better memory to put in writing the speeches that your Lordship used to Sir Denis, the priest, upon Easter Tuesday last, at the which time your Honour delivered him to the Commissioners to be examined," I do truly testify the same.

Immediately after your Lordship in the withdrawing chamber in the Castle of Dublin had read a letter from the Lords, you called for the priest, who was brought into the chamber by Mr. Shellton, your servant, and to whom you addressed your speeches. You declared to him that by direction from the Privy Council he must be immediately sent into England to make declaration there of such matters as he had informed you withal, and that he should deliver there the truth of that which he had to say without regard to persons. " And if in particular," said your Lordship, " thou canst charge me with any indirect dealing, speak it frankly, and deliver the same to the Commissioners here present appointed to examine thee by order out of England." The prisoner then began to frame a speech to excuse you, which you would not permit, but willed him, if he could charge you with having induced him to confess, to tell the same to the gentlemen present. Then turning to the Commissioners—(not taking all of them to be your friends)—you willed them to examine the priest, whom you committed to them ; and they immediately departed.

Dublin, 18 May 1590.

At the foot in Carew's handwriting :—" This letter Sir William FitzWilliam required Sir Henry Harrington and Sir George Carew to send sealed unto him, but it was never perfected."

P. 1. Endorsed by Carew : " The Copy of a letter that should have been sent from Sir H. H. and myself to my L. Deputy, 18 May 1590."

May 22.

Vol. 618, p. 34.

75. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

Not long since you sent to me for a certificate, and I repaired to you, declaring all my doubts, though ready to do you service, whereof you made refusal. My imagination of your dislike is confirmed many ways, and lately by conference had with Sir Henry Harrington, by whom I perceive that your Honour is mistaken in my meaning, for I am ready to perform your will. Pray remove those mistaken conceits. " There is not any man in this kingdom that was more glad that the government was laid upon you, or that bent himself to serve under your Lordship with more love and obedience

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than myself, proceeding only from an engrafted affection void of servile fear."

"From my house, Dublin," 22 May 1590.

Copy. P. 1.

May 28.
Vol. 605, p. 157.

76. MUTINY OF ENGLISH SOLDIERS in IRELAND.

"A relation [by Sir George Carew] of a mutiny of Sir Thomas Norris his foot company at Dublin, 28 May 1590."

"The 28th of May 1590 the Lord Deputy and Council assembled together about eight of the clock in the morning, and sat in Council in the withdrawing chamber in H.M. Castle of Dublin, to take order for the satisfying of certain soldiers under the leading of Sir Thomas Norris, to the number of 77, who the night before came armed with drum and fife to the town, sending their petition unto the Lord Deputy, being, as they alleged, unpaid for many months as well for their victualling as for their wages. The Lord Deputy, upon the first knowledge of their coming, sent Sir Edward Waterhouse and Mr. Williams, his secretary, unto them, who dealt so effectually with them that they were content for that night to betake themselves to their lodgings, so that Sir Edward would give his word that they should not be apprehended and imprisoned, which he did, whereupon every one of them went quietly to his lodging. The next day, being as aforesaid the 28th of May, the soldiers in arms repaired to the Castle gate, standing all together upon the bridge, whereof the Lord Deputy being advertised, and in Council as aforesaid, sent sundry messengers for me, who, by reason that I was not then ready, tarried somewhat long.

"At last coming into the withdrawing chamber, his Lo. said unto me that he sent for me to charge the cannon that stood against the gate with hail or chain shot, to shoot at those mutinous soldiers that were upon the bridge, if they would not depart; unto the which I replied, if it were his Lo. pleasure, it should be done. 'No,' said his Lo., 'our determination is now altered; wherefore I pray you to go down and set the Castle gate open, and tell those mutinous rebels that stand armed upon the bridge, that if any of them dare come into the court, let him do it; for whosoever doth it, I will,' said he, 'account him a traitor to her Majesty.' Whereupon I went from him, and caused the gate to be opened, and delivered his Lo. speeches to the soldiers, who made answer that none of them did intend to come into the Castle.

"Immediately after Sir Edward Waterhouse and Mr. Williams were again sent from the Lord [Deputy] and Council unto the soldiers (as I understand) with these conditions, that they should have two months' victualling money paid unto them the next day, forgiven their lewd demeanour, and in the mean time that order should be taken for their cease in the

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town; which they would not accept of, unless they might be paid of all the wages that was due unto them.

"This answer returned moved the Lord Deputy further than he made show of, and being then sermon time, his Lo. departed out of the withdrawing chamber towards the church, myself bearing the sword before him. His Lo. said unto me these or the like words: 'Master of the Ordnance, I will see whether these fellows will stay me on the bridge; I am sure you will not let them take the sword from you.' Whereunto I replied, 'No, sir, they shall scratch for it before they shall get it.' 'I think so,' said his Lo., 'and am glad that it is in a man's hand.' At the which answer the Lord Chancellor said, 'Rather than he will let it go, your Lo. may be sure he will do as the Mayor of London did.'

"Then his Lo. took his horse, and was no sooner entered the bridge, where the soldiers stood on either side in rank one by one in manner of a ward, but they besought his Lo. to have consideration of them, and to be good unto them, with sundry such like words. His Lo., turning his horse about unto them, said, 'What is he that speaks?' They at an instant answered, 'All, all, all!' Whereupon his Lo., as I think, replied to himself only, 'Very well, I will think on you,' or some such like speeches, and passed on, being by this time past the armed men about the midst of the bridge.

"Then one of the shot used some speeches (what they were I know not), but his Lo. being greatly displeased with it, turned his horse upon him, calling him baggage, mutinous knave. The soldier having his piece in hand to defend himself from the horse, as sundry supposeth, for that he had no fire, held it up, and with the other hand took his horse by the bridle and stayed him. Wherewith the Lord Deputy being offended, as he had reason, supposing as it should seem that he had done it to do him violence, drew his dagger, and laying his hand upon his piece, commanded him to deliver it. The soldier, either subbornly bent or amazed, or both, undutifully held his piece and the bridle fast, notwithstanding that his Lo. dagger was directly at his breast. At the last, by the multitude that pressed upon him, it was forcibly taken from him. The press upon the bridge in this season was so great that it was impossible for any man to use his weapons to do any harm.

"In this mean time divers gentlemen of his Lo. servants and others drew their swords. The Lord Deputy looking behind him, and seeing so many naked swords, thinking, as he had reason, that the mutiny was grown to his ripeness, drew his rapier and cried out, 'Disarm these villains.' Myself, who bare the Queen's sword, in like manner was drawing the same, but seeing the armed men and shot, at his Lo. speeches, either for duty or fear, on all sides to lay down their pikes and pieces, did put it up again, and did with the assistance of Captain Delves and others suppress many of them that had

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their swords drawn, that they should not offer further violence than the necessity required.

"The choler that his Lo. was in was very exceeding abundant, yet so tempered that any man might discern that his valour did appear unspotted either with fear or cruelty, for he thrust himself into the midst of them all without respect of his person, and struck many with the flat of his rapier, yet hurt none saving one of them a little on the head, and holding the point of it at sundry of their breasts, forbore to thrust any of them into the body.

"His Lo. had no sooner cried 'Disarm them!' but the soldiers as aforesaid laid down their weapons, which whether they did it in humility, or that they could not use their weapons, the bridge being so pestered with people, whereby they had no mean of resistance, I know not, but judge the best, for that they presently fell upon their knees and suffered themselves to be disarmed, which was done in so short a time as it was wonderful. The armours, calivers, &c. that were saved from filching were carried into the Castle and delivered into my charge; the soldiers committed to the care of Captain Dellves, Captain Woodhouse, and Matthew Smythe, servant to the Marshal, by whom they were bound by couples arm to arm, and presented upon their knees to his Lo. as he rode to the church, who commanded the Mayor of the city to keep them in his ward, who carried them to Newgate, in number 61. The rest escaped in the time of disarming."

Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew: A declaration of my knowledge of actions done in the mutiny made by Sir Thomas Norris' men, 28th of May 1590.

Vol. 618, p. 35a.

2. Copy of the same.

Note in the margin: "This Report was enclosed in the several letters written to the Lord Treasurer and Sir Tho. Henadge, bearing date the last of May 1590."

May 28.

77. The EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 632, p. 101.

"The humble Offers of the Earl of Tyrone [to the Privy Council in England] touching such Articles as are set down for Ulster, Maij 28, anno 1590."

(1.) To put in as sureties, as well for his loyalty towards her Majesty, as to observe peace with Sir Tyrlough Lenough, two or three of these gentlemen, dwelling within the Pale, to enter into bond, viz., Sir Henry Harrington, Sir Edward Moore, or his eldest son Henry, Mr. Warham Sellinger, Robert Harpoole, Henry Warren.

(2.) If at any time suspected of disloyalty he will deliver pledges, or else yield himself prisoner. But he craves not continually to have his pledges to remain prisoners; "and although he should find favour to change them at the end of

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six months or otherways, yet he is assured he shall never be able, when any are once prisoners, to procure others of good sort to become pledges in like manner, but they will rather depart his country; and he stand[s] assured that Turlough Lenough hath no pledges of value, except Art his son, whom he verily thinketh will never put in."

(3.) His bond and sureties shall stand for renouncing the name and title of O'Neale, for he well knoweth it is treason to challenge it. He will renounce any intermeddling with any of the "uriats" according to the indenture betwixt her Majesty and himself; but he says that O'Cane is none of the "uriatts," being an inhabitant within the county of Tyrone.

(4.) "He is desirous to have his country made shire ground, and doth think it convenient to have Tyrloughe his country, and so much of his own country called Tyrone as do lie already bounded betwixt the Blackwater and the river of Fyne and Loughfoile, to be one country; and the rest from the Blackwater to the Roche, containing O'Hanleye's country (if it be not already reduced to shire ground), to be another country. But we think this latter part is already made shire ground, and called by the name of the county of Armagh."

(5.) "Contented not to give aid to Agnus McConnell nor to any other Scots, nor to take aid from Scotland or from any others not being of his own country, without the licence of the Governor, trusting like order to be taken with the rest of his neighbours."

(6.) "Contented to have his country under composition, and to suffer them to enjoy their lands for terms certain, under such rents and other compositions as may be agreed upon, and not to take any bonnaught or lay other charges upon them, except with consent of the country in times of great and sudden danger, to be invaded by Scots or others his bad neighbours; and yet then to make the Governor for the time being and the Council thereunto privy." He is contented to have his country under composition towards her Majesty's charges, but some regard should be had of their poverty here, the waste of the country, &c.

(7.) He will prohibit murders and stealths, and punish stealers and murderers, and never maintain any of them, nor receive their goods stolen.

(8.) He will not exercise martial laws, but join with such off[ic]ers as shall be appointed for the execution and suppression of malefactors.

(9.) He has always been willing to serve with such horse-men as he doth receive entertainment for by her Majesty's great bounty; but is contented to yield to "any number of rising-out" thought convenient to your Honours here, or to the Lord Deputy there.

(10.) He will not meddle with any of the Archbishop of Armagh's lands, or impose any charge upon them; neither

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will he willingly receive or maintain any Popish priest, monk, or friar, or any proclaimed traitors.

(11.) His people to use English apparel.

(12.) He consents to have a gaol at Dungannon.

(13.) He trusts all his neighbours shall be bound to observe like orders.

(14.) He is contented, upon any urgent occasion, to permit the Captain of the Blackwater to have victuals in his country, by paying ready money, or by delivering bills.

(15.) He promises to answer for his brother Tyrlough Mc Henry, captain of the Fues, and for any other that liveth under his Lordship's liberties.

(16.) He humbly submits himself to the consideration of your Lordships.

Copy. Pp. 6.

May 31.
Vol. 618, p. 34.

78. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLIUGH).

I beseech you to despatch my servant with supply of our wants. In my last of the 9th, sent by the Lord Deputy's man that carried the last packet, I sent you a note of the rates of the munition as they are here issued, compared with the notes that you sent over. How weak I am furnished in gunners and artificers, I have signified to you.

"The paper enclosed* is a true report of the actions that passed in the suppressing of the late mutiny, wherein I was an eye-witness, and, by reason that I only tarried with his Lordship on horseback in the place, could better discern particular actions than any man else." I was required by his Lordship to write it. This mutiny was caused by the different manner of paying the old bands and the new supplies. The like discontent hath long been harboured in the breasts of the horsemen.

Dublin, 31 May 1590. "Per packet per Hoy."

Copy. P. 1.

May 31.
Vol. 618, p. 34a.

79. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN (SIR THOMAS HENEAGE).

Since I wrote last, no matter of note has fallen out, but only that which I have sent you enclosed. "Myself was a special actor in it, and no man can more truly deliver the same, for I only besides his Lordship (the Deputy) in that place was on horseback, and next unto him, whereby I did the better behold all the actions that passed. The Council that followed his Lordship on their foot cloths, thrust backward by the press of people, retired into the Castle, where they remained till all was finished."

* See 28 May.

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The occasion of this late disorder of the soldiers is the penury that they sustain by not being paid in due time. "The travel and hard diet they endure passeth all the soldiers in Europe." As the companies lately sent over were better provided than themselves, they repined, thinking their deserts far to exceed any that have not passed the like perils or endured the miseries that they have done. The old soldiers are discontented because they see those who of late were their boys every week thoroughly paid, and themselves left in want.

This conceit caused them, for want of their victualling money, to leave their place of garrison and to come to Dublin in such disorderly sort as they have done. In speech they were not outrageous, neither did they make any show of resistance when my Lord Deputy disarmed them. Their greatest offence was in coming armed to the gate of the Castle, and in that bold manner to stay there until his Lordship came forth, being persuaded and desired by myself and others to depart. Mr. Vice-President, no doubt, will acquit himself from blame, having written divers letters to the Lord Deputy of his soldiers' wants, and at all times disbursed his money very bountifully out of his own purse to relieve their necessities; and he was not near to them when they rose out of Limerick by 36 miles. The horsemen, by reason of the inequality of their wages, are as malcontent as the others.

"What I write I beseech you that it may be secreted from all the world but as accustomed; for those that are not of our opinion in the manner of the mutiny, as I do conceive of it, will be highly displeased."

Dublin, 31 May 1590. "Per packet per Hoy."

Copy. P. 1.

May 31.
Vol. 618, p. 35.

80. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

"Although I am half in a doubt that when my letters come to your hand that you sing them to the tune of some old Almayne, yet I am well pleased, though I miss of my purpose, that they make you merry. Therefore, in hope that they either shall work [the] good I write for, or ease you of your melancholy, I will not leave to write. The Spaniards' long tarrying makes us to doubt of their coming, whereof if I were assured I would not be long from you.

"The old garrison of Ireland, who have been evermore praised for their patience for their long forbearance of their wages, since the coming over of these new companies are apt to mutiny. The first company that made show of it was Sir Tho. Norriss' band, who, the 28th of May, without knowledge to their captain or officer in their company, with drum and fife came armed to this city, and demanded their full pay. The Lord Deputy offered them imprest, but they would not be satisfied, but desired either to be paid or discharged. Their complaint was grounded upon extreme necessity, for they had

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not been paid for their victualling money in many months before, and farther credit they had not. The Lord Deputy sent for me to discharge the cannon upon them as they stood upon the Castle bridge, but altered his purpose, and took his horse to ride to the church, myself bolt upright bearing the sword before him.

"When he came upon the bridge, they made a ward, and importuned his Lordship in humble sort to be good unto them and to have consideration of them, but one amongst them used speeches wherewith his Lordship was displeased, and thrust his horse upon him. The soldier, to save himself, held up his piece, and took the horse by the bridle. His Lordship, thinking that he intended to use violence against him, drew his dagger, and his men forcibly took his piece from him. Divers of his gentlemen and servants in this mean time had drawn their swords, which my Lord beholding, thinking the mutiny had grown to his full ripeness, drew his rapier, and I, like a great magistrate, was pulling out the Queen's sword, but seeing no man make resistance, did put it up in haste, and caused as many as were near me to do the like.

"My Lord Deputy, oppressed with choler, spared none that were in his walk, and commanded them to disarm themselves, whereunto they yielded, and with the good help of those that attended him to the church, who to filch swords and furnitures were diligent officers, they were in a moment torn out of their weapons, bound by couples, and carried to the gaol. The arms and weapons unstolen remain in my office. So great fury as his Lordship was in never in my life did I see any man; and truly I assure myself, when he drew his rapier, he thought they would have done their utterance. He struck many, but hurt none but one.

"The occasion of this mutiny ariseth by the unequal manner of paying the garrison, for the new companies are paid weekly to the uttermost farthing, and the old bands seldom imprested, and that which is most grievous unto them is to see the late companies which were erected in this kingdom, being for the most part their boys, to be better paid than themselves. The like discontent is amongst the horsemen, who, serving in one nature, are waged some at 12*d.* and the rest at 6*d.* *per diem.*"

Dublin, 31 May 1590.

Copy. P. 1.

June 17. 81. The EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 632, p. 103a.

"Articles agreed unto by the Earl of Tyrone, before the Right Hon. the Lords of her Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council, for the better settling and confirming of his country."

For keeping the peace with Sir Tyrlough Lennough and all others his neighbours, the Earl agrees to enter into bonds with good sureties within the English Pale; and for his own

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loyalty to put in pledges, being neither Arte O'Haggan nor O'Guyn. Both these things to be done within two months after the Earl's return into Ireland. His pledges to remain in the custody of some gentlemen within the English Pale, or merchants of Dublin, and to be changed every three months. The pledges are to be for performing these articles following :—

That he continue loyal and keep the peace.

That he renounce all claim to the name and title of O'Neale, as by the Act of Parliament is provided ; and all challenge or intermeddling with the uriaghes.

That all his lands in Ulster be made county ground, and divided into one or two shires.

That he forbear to give any buying to any person out of his own country ; and to foster with any uriaght or other gentleman out of his own country.

Neither to give nor receive aid to or from Agnus McConnell or other Scot or foreigner.

If for his reasonable defence he shall need to erect forces either of Scots or others out of his own country, he shall not do so without special licence of the State, by whom may be assigned unto him (as heretofore hath been) competent bands of soldiers, whose captains and officers may be English.

Within two months after his return into Ireland he is to repair to the Lord Deputy and Council, to consider of the reducing of his country to composition in the same manner as Connaught and other parts, with a consideration to be had for her Majesty out of every plough-land, quarter, or cartron.

That he impose not upon his country by way of bonnaught or other Irish taxation any charge of horsemen, galloglass, kerne, or Scot, saving for reasonable forces for the defence of his country.

That he forbear to make any journeys or rides into any of the uriaghts' countries, "except upon fresh suit within five days next after the prey, killing, or bodragg" be committed by any his said neighbours.

None of his country either to do or receive any stealths upon the uriaghts or other his neighbours ; and especially that he bring forth the thieves, or else drive them out of his country.

That he forbear to execute any person taken for murder or felony except by due course of law.

That his band of 50 horsemen, for which he has pay, be always kept ready for service.

That besides this band he shall answer with a rising-out to every general hosting.

That he meddle not with any of the Archbishop of Armagh's lands or any spiritual livings belonging to that see.

That he maintain not wittingly in his country any monk, friar, nun, or priest that shall not conform themselves to the religion now established.

That he have no intelligence with any messenger from any proclaimed traitor.

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That he take no black rent or other Irish exaction.

That he cause all her Majesty's subjects living under him to wear English apparel, and suffer none to wear "glybbes."

That he have a gaol at Dongannon, and his Lordship together with the country to yield contributions as well for the building as maintaining thereof.

That he answer for his brother Tyrlagh McHenrie, now Captain of the Fewes, and for any other under his rule, until her Majesty's laws shall be current.

That in times of danger or urgent want in the fort of Blackwater he suffer the captain and warders there to have victuals out of his country.

In consideration that the said Earl of Tyrone hath promised upon his honour to observe and perform all these articles, we the Lords of the Privy Council have agreed that the Lord Deputy and Council shall be written unto, to procure these articles following to be performed and put in execution:—

"That Sir Turlough Lennough shall put in good pledges both for his loyalty to her Majesty and also to keep the peace with the Earl and all his country.

"That all other the Earl's neighbours bordering upon Tyrone may be wrought to this course now prescribed to the Earl to begin at one time, lest Tyrone, being brought under law, may be spoiled or wasted by the lawless neighbours thereof."

Given at the Court at Greenwich, 17 June 1590.

Copy. Pp. 6.

July 1.

Vol. 618, p. 87.

82. For SIR GEORGE CAREW, Master of the Ordnance.

I. A note of pickaxes and felling-axes provided and sent over by George Beverlye, by the direction of the Lords of the Council of England, to be delivered to Sir George Carewe, Master of her Majesty's Ordnance in Ireland, he paying ready money for them according to the prices they cost.

II. Warrant by the Lord Deputy to the Master of the Ordnance, to receive the proportion of pickaxes and felling-axes sent hither by direction from the Council in England, to be kept for her Majesty's store.

Castle of Dublin, 1 July 1590.

Copy. P. 1.

July 6.

Vol. 605, p. 159.

83. LORD BUCKHURST to SIR GEORGE CAREWE.

This bearer, Mr. Clark, a poor kinsman of mine, has a better liking to live in that country than to continue here. I recommend him to your favour.

From the Court at Greenwich, 6 July 1590. *Signed:*
T. Buckehurst.

Pp. 2. Sealed and addressed. Endorsed in Carew's hand.

Vol. 618, p. 42a.

2. Copy of the same.

1590.

July 26.

Vol. 618, p. 40a.

84. SIR G. CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

I would have sooner advertised you of the safe arrival of the last munition into this kingdom, if a fever had not been my daily companion. The proportion then brought was very good, but I wish the brown bills and long bows had not come, for here they are held in such scorn that unless I should sell them to the farmers of the Pale, which I will not do without warrant, I am in despair to utter them. I thank you for sending my Lord Deputy the warrant for the rates I wrote for, but it is not large enough discharge for my issues in general. For that wherein the Queen gained I have sufficient warrant, but no mention is made of the losses. Though I have but Irish pay for my horsemen, I have to maintain them furnished for service, and they are as much employed or more than any others in this kingdom. I shall sustain more loss by serving her Majesty than my fortune is able to bear, and wish that this office, which she did bestow upon me for my good, had never been granted me.

By my servant that conducted the last proportion I understand your good opinion, "and also as well by Sir Walter Raleigh as by him I have intelligence of your honorable favours in preferring me to her Majesty to be placed of the Council here."

26 July 1590. "Per Dudleye Norton."

Copy. P. 1.

July 26.

Vol. 618, p. 41a.

85. SIR G. CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN (HENEAGE).

"The last time I wrote unto your Honour was a true report of a mutiny which the Lord Deputy since hath pardoned, returning the soldiers to their place of garrison." The state of this realm was never more peaceable than now; and it is likely to continue so, if Spanish invasion do not interrupt this good quiet.

"As for moving the Queen to place me here Councillor, (wherein if I were so placed I know, in respect of my office, I can do her many services, both for her honour and profit, which now, by reason of my ignorance in Council proceedings, I cannot do,) I will not importune you, but refer it to your Honour's better consideration, hoping that, as fit occasion shall be ministered, you will not be unmindful of it."

26 July 1590. "Per Dudleye Norton."

Copy. P. 1.

July 26.

Vol. 618, p. 41a.

86. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND (ARCHBISHOP LOFTUS).

"The occasion of my writing proceedeth from the Lord Deputy, by whom I understand that he hath written unto your Lordship and the Lord Treasurer* to pray your Lordships

* Sir Henry Wallop.

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to be a mean that myself and others, who since the beginning of his deputation have served the Queen with horsemen at $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ *per diem* (for myself, I speak it, almost to my undoing), might be restored to our accustomed wages, which was as the rest of the garrison is paid; as also that by your Lordships' good means I might be placed of the Council here." I humbly desire your aid.

Her Majesty has already restored Sir Richard Byngham, Mr. Carlile, and others to their accustomed entertainment.

Dublin, 26 July 1590. "Per Dudly Norton."

Copy. P. 1.

Aug. 20.
Vol. 618, p. 42.

87. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

You wrote to their Lordships (the Privy Council) to appoint rates at which the munitions might be issued; and they did so. Once again I pray you to ask them at what rates "these parcels hereincloused unwarranted" shall be issued. By my usual issue of them her Majesty is a loser. These munitions have been evermore issued as now they are, and so from time to time allowed to my uncle Wingfilde, but I have been slandered for overcharging the army in my issues, wherein you excused me to the soldiers, who were in a good way to have mutinied.

Dublin, 20 August 1590.

Copy. P. 1.

Aug. 25.
Vol. 605, p. 161.

88. The QUEEN to SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAMS, Lord Deputy.

Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Marshal of our army, is by age and infirmity unable to execute his office, and is willing to surrender the same on condition that his son Sir Henry Bagnall succeed him according to the grant which he has of us. We command you to accept his surrender, and admit his son Sir Henry into the same room. You shall also admit Sir Henry to be of our Privy Council, as his father was, whom, notwithstanding, we will not have displaced from being of our Council. "And considering also the good report we have of Sir George Carewe, Knight, Master of our Ordnance, and for the knowledge we have of his discretion and wisdom, we will you also to admit him to be of our Privy Council."

Under the signet at the Manor of Oatlands, 25 August 1590.

Copy. P. 1.

Vol. 618, p. 43.

2. Another copy.

1590.
Sept. 19. **89.** SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).
Vol. 618, p. 43a.
- My sickness has caused me not to stir from home, further than of late I have been compelled, to look into the storehouse. I have little hope of Parkins's life. Many will importune you for his place. Forbear to promise it to any man, for if my officer be needy, insufficient, and not exceedingly honest, my undoing is most assured. My patent bears me to choose my officer, but I am ready to obey your commands. I know the power of the Prince's prerogative, and with all duty I will submit myself to it. Sir John Perrot gave it to Perkins, to which I would not agree, as Sir Henry Wallopp and Sir Geoffrey Fenton can witness, until he relinquished his patent, and was content to hold it at my hands. The fee both for the clerk and his man is but 15*d.* sterling a day, with no perquisites.
Dublin, 19 September 1590.
Copy. P. 1.
- Sept. 22. **90.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD BUCKHURST.
Vol. 618, p. 42a.
- I received your letter by Mr. Clarke, the contents whereof I will accomplish, as he shall testify whensoever it shall please him to make trial of such friendly offices as my poor fortune can afford him.
22 September 1590. "Per Wylliams."
Copy. P. 1.
- Sept. 24. **91.** SIR G. CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).
Vol. 678, p. 42a.
- I understand by my Lord Deputy that you have procured her Majesty's letters to admit me of her Council here, for the which my service shall evermore to you and yours remain devoted. Immediately upon the death of my uncle Wyngfylde, late Master of the Ordnance here, Sir Thomas Perrott was placed in his room, and under him one Henry Parkyns, whom, when I came hither, I continued in the same until 22 September, upon which day he deceased. I do not know how to draw his executors to an account. On the decease of my uncle, commissioners were appointed by Sir John Perrott, then Lord Deputy. Sir Geoffrey Fenton was one of them; he can inform you what has become of the inventory, which I beseech you to send over. On Mr. Andrew Payton's motion you wrote to me for it.
24 September 1590. "Per Wylliams."
Copy. P. 1.
- Oct. 17. **92.** SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 618, p. 87a.
- His oath on being admitted as a Privy Councillor of Ireland, 17 October 1590.
II. The Oath of Supremacy.
Copy. P. 1.

1590.
Oct. 18. Vol. 618, p. 87a. **93.** LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR G. CAREW.
Warrant, in conformity with directions from the Lord High Treasurer of England, dated the 29th of September, to resume all such armours and weapons as have been delivered out of her Majesty's store, to any bands lately sent from England, or newly erected here, without any defalcation to be made of the captains' or soldiers' entertainment for the same. Notice is to be given of all decays or imperfections, and rebatements of the captains' pay to be made accordingly.
Copy. P. 1.
- Oct. 19. Vol. 618, p. 45. **94.** LORD BUCKHURST to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Thanks for your courtesy towards my cousin Clarke.
19 October 1590.
Copy. P. 1.
- Oct. 31. Vol. 618, p. 44a. **95.** SIR H. BAGNALL and SIR G. CAREW to the LORDS of the COUNCIL.
Whereas long suit has been made unto the Lord Deputy here and to your Lordships in the behalf of ourselves and our retinues as Marshal and Master of the Ordnance, for restoring to them the sterling pay, we renew our petitions because the Lord Deputy is not authorized to relieve us. Till of late years our predecessors, when they had only Irish pay, were relieved with cess from the country, and, after the cess was taken from them, had always sterling pay till her Majesty's late order, and the same is yet allowed to the rest of the English companies. Their case now is unlike it was when they served under my old father the late Marshal, or under my late uncle the Master of the Ordnance, who were both men of great years, and for their age privileged by the Governors. By our often employments these two or three years past, they see continual likelihood of the increase of our travails. Either their former entertainment must be granted from time of the late restraint, or else we must "have those 30 horse and their officers to each of us without check;" a matter which as councillors we cannot persuade.
Dublin, 31 October 1590.
Signed: H. Bagnall, G. Carew.
"Per Marmaduke, Sir H. B. man."
"The like letter to my Lord Treasurer, with the like date."
"The like letter to the Lord Chancellor,* with like date."
Copy. P. 1.
- Nov. Vol. 618, p. 44. **96.** SIR G. CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).
I wrote to you by Mr. Philip Williams, the Lord Deputy's secretary. Demand of Sir John Perrott the remayne of the

* Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England.

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munition of the store in Dublin, which, immediately upon the death of my uncle, he caused to be taken. Mr. Secretary Fenton, who was one of the Commissioners, can witness it was delivered to him. I pray you send it to the Lord Deputy (FitzWilliam) for passing Mr. Parkins's accompt. Be mindful of my letter of 26 July. I also wrote to the Lord Deputy on 20 August, with a book under my hand, wherein was set down both the warranted and the unwarranted issues of munition.

Dublin, — November 1590. "Per Dudley Norton."

Copy. P. 1.

Nov.
Vol. 618, p. 45.

97. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN (SIR THOS. HENEAGE).

This kingdom remains very peaceable. The expenses which her Majesty was at this last summer in sending supplies to this realm, albeit in the opinion of many a superfluous charge, have bred good effects in all parts. This kingdom is of small profit to the Crown of England, not being able to defray the fourth part of the charges expended upon it, which have been sufficient to reduce it to civility, but the manner of proceeding in the reformation is the cause that it is not reformed. One of the greatest hindrances is the little care had of the province of Leinster, while laborious attempts have been made to reform the provinces far off. "Those that dwell even within the sight of the smoke of Dublin are not subject to the laws. The very gall of Ireland, and the flame from whence all other rebels take their light, is our next neighbour, Pheaghe McHugh, who, like one absolute within himself, with his den of thieves, ruleth all things in his own country at his own will, refusing in person to come to the Governor, and spoiling his neighbours, who for fear dare not complain." His force does not exceed 100 persons. His neighbours would help to cut him off. The Cavenaghs, who rely upon him, are entered into the like kind of life, for the correcting of whom a good plot is laid down; yet so long as the root, which is Pheaghe McHugh, is left untouched, new branches of the same kind will always be springing. It may be alleged that, expecting foreign invasion, the time fitteth not to enter into home actions; but he would be the first to join with foreign power.

Dublin, — November 1590. "By Dudley Norton."

Copy. Pp. 2.

Vol. 605, p. 89.

98. The MASTERSHIP of the ORDNANCE.

Memorandum, that the enrolment of the two next afore-said* letters patents granted to Sir Thomas Perrot, concerning

* See 1 July 1589 and 28 February 1590.

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the office of the Master of the Ordnance, are cancelled by virtue of a warrant from Sir William FitzWilliam, Lord Deputy, dated 28 February 1589[-90], which warrant was granted according to her Majesty's letters dated 1 February, 30 Eliz., to Sir John Perrot, then Deputy, and to the Chancellor.

Signed : Ad. Dublin., canc.

Enrolled on the Patent Roll of Ireland for 32 Eliz.

Copy. P. 1.

Dec. 9.
Vol. 618, p. 46.

99. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN.

You will understand by a letter from the Lord Deputy and Council here to the Council in England what matters of importance have been discussed, amongst which that of the McMahons is of the greatest consequence. You will learn the particulars from private informations, sent by the Lord Deputy, who has very carefully travailed in the same. The land now escheated to the Queen by the late attainder of Hugh Roe McMahon, chief of his name, is a great country, neighbouring to the English Pale, upon the county of Louth. The benefit that the Pale will receive is very apparent, for the land being divided into small lordships, that unworthy race will be the less able to do mischief. Hereof of late years we have had good experience by the counties of Longford and Cavan. Whilst they were entire and undivided they were evermore bad neighbours unto the Pale; now they are as obedient to the laws as the civilest counties in this realm. By this partition we may hope that, unless some extraordinary cause disturb this present quiet, the Pale will be so much enlarged, that from henceforth McGwyer's country and Tyrone are like to be the Irish border.

This manner of proceeding, in my opinion, is the soundest and surest way of bringing Ireland to obedience; for what in this sort is once won is for ever gained, whereas hostings into remote rebels' countries, although sundry times very necessary, do but waste and consume traitors and their goods for the present, but do not establish reformed government. Hereof the examples in this realm are apparent and plentiful.

In my last letters I wrote unto you what hindrance this kingdom received by Pheagh McHugh (whose extirpation for the common benefit I heartily wish), and how easy a thing it would be to extinguish him, his race, and followers, to the assured quiet of this province of Leinster for ever, whereas now he lives to be the example of mischief to all the ill-disposed in Ireland. The Cavenaghcs also, finding themselves weak and unable to continue long in rebellion, entreat to be received to mercy, to which I think my Lord Deputy will yield; so that at this present I find not one in all this realm that is in any actual rebellion. The next troubles which are like to

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happen are looked for to be in Connaught, in Sir Richard Byngam's government, for O'Rwrke is daily expected to return into his country with forces of Scots and gallowglasse, which no doubt will disturb that province very much.

Concerning my own matters I will not now trouble you, hoping to win favour of my Lord Deputy, ere long, to go into England, for the which I have been this half year an importunate suitor. "My business is only to see her Majesty, unto which happiness if I might once attain, I hope at my humble and earnest suit (wherein I doubt not of your Honour's aid) to obtain her gracious favour, to permit me once every year (if Ireland be quiet) to repair unto the Court to renew my life by doing my duty unto her, which now weareth in a kind of banishment, receiving comfort in nothing so much as in a confident hope which I retain, that her Majesty is fully persuaded of my dutiful zeal and earnest endeavours to do her true and loyal service." If I can by no means get my passport for a few months, then I will be bold to pray your Honour's help to get me leave from her that commands us all.

Dublin, 9 December 1590. "Per Mr. Solicitor."

Copy. Pp. 2.

Dec. 11. 100. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN.
Vol. 618, p. 47.

I have written sundry letters unto you, and would be very sorry if they did not reach you, for if they fall into strangers' hands they will purchase me dislike. Let me understand what success they have had. Two I wrote of late, the one in November last by a gentleman appertaining to Sir Henry Wallopp, called Norton, the other by her Majesty's Solicitor, dated two days before the writing of this. "This bearer, called Garrallt Carrou, *alias* Carewe, descended of a decayed branch of my outworn family in this kingdom, and sometimes as I think your Honour's servant, but now a pensioner to the King of Scots, hath desired me to recommend him to your favour, which I was the readier to do, as well in regard that he is of my name, as also that he is known to be a tall soldier, and otherwise well travelled."

Dublin, 11 December 1590. "Per Carou."

Copy. P. 1.

Dec. 22. 101. SIR THOMAS HENEAGE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 605, p. 163.

"I have received three letters from you of late, one of the 12th of November, another of the 9th of this month, brought me by the Solicitor there, and the last by the 11th of this present by Garrat Carewe. The two former her Majesty hath seen and liketh very well, commending the care and zeal she findeth in you for her service, and would have you continue

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to write freely, as occasion shall be given you, what you know and think of that estate from time to time; and that her Highness will look for: assuring you that besides her Majesty no man seeth what you write to me, unless by the way your letters be opened, as I see they have been, and may be easily, if you seal them no better than they have been. Her Majesty likes your opinion touching Pheag Macke Hue, yet I perceive he hath some friends here. Touching the baronies of MacMahon fallen into her Majesty's gift by his attainder, I find your opinion with my Lords of the Privy Council, and that her Majesty means to dispose the same into divers hands, but none to have anything that will not obey English law."

I pray you provide for me half a dozen of the finest and lightest Irish rugs, to lay upon beds, that can be gotten.

At the Court, 22 December 1590. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 618, p. 47.

2. Copy of the preceding.

Dec. 20. 102. MRS. PARKINS.

Vol. 618.*

"This the Lord Deputy endorsed upon Mrs. Parkins' supplication, that she exhibited to the Lord Deputy for calling in the sequestration granted unto Sir G. C.:—

"Sir George,—This is a thing which concerneth your office. Let me understand from you in some few words how her state standeth, which being as she allegeth, then order to be taken for her relief as is required.

"The answer to this endorsement above written:—

"It may please your Lo., this petitioner hath accompted with me for all her Majesty's munitions that depended in her husband's charge, indented between us, whereof I confess myself satisfied.—G. C.

"The Lord Deputy's reply to the answer above said:—

"Master of the Ordnance,—Insomuch as she hath satisfied you for her husband's accompts, as by your own certificate appeareth, I know no cause why but you may now dissolve the sequestration made to yourself, as your other certificate likewise testifieth, and leave the goods to Mrs. Parkins' own disposition, as the law in that behalf and her husband's will appointeth. Dat' 20 December 1590.

"Your assured and very loving friend, William Fitz-Williams."

Copies. P. 1.

* At the end of the MS.

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103. WARRANT by the LORD DEPUTY to all MAYORS, &c.

Vol. 605, p. 145.

Whereas Sir George Carewe, Master of the Ordnance, is by us licensed to repair into England on the Queen's service, and to transport over with him four horses of this country's breeding, these are to require you to see him furnished with shipping at reasonable prices.

Castle of Dublin, — 1590. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Endorsed.*

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Jan. 15. 104. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 147.

Warrant authorising Carew to repair to Castle Kevin with such forces as he has, and to take command of other companies ordered to repair to his aid, for the safe bringing hither of Hugh Roe O'Donell and any other of the pledges lately escaped out of this castle.

Castle of Dublin, 15 January 1590. *Signed at the beginning, W. FytzWylliam; at the end, Ad. Dublin, canc.*

P. 1. *Addressed.*

Feb. 22. 105. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 151.

Warrant authorizing Carew to stay a ship of Drogheda bound for Spain, riding near Mallahide, having aboard her not only corn and other prohibited wares for the relief of her Majesty's enemies, but also certain fugitives, and other persons whose duties and loyalties to this State are much suspected.

The Castle of Dublin, 22 February 1590. *Signed at the commencement.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Feb. 26. 106. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 149.

Warrant authorizing Carew to bring to Dublin two barques arrested by him in the haven of Mallahyde, with their merchandise, whereof most part is prohibited.

Dublin, 26 February 1590. *Signed at the beginning.*

The names of the persons engaged are written on the dorse.

P. 1. *Addressed.*

Feb. 27. 107. SIR HENRY WALLOP [to LORD BURLEIGH?].

Vol. 619, p. 78.

Touching your desire for a brief estimate both of her Majesty's debts to the garrison in Ireland, and of her yearly charge for their entertainments, I cannot sufficiently answer

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your Lordship. Few of the captains have had their warrants of full pay out of the Clerk of the Checque's hands these three years past. I humbly beseech you that the Clerk of the Checque may deliver them warrants for the time past, and half-yearly for the time to come. For want thereof I am driven to make all my payments both of victualling money and prests upon imprest bills. "A book of collection" was made by the late Auditor, Mr. Jennison, of her Majesty's debts to the garrison to Michaelmas 1586, which amounted to about 65,000*l*. The rough draft of it is in Mr. Auditor Peyton's hands. Since that time the debt has increased.

Of the yearly entertainment I cannot make any certain estimate, for that the Clerk of the Checque has not (as half-yearly he ought) since Easter 1589 delivered me any muster-book. But the muster-book for the half year ending in Easter 1589 doth amount to 14,345*l*. 3*s*. 6½*d*. ster., and for the half year ending at Michaelmas before (wherein is included the entertainment of 120 horsemen in pay with the Undertakers of Munster) 16,394*l*. 12*s*. 3½*d*. ster. The ordinary entertainment for one year cometh to about 29,700*l*.

Winchester House, 27 February 1590. *Signed*.

Pp. 2. Endorsed: "The Answer of Sir Henry Wallop, Knight, Treasurer at Wars for Ireland, to your L. desire of some brief estimate," &c.

March 13. 108. To the MUSTER MASTER and CLERK of the CHEQUE.

Vol. 605, p. 165.

Warrant by Lord Deputy FitzWilliam to give allowance to Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance, licensed to repair into England about the Queen's services and his own private affairs, and to be absent for six months, for the pay of himself and the ten horsemen of his retinue attending on him.

Castle of Dublin, 13 March 1591.* *Signed at the beginning.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

March 19. 109. LOANS by SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 618.†

"A note of such bills of imprests as I have delivered out to sundry persons, since the landing of Sir William FitzWilliams, Lord Deputy, which was upon the 23rd of June 1588."

The first entry is as follows:—"One bill of imprest, bearing date the 30th of June, for Sir John Perrot of 28*l*. ster. for

* "1590" in the margin, in Carew's own hand.

† Near the end of the MS.

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horses." There is a note in the margin that this sum had not been repaid.

The last entry bears date the 19th of March 1590[-91].

In Carew's hand. Pp. 5.

May 10. 110.
Vol. 605, p. 169.

To SIR THOMAS WILLIAMS, Muster Master and Clerk of the Cheque.

Warrant by Lord Deputy FitzWilliam to give allowance of pay to Sir George Carewe, licensed to be absent in England for four months, with ten horsemen.

Dublin Castle, 10 May 1591. *Signed at the beginning.*

P. 1. *Addressed.*

May 4 & 12. 111.
Vol. 605, p. 167.

LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR G. CAREW.

Your letter of 24 March, on your safe arrival at the Court, I received on 17 April, by Nolan, the pursuivant. I hope all her Majesty's forces have arrived in France to the relief of the French King; and if the other Lords meet with the Spanish fleet from the Indies, I trust we shall receive plenty of money here. I have been well chidden for what has been spent in my time. "I have heard of that you write touching Tristeram his too much liberty, and what you said for your excuse in it, concerning my giving of you no charge to the contrary, which if it served your turn, I am glad of it, though it a little touched me."

The country here rests in very good quiet. "I held the footmen and horsemen still upon the guard where you left them till the end of April, by which time all men had sown, and long days grown, with short nights." Art O'Hone is in the gaol of Tipperary, and one Crean Cavenawe, a stout thief, with him. It is said Dermon his brother is slain. Art and Crean shall hang within these 5 days at Lawghlen. Remember the matter touching the Magohiganes. "There fell, within these 6 or 8 days, three great casual fires by the means of lewd servants: John Barrington in Lease, Noble at Castle Dermon, and Mr. Tho. Lee, who, poor gent, is not left worth one penny in Ireland, more than himself and his wife goeth in, except some horses, and I hear both honest and wise men value his loss to be above 1,000*l*." My Lady your wife is in health, and desireth of me some money. Make your speedy repair back.

Castle of Dublin, 4 May 1591. *Signed.*

P.S. in Sir W. FitzWilliam's handwriting.—This letter lying open for wind, I received your other letter by your servant. My Lady [Carew] is well, and a most good solicitor in your causes. This 12th of May only I heard of 9 or 10 notable villains, fled into a castle for their relief, but it shall

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not help them. Return answer as to the Magohiganes. Art O'Hon hanged at Carlo, and with him six of his kin. Derby's* head is on the Castle. Some other of their companies are also killed.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.*

Vol. 618, p. 48a.

2. Copy of the same.

[Sent] "by Mr. Shellton."

May 23. 112.

LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 171.

"My good Knight and Cousin,"—This gentleman can tell you the state of this kingdom, and also how I have discharged him of his trusty servant, Derby Cavenagh, whose head I keep safe for him upon the top of the Castle of Dublin. Every day we take more knaves.

"The only fear I have is that Spain, out of their great numbers in show prepared for France, may upon a sudden let fall on us in Ireland 4 or 5,000 soldiers, which number, considering the 700 and 50 footmen and 420 horsemen which be all that are here, and lie as it were by handfuls scattered abroad both in length and breadth through the realm, may do for the time what pleaseth themselves, having in effect the whole country to join with them." Such an event would cost the Queen 100,000*l*.

Of the last money that came, there remains no more than will pay the soldiers their victualling money for the next month of June. My Lord Treasurer shall have a book of its disbursement. Labour for some money to be sent, and for some answer upon the Magoghegan's matter.

My Lady your wife has lent me your dining-place, your hall, and your kitchen for the next term, my house being removed to Kyllmaynam; which I mean to occupy but 3 days in a week, for Council causes.

Castle of Dublin, 23 May 1591. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 618, p. 51a.

2. Copy of the same.

[Sent] "by Mr. Henry Sheffilld."

May 24. 113.

PETITION of SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 618, p. 49.

That my suit to their Lordships (the Privy Council) to establish the rates at which the munition sent into Ireland shall be issued, may be considered of. In the issue of some things the Queen is a loser.

* "Dyrmon's" in the copy in Vol. 618. But see FitzWilliam's letter of May 23.

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That the clerks, gunners, and artificers attending the office of the Ordnance, being very few, should be efficient men.

The former Lord Deputies have frequently granted the clerkship of that office, which is an injury, as the clerk is accountable to the Master of the Ordnance. They have also appointed servants and others to be artificers and gunners, some of whom want skill, and others do not attend their offices. My request is that a clause may be inserted in my patent, that all clerks, gunners, artificers, or other ministers appertaining to the office of the Ordnance, may be wholly in the grant of myself, as my horsemen are.

That, whereas her Majesty has now in pay under my charge a bowyer at 12*d.*, a plumber at 6*d.*, a joiner at 6*d.*, a jack-maker at 4*d.*, a fletcher at 12*d.*, and a collar-maker at 6*d.* *ster. per diem*,—which two last do hold their rooms by patent,—I may have power to alter these needless artificers into others more necessary, as armourers, stockers of pieces, pick-makers, refiners of powder, and such like.

That the storehouses in the Castle of Dublin and Limerick, now “implanked, unshelved, and unceiled,” may be repaired, as the munition daily decays.

There was a clause in my patent that all the serviceable munition should be delivered to me by inventory, and order be taken for the unserviceable. My petition is that the “serviceable” may be repaired, and that of the desperate I may be discharged; and that some yearly imprest may be delivered to me for repairing the munition.

That your Lordship would take order for the passing of my predecessor’s accmpt.

I have prayed you to demand of Sir John Perrott the survey of the remains taken at my uncle’s death, which were returned to him by Justice Gardener, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and other commissioners; in order that those who dealt in the office between the death of my uncle and my acceptance of the remainder by indenture may account for the same.

In the proportion sent into Ireland in 1589, which landed at Waterford, I received 1,000 Hamborough and Flemish armours, “which are so far out of fashion and so unfit for men’s bodies as garments be now made, as I am out of hope ever to issue them to the garrison.” The incorporated towns for their better defence should be commanded, at rates prescribed, to take certain numbers, and the gentlemen of the Pale to take the rest, for both the towns and country are wholly unfurnished.

That munition may be forthwith sent into Ireland, for the store there is but slender.

My private suits are these. In her Majesty’s letters to the present Lord Deputy she commanded that the enrolment of the patent of my office granted to Sir Thomas Perrott

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should be cancelled, but the *fiant* remains still upon the file without a *vacat*. I desire that the *fiant* may also be cancelled.

That my poor horsemen may be restored to the augmentation [of wages], as others have been.

As the horsemen of Ireland do not receive their half-pay monthly for victualling, as the footmen do, but are only relieved by small imprests, my suit is that my stipend of 6s. 8d. *per diem* may be paid half-yearly, in consideration of my charges in giving attendance upon the State and house-keeping in Dublin.

Whereas by default of the muster master I have not my warrants for full pay or for any imprest, I beseech your good Lordship, upon view of the Under-Treasurer's certificate of all such sums as I have received until December 1590 (little more than the fourth part of that which is due to myself and those under my charge), to imprest me with a convenient sum, that I may the more speedily return to my charge.

29 May 1591.

Copy. Pp. 5.

May 30. 114. SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).
Vol. 618, p. 47a.

I have received your letters by Mr. Shellton, dated both the 4th and 12th of May. As to the Magohagans, my Lord Treasurer desires the matter should be ended to their mutual satisfaction; but foreign affairs so trouble him that he cannot despatch private business. Dermond McOwen is here, a great and importunate suitor for reversing the decree between him and Donoghe MacCormocke, alleging that the same was passed in his absence, and that no land was allotted to him. I have informed my Lord Treasurer that the land appertaining to the Tanist was allowed him. We shall be both sent for today before the Council. I am glad you have weeded out the great disturbers of Leinster.

"Your Lo. writeth that my wife is a good solicitor in my causes. As yet her man that embarked with Mr. Shellton is not come unto me, so that I do not perfectly conceive what suits I have, for when I left Ireland I neither impleaded any man [n]or myself was sued; but in truth I had a mistrust that one called Tallon would in my absence steal out some order for a possession of certain land within the barony of Idrone, which Sir Peter Carewe the elder did recover as parcel of that barony. My whole title doth depend upon the same claim." Albeit the land is passed from me, and the Bagnolls are to defend the same, yet because the heir is in his minority, and his guardian not acquainted with the title so well as myself, I pray that stay may be made until my return, which shall be with all convenient haste.

Grenewyche, 30 May 1591. "By Shellton."

Copy. Pp. 2.

1591.

May 30.

Vol. 618, p. 51a.

115. SIR G. CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Whereas of late I delivered to you my humble petitions, I beseech you, before their Lordships are acquainted with them, to make notes upon such as you allow. As for the rest, I will either satisfy you in private that they are fit to be allowed, or cease to travail in them. "Next unto her Majesty I do only accompt myself bound unto your Lordship, as well for my office, as being councillor in Ireland."

30 May 1591. "By Mr. Maynard."

Copy. P. 1.

May 31.

Vol. 618, p. 48.

116. SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

I have received letters from my wife. I am bound to you for staying Tallon's suit until my return. The greatest cause that will prolong my stay in England will be sterling pay for my horsemen. I entreat you to back me with your letters of favour to the Lord Treasurer.

From the Court, the last of May 1591. "By Mr. Shellton."

Copy. P. 1.

June 16.

Vol. 618, p. 52a.

117. SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

"I have received your letters by Mr. Sheffield, and did acquaint my Lord Treasurer with the contents thereof. As concerning your opinion for the Spaniards' descent in Ireland, his answer was so doubtful as I cannot well relate it. When he understood that all the money would be disbursed ere this month were ended, he said that he was sure it would have lasted longer if old debts were not paid with it, for the which his L. told me that you had a prohibition. Whereunto I replied that I was well assured that your L. would not pay any former reckonings, but such only as was lately borrowed of necessity to relieve the garrison before this last treasure landed; wherewith he seemed to be fully answered, but yet I did not perceive his L. were forward to send more as yet. The matter of the Magoghlaghnes I have often solicited. His L. told me that all these letters heretofore sent out of Ireland about the same should [be] reviewed and fully answered, but this term time is so full of business, and lately about Sir John Perrot's cause, that no leisure can be found for it. It is thought that upon Tuesday next he shall stand forth; the truth whereof will appear very shortly. I have moved for a proportion of munition to be sent into Ireland."

Note.—"The rest of this letter was nothing but news."

16 June 1591. "By Mr. Henry Sheiffeild his man."

Copy. P. 1.

June 16.

Vol. 618, p. 53.

118. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR HENRY BAGNALL.

"My good Nephew,—Your letter by Marmaduke I have received, and am sorry to hear of the controversies depending

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between you and my kinsman." I perceive he has promised that I shall make you another estate in the constableness of Laghlin. He must excuse me if I do not presently satisfy his hope. Yourself should sooner have obtained it at my hands than he; but I am sure you do not require anything that may be prejudicial to me. Until I may see either the former covenants between us, or your writings, we cannot agree upon a new draft. Excuse me signing anything until my coming into Ireland. In the meantime, to assure you that I will not substitute any other, I am well pleased that you do nominate Mr. Dudley Loftus or any other to be my vice-constable at Laghlin Bridge. In this conveyance sent unto me you have not covenanted to save me harmless against the warders for their pay or the Queen for her rents; nor am I saved harmless for the time that your brother had the office. My best and friendliest affections to yourself, Sir Patrick, both your Ladies, and fair boy.

St. Giles-in-the-Field, 16 June 1591.

Copy. Pp. 2.

June 18. 119. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to the LORD TREASURER
(BURLEIGH).
Vol. 605, p. 173.

In former letters to the Privy Council I have signified the state of the horsemen under the Master of the Ordnance, Mr. Warren, and Captain Lee. Their pay being only 9*d.* Irish by the day, without her Majesty's reward (which other horsemen have), or cesse in the country (which they may not have), they are not able to keep themselves armed and horsed.

"No horseman is fed a meal under his 3*d.* ster. at the least, which taken out of his 6½*d.* ster. (being 9*d.* Ir.) by the day, there remaineth but 3 farthings ster., making 1*d.* Irish, to feed his horseboy, his horses, and to furnish him of weapon and apparel, with armour." Though quietness and peace are general, food and clothing are at high rates. I beseech some relief therein, "and that the Master of the Ordnance might presently be sent away, whose assistance in this Council I want, and much more now shall do at my going down to Don-dalk, where (God pleased) I and this Council, being now but six, must be the last of this month, for the ending of a great controversy between the Earl and Sir Tyrlagh O'Neale, by reason of a fray fallen between them, in which the dutiful old knight, Sir Tyrlagh O'Neale, was shot through the shoulder with a bullet and stroken with a horseman's staff in the small of his back, two grievous wounds; but (God I thank) well recovered. I sent him a surgeon with a great deal of stuff for his dressing." This affair is to be examined.

I have determined to end some matters fallen out about Knockfergus, to settle the county of Monaghan according to her Majesty's pleasure, and to deal in divers other northern border causes, all which I have assigned to be brought to

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Dondalk, as well for the ease of the English Pale, that they may not be spoiled by the Irishry coming through it, as also for the ease of the Irishry themselves in bringing their proofs and witnesses for the better ending of those matters. Without such journeys, though expensive, this kingdom cannot be continued in quietness.

Dublin, 18 June 1591.

P.S.—A new seal should be sent, with a bag. This old seal cannot last half a year, having been employed nearly 33 years. The King of Scots should be dealt with for the stay of the Out Islanders, who yearly come hither, as this year they did, though to their great loss. "Have some care of me, for here is no money to imprest me with for one week, and I was without receipt of any penny from the 1st of January last until the 12th of this June, and lived only by borrowing upon pawn and other credit." Send the Master of the Ordnance away. "Stand good lord to Patrick Crosby, of whose service this Council have no little want, and the more in that I have no secretary, and my other man still very weak."

Duplicate, sent to Carew by FitzWilliam, who has added the following note in his own hand:—

"Good Cousin,—Follow this matter to my Lord Treasurer, and let Cosbe know what I have done for him to the Lord Treasurer. God keep you! In haste, the 19 of June 1591.—Your cousin and friend, W. FytzWylliam."

P. 1. *Endorsed*: "Sent away by the Lady Carew's man."

Vol. 618, p. 54.

2. Copy of the same.

July 1. 120. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 175.

I received your letter by this bearer, Mr. Sheffield's man, this 1st of July, at Dundalk. Thanks for your news of the Queen's good health. "I had not had the book of the Brittanie news, which you sent me, before; and for all the rest, of the King of Spain his disposition for his governments after his death, the rest of those of France (not being in the book, together with those of the Low Country), I most heartily thank you for." What will become of those froward northern causes between the Earl of Tiron and Sir Tirlagh Lenagh I cannot write.

"I have been written to by three or four of my friends that there is four special men landed in England, there to complain of me or to accuse me, of which, if it be not for quartering, hanging, pillor[y]ing, and loosing of some of their ears there (being some of their great friends and kinsmen and haply acquainted with their actions), I do not fear anything, but give them free liberty to say what they can. And for Legge's report (which I am told is common) that I should so beat him and tread him under my feet till he was

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almost dead, and struck two of his best teeth out of his head, is most untrue, for upon my credit, if I be worth any honesty or belief, I laid no hand upon him, but having seven or eight sheets of paper, holding them longways in my hand, I confess I did so lift up his nose with them as I think the gristle of his nose ached with it, and sure I am it bled. I will not tell you how knavishly he dealt with me and my daughter Mary in speeches, besides that he did scorn me with his smiling and laughing."

I will not forget munitions in my next letters to the Council and the Lord Treasurer, or your speedy discharge. I wrote in my last for an augmentation of pay to the horsemen. At my coming from Dublin, the 29th of the last month, my Lady your wife was in good health.

Dundalk, 1 July 1591. *Signed.*

Postscript in the Lord Deputy's handwriting.—Thanks for your answer to my Lord Treasurer concerning the issuing of the last treasure. "I have borrowed to keep with for two months. I hope by then to be relieved from thence, for here is not to give me 20*l.* of imprest towards my new six months."

Pp. 2. Sealed, addressed, and endorsed.

Vol. 618, p. 55*a.

2. Copy of the same.

July 12. 121. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 178.

Intelligence has been brought out of Spain by Mr. James,* a merchant of Dublin, a man of wealth, honesty, and loyalty. Solicit earnestly for men, money, and munition.

In the quarrel between the Earl of Tirone and Sir Tirlagh O'Neale it was complained that the Earl was altogether in fault, but upon examination (having them both here, and at the Newrie) it fell out that Sir Tir. was therein far to blame. I and the Council have so ended those causes, as they are both returned home with good contentment, and have given both their consents to have Tirone reduced to shire ground, and to accept of a sheriff.

There was of late a broil grown in Clandhuboie by Neale Oge McHugh, who with others had an intent to banish Shane McBrien out of his country, but Mr. Marshal (Sir Henry Bagnall) was directed thither, and has not only caused the spoils taken to be restored, but also settled Shane in better strength in his country than before he was, without any charge to her Majesty.

In the division of the county of Monaghane we find no little difficulty by reason of the Earl of Essex' lands there, which I wish had been redeemed both in regard of her Majesty's service and the good and quiet settling of the country.

Dundalk, 12 July 1591 *Signed.*

* "Janes" in MS.

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P.S., in 'Sir William FitzWilliam's own hand.—“I have written for your despatch ; I pray you follow it earnestly. It is not without great appearance of need. You be wise, and a sworn councillor, to whom this I know is enough. Speak and follow hard for munition, men, and money. I would Mr. Yorcke were in Dunganan, to finish it and the rock. Commend me to him I pray you, and tell my desire for him to their Lordships.”

P. 1. Sealed, addressed, and endorsed.

July 18. 122. SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

Vol. 618, p. 55.

Thanks for your letter to the Lord Treasurer. I dealt with him for a great seal, which he promises shall be sent as soon as he can get the pattern to make it by, which you may do well to send. He said he would neither forget her Majesty's letters to the King of Scots, nor yet your private [suit] to supply your wants. I had long conference with the Queen about her garrison, your government, and the present state ; but ere our speech ended the Lord Treasurer made the third. She marvelled the garrisons were so great, considering the present quiet. I answered that in your time they had been diminished, and that the time would not permit a discharge, as the enemy threatened invasion ; wherewith she seemed satisfied. Then I asked for the restoring of the horsemen to the augmentation ; whereunto she replied as she pleased, but nothing was concluded. She did not dislike your government, but feared that you were too forward in dealing with matters of religion. I assured her that by your forbearance, in regard of her pleasure, they of the Pale were grown insolent, for redress whereof the High Commissioners could do no less than make some show of reformation, and that the men now in trouble are of no power. My Lord Treasurer desired her Majesty to do somewhat therein ; with which opinion she seemed to be well resolved.

“To the like effect that Sir Walter Raleigh did write unto me, which I showed your Lordship, her Majesty told me that she had been informed, but when she had heard my protestations how innocent I did suppose both yourself and your Lady to be, she rested fully satisfied that both your honours were slandered.”

The general state of the kingdom was amply discoursed upon. I found that some ill reports had been circulated. Likewise of the great lords and others much speech passed ; but when she came to Pheaghe MacHugh, she was not pleased that he should continually live in such manner as he doth. I replied it were no hard matter to keep his country from him, but it would be at some little charge to herself, and a great disquiet to his neighbours. She disliked the extraordinary charges for commissions. I told her you were forced to give concordatums to commissioners, as the shires

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had no men of worth and honesty; for before she was of opinion that the shires had men of quality sufficient to sit upon commissions, whereby travelling charges might be saved. All my replies were confirmed by my Lord Treasurer. He told her Majesty that I had certain notes, which he prayed her to resolve upon. She was willing to do so, but flatly denied my return until the progress were ended. This, upon my credit, merely proceeds of herself, and is no device of mine. Excuse my interlined letters, for I dare trust none of my own to write the letters I write to your Lordship.

From the Court, 18 July 1591. "By Pearce, his [Carew's] servant."

P.S.—"The rest of the Council of Ireland she commanded my Lord Treasurer forthwith to despatch them away to your Lordship."

Copy. Pp. 3.

July 20. 123. SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).
Vol. 618, p. 56a.

I have received your letter by Mr. Sheffield's man. The opinion of the Queen and my Lord Treasurer is that he is faulty whom I conceive you surmise to be faulty.* I have not heard of any special men coming to complain against you. Of Legge, or anything between you and him, I never heard. I am very glad you were so temperate. Be very earnest for munition; I know your wants will be great, if but a few Spaniards make descent in that realm. Gerald Aylmer, my landlord, is close prisoner in the Marshalsea. I think "the rest of that stubborn crew that are enjoined as he is" will be shortly sent for. I am sure it was once so determined.

From the Court, 20 July 1591. "Sent by Pearce."

P.S.—My uncle's† offences are unknown to me, but be good to him. His days are many, and his body is weak.

Copy. P. 1.

Aug. 14. 124. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 605, p. 180.

Your three letters of the 18th, 19th, and 20th of July last I received by Chichester on the 5th. I am beholden to you for your friendly parts used towards me both to her Majesty and the Lords, of which I was given to understand by my son and other my good friends there. In your absence I wish there were anything in which I might stand my Lady your wife in stead. Thanks for your good news of her Majesty's good health. A pattern of the old seal is now sent. You shall receive herewith a certificate from your officer of the store of munition here. Be earnest for a supply thereof,

Kilmainham, 14 August 1591. *Signed.*

* Sc., the Earl of Tyrone. See FitzWilliam's letter of June 18.

† George Harvey.

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P.S. in his own hand.—"I send you, my good cousin and knight, the certificate which Palfreman, your officer, hath made. Follow earnestly that this realm may be relieved with new supply, for in show from beyond the seas there was never more need. You be a councillor, and therefore I am the bolder with you."

P. 1. Sealed, addressed, and endorsed.

Vol. 618, p. 57.

2. Copy of the same.

Sept. 1. 125.
Vol. 605, p. 182.

To SIR THOMAS WILLIAMS, Muster Master and Clerk of the Cheque.

Warrant by the Lord Deputy, requiring him to give allowance to Sir George Carewe, licensed to be absent in England for four months, for the pay of himself and the ten horsemen attending on him.

Kylmayneham, 1 September 1591. *Signed.*

P. 1. Endorsed.

Vol. 605, p. 184.

2. Another warrant to the same effect, for three months. Dublin, 22 December 1591. *Signed.*

P. 1. Endorsed.

Sept. 16. 126.
Vol. 618, p. 57a.

SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

By Mr. Baptist I received your letters, the Court being then at Cowdrye, my Lord Montacute's house. The despatch of the munition and myself is deferred until the Queen come to Otelands.

This last night at Basing the Queen told me I should forthwith be sent away. We had talk of Sir Robert Dillon. She desires to know the cause of his imprisonment. I humbly thank you for dealing so kindly with my old uncle. I have procured a letter from my Lord Treasurer to you for his enlargement. Within these few days you were a dead man in every man's mouth; but the report was not backed. Your office would not have lain void, for divers were gaping for preferment. Please to let my wife have Sir Hugh McGennys's rent cows this year at the same price upon my prest bill as I had this year past.

Odiham, 16 September, 1591. "By Captain Warram Shelynger's man."

Copy. P. 1.

Oct. 1. 127.
Vol. 618, p. 58.

SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

This messenger, Mr. Baptist, is departing. The bearer of my letters of the 16th was a servant of Captain Warham Selen-ger's, by whom you will receive a letter from the Lord Treasurer in my uncle Harvy's behalf. I beseech you, if it

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may be without hazard to yourself, that he may be enlarged. My return into Ireland is every day promised. My purse is too weak to tarry very long in Court. I perceive by the Queen that you have fully certified the cause of Sir Robert Dyllon's imprisonment. The Queen is well pleased with your proceedings in the same.

Wottlands (Oatlands?), 1 October 1591.

Copy. P. 1.

128. The UNDERTAKERS in MUNSTER.

Vol. 617, p. 164.

"Munster.—An Abstract or brief particular of all the Names of the Undertakers, the several counties, the quantity of their lands, and their yearly rents."

Waterford.—Sir Chr. Hatton, late Lord Chancellor of England, hath in demesne and rentable lands (at the rate of 428½ acres, English measure, to a plowland) 10,910 acres; yearly rent from Mich. 1591 for three years, 30*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* ster., and from Mich. 1594 in perpetuity, 60*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* ster. Sir Walter Rawleighe, rentable lands, number unknown; yearly rent from Mich. 1591 for three years, 50 marks ster., and afterwards 100 marks.*

Kerry.—Sir Edward Denny, 6,000 acres; rent for three years 50*l.*, afterwards 100*l.* "He hath also the collection of chief rents in his patent to the sum of 300*l.*; also 80 beoffes. The country being depopulate, this rent was never answered by him, and we find that the Earl [of Desmond] never received half so much, and when he received any, it was in warlike manner upon the country of Clanmorryes, being the territory of the Baron of Lixnawe, who, being enforced thereunto by our distresses taken upon his lands, hath compounded for 50*l.* ster. *per annum*, as parcel of the composition of Kerry." The rents payable by Sir William Harbarte, Mr. Charles Harbarte, Mr. John Hollis, Captain Jenken Conwaye, and John Champion are specified.

Cork.—Sir Warham St. Leger, Hugh Cuffe (who has granted to William Power the half of his seignory), Sir Thomas Norreis, Arthur Robins, Arthur Hyde, Phane Becher and Hugh Worth, Thomas Say, Edmond Spencer, Richard Beacon.†

Limerick.—Sir William Courtneye, Francis Barkley, Robert Ansloe, Richard and Alexander Fitton, Edmond Manwaringe, Sir Edward Fitton (also in cos. Waterford and Tipperary), William Trenshard, George Thorneton, Sir George Boucher, Henry Billingslye.

* Sir Walter's lands are stated to be in cos. Waterford and Cork, and the following note is placed in the margin:—"He had these lands by express words and warrant in a special letter from her Majesty at 100 marks *per annum* rent."

† The lands held and rents payable by these Undertakers are specified. Spencer had 3,028 acres in co. Cork, his rent for the first three years being 8*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, and from Mich. 1594, 17*l.* 7*s.* 6½*d.*; chief rents, 33*s.* 4*d.*

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Tipperary.—Thomas Earl of Ormonde and Osserie.

Totals.—Acres, 202,099. Rents, 1,976*l.* 7*s.* 5½*d.* ster. after Michaelmas 1594.

The Undertakers pay for their demesne lands but half of their rents till Michaelmas 1594.

Chief rents, 1,022*l.* 13*s.* 8½*d.*

Abatements of rents upon evictions, 55*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* Remain of the Undertakers' rent till Michaelmas 1594, 967*l.* 6*s.* 7½*d.*

Abatements of rents upon evictions *per annum* till Michaelmas 1594, 80*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* There remaineth therefore to be paid yearly to her Majesty after Mich. 1594, 1,896*l.* 3*s.* 5½*d.* (*sic.*)

Signed: Ro. Gardener, Roger Wilbraham.

Copy. Pp. 4.

1592.

June 14.

129.

SIR ROBERT DILLON.

Vol. 616, p. 76.

“A Journal of all our [the Commissioners'] proceedings in the cause preferred by Mr. William Nugent for her Majesty against Sir Robert Dillon, knight, Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Court of Common Pleas of Ireland.”

On the 17th February 1591[–2] we received from the Lord Deputy two letters from the Privy Council, dated 22nd and 24th November 1591, by virtue of which we entered into conference touching that cause, and called Mr. William Nugent before us, promising him our best assistance; and we required to know what matters he had to prefer for her Majesty against Sir Robert Dillon. As he had landed in Ireland but lately, he desired a month to prepare the same, to draw his interrogatories, and to produce witnesses. He was assigned to appear at Dublin on 20th March, when, for that some of us the Commissioners were employed in more weighty services, further respite was given till 12th April, at which day Mr. Nugent came before us at Christ's Church in Dublin. The Barons of Delvin and Howth were in company with him, and assisted him with their presence and counsel.

Mr. Nugent delivered us a petition for the enlargement of Patrick Brymigham, committed for suspicion of misdemeanour, who was a prosecutor of the accusation against Sir Robert Dillon; whereupon the Lord Deputy enlarged him upon bonds.

On 14th April 1592, we received of Mr. Nugent his articles of accusation, being 19 in number, and he delivered in the names of all his witnesses, for whom on the 15th we sent warrants, and then gave commandment to Sir Robert, the prisoner, to refrain from all conference, and to exclude all company other than his wife, family, and servants.

Every day after the Commissioners sat in St. Patrick's Church and examined many witnesses till 11th May, when

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Mr. Nugent preferred the names of other witnesses, who likewise were sent for by the Pursuivant, and examined from 23rd May till 13th June. Then, finding no more proofs, and having examined certain witnesses upon two articles of accusation particularly preferred by Brymingham the last summer, on the 14th of June we acquainted the Lord Deputy with these our proceedings. He willed us to make our certificate to the Privy Council, for that he knew nothing material either for the purgation or further accusation of Sir Robert Dillon; and thereupon we have certified to their Lordships all the examinations of any effect tending to the proof of the several articles preferred.

Dublin, 14 June 1592.

Signed: Ad. Dublin., canc., H. Bagenall, Ro. Gardener, Roger Wilbraham.

Pp. 3. Endorsed.

Aug. 5—
Oct. 11.
Vol. 631.

130. COMPOSITIONS for CESSÉ and other IMPOSTS.

Articles indented betwixt the Queen's Commissioners and the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the country of Orrerie in co. Cork, touching a composition in lieu of cesse; at Cork, 17 September 1592.

Whereas her Majesty by letters patents dated at Dublin 12th July last, and by instructions annexed to the said commission, authorized the said Commissioners to deal with the lords and freeholders and all other possessioners in Munster for a composition in lieu of cesse, such as is in Connaught; the said freeholders and possessioners of Orrerie, acknowledging her Majesty's care and great masses of treasure spent within this province for the suppression of the late traitor Desmond and his complices, have submitted willingly to a composition, and do by these presents offer her a yearly composition out of the said country of 20*l.* sterling for three years. And the said Commissioners promise and agree that the said inhabitants shall be exonerated of all cesse, and of all victualing of her Majesty's army and garrison, and of all provision of the household and stable of the Lord Deputy, the Lord President, and Vice-Presidents, and of all provision of horsemen, soldiers, galloglas, horses, horseboys, and all other impositions, except in case of any invasion or sudden rebellion. This country or barony shall appoint a collector to receive the same, without fee.

Mem.—"The chargeable lands of Liskarroll, lands of Ballim^ekowa, Ballebustie, and Kilmelenye, if any part thereof be chargeable, is meant to be subject to the above composition."

Signed: Nicholas Barry *alias* McShian's mark, James Lumbard, Eily Barry of Bregoge, P. H. Rirragus (?), John

1591.

Chillister, John Miz of Lessfricken, James Byrn, Edward Nangle, Cornell Dalie, Rallaghan McOwen.

Mem.—The day and year above said, the gentlemen and freeholders of all Condons' country have compounded with the Commissioners to pay 6*l.* yearly for three years.

Signed: Edmond Gangahe, Edmond Og Condon, Piers Gold, Patrick Condon, Richard Condon *alias* McMaoge, Fynne Monsloe, Walter Condon, William McEdmond Condon, Edmond McJohn Condon.

II. Similar Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of Kinnalea, at Cork, 15 September 1592, in public assembly of the whole county.

A yearly composition of 15*l.* ster.

Signed: Thomas Longe, John Bostock, Henry Barries *alias* Barricok, Philip Golde, George Robinson, Walter Graunte, Leoffin Meade, E. M. D., Awlie O'Flime, James Sarsfield, Thomas Fleming, Richard Roche, John Roold, William Cogan, David McShane, Edmond FitzMoris Roche, Edmond White, William Risserd, David FitzWilliam Roche, Piers Golde.

III. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the freeholders, &c. of Ibaone, at Cork, 17 September 1592.

A yearly composition of 25*l.* ster.

Signed: Donoghe Oge, Teige O'Hee *alias* O'Hea, Edmond Arundell, James Hodwett.

IV. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the freeholders, &c. of Carbrej, at Cork, 15 September 1592.

A yearly composition of 80*l.* ster.

Signed: Owen Carte, Phenen O'Driscoll, John Slewright, Connour McMahowne, Walter Graunt, Donell Solevan, Donogh Driscoll, Conour McO'Mahowne "de Lenton," Donell Oge ne Carte, Donell McDermod McCarte, Dermod McTege O'Driscoll, Fana McDonell McCarte, Dermod O'Driscoll, Donell McDonogh McCarte, Donogh McCormocke McCarte, Tege McDermod McFeleme, Tege O'Crole *alias* Crowle, Tege McCartan *alias* Tege McMockle, Cormocke Oge McCarte, Phenen O'Driscoll, Davy O'Crole.

V. Articles indented betwixt the Queen's Commissioners and the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the lands of the sixteen toeghes in Connyloughe, charged with shraghe, marte, and other uncertain customs, at Limerick, 8 August 1592, in public assembly.

The said Commissioners having moved them to compound with her Majesty for the said shraughe, &c., all the said freeholders, &c. accepted of the same, and by way of composition do yield to her Majesty out of every quarter of land within

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the said sixteen toughes, in full satisfaction of all sraghe, marte, cesse, connye, livery, and other such charges, the yearly rent of 25*s.* ster. And although the said chargeable land was charged to the late Earl of Desmond in every toughes 40 marks and 20 beoffes clearly, besides coyne and livery and other uncertainties, yet in respect that the land wasted paid no portion of that charge during the waste, and no arrearages were at any time demanded, and that the said Earl when it was levied sometimes gave it back again, and that the said sixteen toughes are not yet fully peopled, by reason none dare inhabit the said land for fear of the great burden, the Commissioners do accept of the said offer and composition, to continue during her Majesty's pleasure, and agree that the said freeholders, &c. shall be discharged of all sraghe, &c., and likewise of the provision of the Lord President, &c. The arrearages are deferred to further consideration.

Signed : Philip Suppell of Ballenetubbred, Thomas McEae (?), Doole McMulumurry, David Lacie, Richard Wale, James Lacie FitzDavid, Patrick Lalor, Morys Cooswill, McHenry, Carhill McGerrott, John FitzThomas McPhillipp, Gerrott Liston, James Nashe, William Oge England, David Barrie, Moriertaghe McMorghe, James Russell.

VI. An Order indented betwixt the Commissioners and all the freeholders and tenants of the barony of Kyre-churrye, dated 20 September 1592.

Whereas upon view of the records of her Majesty's offices it is found that there are within the said barony several sorts of tenures whereby the lands there are alleged to be holden, viz., 29 plowlands called chargeable lands, each charged with a rent of 10*s.* ster. yearly, and with coyne, livery, bonybegg, kearnetie, and such Irish customs, at the will and pleasure of the Earl of Desmond; 15 plowlands, each holden by fealty and 6*s.* 8*d.* ster. yearly rent, and by sorohen during 24 hours in every fortnight; 4 plowlands holden by fealty and sorohen only; 23 plowlands, each holden by homage, fealty, and suit only to the manor of Carriglynnye; the town and lands of Aghmartin, holden by sorohen, and two refections yearly; the town and lands of Ballyvoinge, holden by sorohen, and two refections only yearly; Ballyhindebarry, holden by fealty and 16*d.* ster. yearly rent; and Farrendighe, holden by fealty and 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly rent.

And whereas, upon ripping up the titles mentioned in the several petitions of the pretended freeholders of the said chargeable lands exhibited to us, complaining that the said charge was wrongfully exacted by the Earls of Desmond, and were abolished by statute, and desiring to be restored to the freeholds which they severally demanded, and to be discharged of the said burden, it appeared that the Earl of Desmond, lately attainted, and divers his ancestors have used to demise

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and let the said chargeable lands to others than the said pretended freeholders, and allowed unto them the fourth part of the land. Nevertheless, forasmuch as the said plaintiffs showed before us divers deeds of feoffments, releases, and other probable evidences, and produced divers witnesses, whereby it should seem that the right of the freehold belonged to them, and to those by whom they claim; and forasmuch as they and the rest of the freeholders of the other lands before recited, willingly submitted themselves to our arbitrable order to compound the controversies betwixt such as claim by her Majesty and them; and also forasmuch as we may think, by reason of an ancient deed which we saw dated in King Richard II.'s time, that some of those services were lawfully created by tenure (although we could not learn the beginning thereof), and that we think some of the uncertainties were wrongfully exacted of them, by reason we find the charges to have been greater than the whole profits of the lands; we have therefore concluded and ordered that the freeholders of the said chargeable lands shall pay certain yearly rents (*specified*), as well in consideration of the said rents and duties as in lieu of all cesse and victualling of her Majesty's garrison; in all, 62*l.* 19*s.* *per annum*. And we, the freeholders, do most willingly and thankfully accept of this order. Provided that if necessity shall require the soldiers to be victualled upon the barony, an allowance of 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly shall be made to the freeholder of every plowland during the said charge. This order to continue in force only during her Majesty's pleasure.

Signed: William Coggan, Wm. Roche, "*et aliorum*."

Memorandum, that 40 acres in Crossehaven (of which John Coppinger is freeholder), the fourth part of Ballen Ransie, the manor of Barnehealie, and the town of Aghmartin, are to be free from all charge, cesse, &c.; and that Ramyskiddy is to be abated a mark.

Signed: Tho. Norris, Ro. Gardener, Nich. Walshe, "*et aliorum*."

VII. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the freeholders, &c. of Fermoye, otherwise called the Lord Roche's country, at Cork, 17 September 1592.

A yearly composition of 25*l.* ster.

Signed: M. de Rupe et Fermoye, — (?) Monsloye, Wm. Mc x Tybbot Roche of Balleholy, "*et diversorum aliorum*."

VIII. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the freeholders, &c. of the two baronies of Yvlyehane and O'Gormelahane in the Lord Barrie More's country, at Cork, 17 September 1592.

A yearly composition of 42*l.* ster.

Signed: David Buttevante, "*et aliorum*."

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- ix. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the freeholders, &c. of the whole county of Limerick, 5 August 1592, in public assembly of the whole county, for a composition of 10s. sterling yearly out of every plowland, for five years, Connilogh excepted.

Signed: E. Myaghe, Oliver Bowrke, Mayor [of] Lymerick, Connour O'Mulryan, John Verdon, vic. (sheriff), Ja. Golde, Stephen Sexten, McBreene x O'Gonaghies his mark, Tho. Yonge, Jordan Roche, John Lacye FitzDavy, Ja. Monsloy, "*et aliorum*."

Here follow "the names of the chargeable lands in the small county of Limerick (besides such as are passed to Undertakers)."

For that the grand jury have presented that these lands (containing $13\frac{1}{2}$ plowlands) are charged to pay yearly to her Majesty 40s. "halfage," making 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ster. (whereof Sir Edward Fytton, Sir George Bouchier, and Edward Maneringe undertake the collection); and the tenants therefore were unwilling to condescend to this composition unless the said great rents, more than half the value of the lands, might be considered; we the Commissioners have condescended hereby that the said $13\frac{1}{2}$ plowlands shall yield only 5*s.* yearly out of each plowland in lieu of cesse.

Signed: Tho. Norreys, Ro. Gardener, Nich. Walshe, Roger Wilbraham, Ja. Golde.

John FitzEdmond, Wm. McRickard, Thomas Browne, John FitzWilliam, Edmond Whytte, Moroghe McBrene his x mark, Redmond FitzWilliam, "*et multorum aliorum*."

- x. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the Lord FitzMorish and the gentlemen, &c. of the country, otherwise called the barony and half-barony, of Clanmorris, co. Kerry, the last of September 1592.

The said gentlemen, &c. do yield to her Majesty 35*l.* ster. yearly out of the lands chargeable with sraghe, marte, &c., and further 15*l.* yearly in composition for cesse, victualling, and other imposts for the space of three years.

Signed: Pa. Lyksnawe, John x Oge Piers.

- xi. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the gentlemen, &c. of the three baronies of Trughnackmye, Browne Lonclone, and Offerbuye, and the barony of Corkevynnye, in co. Kerry, at Denglecouishe, 18 August 1592, in public assembly.

Whereas by verdict of jurors every of the said three baronies do contain 16 knights' fees, each chargeable with sraghe and marte in one equal rate of 5 marks ster. and 5 beoves yearly to the late traitor Desmond, of which charge the greatest part was never levied, by reason of its greatness; the Commissioners having moved them to compound for the same, the gentlemen, &c. do yield to her Majesty, in full satisfaction of

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sraghe, marte, cesse, and other such charges, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ster. yearly for three years, deducting *pro rata* for all lands in the possession of any patentee as an undertaker, and likewise for the free lands which are parcel of the said three baronies.

Signed: Richard Trantte, "suffrain" (*i.e.* sovereign), John FitzEdmond Gerald, Mich. Brown, Stephen Ryce, Gerald FitzMorish, Raphe Pattinson, as agent for Sir Edward Denny, James Trauntt, Jenkyn Conway, Gerott DufeStak, Thomas × McEdmond's mark, John McThomas Mc × Shane's mark, Moris McUllick's × mark, John × McUllick's mark, Richard Trauntt, Mich. Traunt, "*et diversorum aliorum.*"

Moreover, we whose names are subscribed do yield to her Majesty 5*s.* ster. yearly out of every plowland not chargeable with sragh and marte, as composition in lieu of cesse and other imposts.

Signed: Richard Trauntt, "suffrain," Stephen Rice, Jenken Conway, Nicholas Traunt, Gerod FizMorish, John Morish, Owen O'Swilevan × *alias* O'Swilewan Beery his mark, Nicholas Brown, Dermot O'Swiliwan's × mark, "*cum multis aliis.*"

XII. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and all the lords, knights, gentlemen, freeholders, possessioners, and inhabitants of the country of Desmond, at Cork, 17 September 1592.

A yearly composition of 30*l.* ster. for three years, in lieu of cesse and all other charges, viz., out of O'Swellen More's part of the said country, 7*l.* 10*s.*, besides the chief and other rents which her Majesty hath by the attainder of the late Earl of Desmond, and 22*l.* 10*s.* out of the other two parts of the same.

Signed: Donyll Clancarr, Owen × O'Swelewan *alias* O'Swelen More.

XIII. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the gentlemen, &c. of co. Waterford, viz., Powren country, Decies, Coshomore and Coshbryd, and Ifeagh, at Waterford, 11 October 1592.

A yearly composition of 110*l.* ster., viz., out of Pooren country, 45*l.* ster.; out of the Decies, 35*l.*; out of Coshowmore and Coshbridie, 12*l.*; and also out of the country of Ifeagh, 18*l.*

Signed: Nich. Walsh; Rich. Aylward; Rich. Powre; Thomas Wadding; James Sherlock; Eu. Roche; Ge. Fitz-James; John FitzGerrott; Daniel McCrahe; Thomas Fitz-Richard; Pa. Grante; T. (?) Heyforde; John Og FitzGerrald; James Purcell; Edward Stephenson; Edmond Mc × Shan's mark; Edmond × Og of the Grange; Tho. FitzEdmond × his mark; Morish Fitz × Thomas's mark; Sallomon White; Thomas Creaghe.

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XIV. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the gentlemen, &c. of Barretts' country, at Cork, 16 September 1592, in public assembly of the whole county of Cork.

A yearly composition of 23*l.* ster.

Signed: Robert Coppinger, Andrew Barrett, Donaldus Palfrie, "*et diversorum aliorum.*"

Mem.—The day and year aforesaid the gentlemen and inhabitants of Coursies' country have compounded for 5*l.* ster. yearly for three years.

Signed: Warham Myaghe, John Coursye, Philip Roche, Geoffrey Galwey, Donoghue Oge, "*et aliorum.*"

XV. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the gentlemen, &c. of the barony of Dowally, otherwise called Puble I Chalchane, Clane Awlie, Puble O'Kiffe, and Balle McCork, in Carties' country, in co. Cork, at Cork, 17 September 1592.

A yearly composition of 30*l.* ster., viz., out of Puble I Chalchane, 10*l.*; out of Clan Awlie, Puble O'Kiffe, and Balle McCork, 10*l.*, and out of Clancartie's country, 10*l.*

Mem.—"Dowallie is equally divided into three parts, viz., one part called Clancarties of Dowallie; the second, O'Chalchane's country; the third part is McAlie's, O'Kiffe's, and O'Kirke's countries." Each of these three countries to pay their 10*l.* separately. Dermott McOwen, by his letter sent by O'Kiffe, has given his consent to a composition for his part of the countries of Clan Cartie, which is allotted to pay 10*l.* ster. yearly.

Signed: Conoghor O'Callaghan *alias* O'Kallaghan, Patrick Graunt, Brene McOwen (B. M. O.), Art O' × Kijfe *alias* O'Kife.

XVI. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the gentlemen, &c. of the country called Muskrye, in co. Cork, at Cork, 18 September 1592.

A yearly composition of 35*l.* ster.

Signed: Cor Carty; Teig **WW** McOwen his mark; O. M. M.; Art × O'Lerye *alias* O'Lory his mark.

XVII. Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the knights, gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the country of all Beare and Bantrie, at Cork, 18 September 1592.

A yearly composition of 13*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* ster. out of the country of Beare and Bantrie, and Clandermodie, "that is not in the Undertakers' hands, and is in the county of Cork."

Signed: Owen O'Sulluwan.

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XVIII. Articles concluded and agreed upon by her Majesty's Commissioners with the gentlemen and freeholders of the barony of Imokillie, at Cork, 21 September 1592.

Whereas it appeareth by her Majesty's records that there was 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ster. yearly rent, by the names of sraghe, mart, bonybegge, and kearnetie, due to the late Earl of Desmond, of every plowland of the said barony (over and besides the rent of 58 beoffes), which rents and duties the said gentlemen and freeholders affirmed were never paid, but extortionately taken by the Earls of Desmond; yet they have yielded to a reasonable composition for all charges, "and desired consideration may be had of their ancient gentry, being the remain of th' English gentlemen that first inhabited this province next after the conquest," and also of their extreme poverty, their dutifulness in all services, and specially the smallness of their plowlands. They have offered to pay yearly 90 marks ster. out of every plowland of the chargeable lands for three years, which offer the Commissioners have accepted of. And for that of 135 plowlands chargeable in the said barony, 27 are in Sir Walter Rawlie's patent, and that he hath also 8 plowlands with Ballimarter in ward, there rest only 100 plowlands "over and besides 12 claimed to be free, besides the lands challenged to be free in the franchises of Yoghell; yet (although in the records charged with sorohen) of the which 100 plowlands chargeable we have allowed unto them 10 plowlands to be free." We therefore order that the said gentlemen and freeholders shall be charged only for the said 90 plowlands, for which they shall pay in one sum the yearly rent of 90 marks. They are to appoint a collector. This composition is not to be prejudicial to the said parties' ancient rights, titles, or tenures.

Signed: John FitzEdmond Gerrald; Richard Condon; John Ca x rew his mark; Edmond x Supell; Redmond Maguier; Mastine x McPieris; Edmond Power; Garrott x Coundon his mark.

"This containeth 49 sheets of paper, being the true copy of the several compositions in her Majesty's province of Munster. Ex., 9 Maij 1601, per Ric. Colman, R.R.; the original remaining in my office."

Copies. Pp. 49.

Dec. 21. 131.
Vol. 617, p. 162.

The COMPOSITION for CESSE in TIPPERARY.

Offers made by the Lord Deputy and Council to the Earl of Ormond and the lords, gentlemen, and agents of co. Tipperary, touching composition for cesse, with the answer and agreement of the Earl and the rest; at Dublin Castle, 21 December 1592.

Note.—The Lord Deputy and Council and the agents were agreed over-night to have the following order passed during

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her Majesty's pleasure, for three years, but the next morning the Earl and the agents refused to subscribe it unless it were passed for five years.

The Lord Deputy and Council offer that if the Crosse and all the county and liberty of Tipperary will pay 300*l.* ster. *per annum* for composition in lieu of cesse, as a taxation with Munster, the arrearages of the composition taxed upon them in the composition of the English Pale shall be remitted. Should this be not approved of, if they will pay 189*l.* ster. and all the arrearages, being 1,320*l.* ster., the said composition will be accepted, to continue during her Majesty's pleasure.

The Earl of Ormond, the Archbishop of Cashell, the Lord Baron of Donboyne, and other the gentlemen and agents of the co. Tipperary assent to pay 189*l.* ster. yearly, humbly desiring, in respect of the great poverty of the country, some remittal of the arrearages; whereupon the Lord Deputy and Council reduced them to 1,200*l.*, which they promise to pay in three years. For the first 400*l.* the Lord Baron of Donboyne, Walter Butler of Kilcashe, James Oge Butler of Slevardaghe, and John Cantwell of Moycarke are bound in recognizance; and for the other 800*l.* the Earl of Ormond hath undertaken to send hither eight other sufficient gentlemen. The hundred soldiers victualled upon the country by order of the late Commissioners there shall be removed to their former place of garrison.

Signed: Ad. Dublin, Canc. ; Ro. Gardiner ; Geff. Fenton ; Henry Bagnall ; George Bouchier.

We do assent to the said composition, to continue for five years from Michaelmas last, so as the composition lately concluded by the Baron of Donboyne and the entry thereof in the Council Book be cancelled.

Signed: Tho. Ormonde, Ja. Donboyne, Ja. Butler, Milerus Casselen., Walter Butler, John Cantwell.

"In conclusion, when it was perceived that they of Tipperary would stand to their first composition of 189*l.* ster. in hope that the arrearages would be remitted, the Lord Deputy and Council made offer of 250*l.* ster. *per annum*, and to discharge them of their arrearages, but the lords and agents would not accept of it."

"Copia vera, ex' per Nath. Dillon."

Copy. Pp. 2.

132. EXACTIONS of the late EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 617, p. 212.

"Names of Rents in money, victuals, and other revenues as were due to the late Earl of Desmond, and of the customs and exactions used to be taken upon the tenants."

Shraughe: a yearly rent in sterling money. *Marte*: a yearly rent of beoffe[s]. *Cheeffrey*: a rent certain upon land paying halfeface money, which is the third part better than

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sterling. *Choyney* : a charge of meat and drink for the time, sans nombre. *Lyvery* : a charge of horse with oats, corn, hay, and straw, sans nombre. *Kearnety* : a charge of 3s. 4d. or 4s. upon a plowland towards the maintenance of the Earl's kerne, 100, 200, or 300 men, more or less. *Sorren* : a charge set upon the freeholders' lands for a number of galloglasses for certain days in a quarter. *Galloglas* : a number of soldiers put to the country to charge, bearing axes. *Keerne* : a number of soldiers to aid and assist the justices, seneschals, receivers, stewards of courts, and serjeants in the execution of the laws and customs of the countries and territories of the said late Earl's, for the rule and government of his people and lands, and the receiving, levying, and gathering of his revenues. *Bonnibeg* and *Bonneybur* were soldiers kept in readiness, as well in peace as in war, "at the charges," with meat and drink and wages. *Musterroon* : a charge set upon the country to help the Earl in his works with cappells, garrans, and men at his own will. *Taxe* and *Tallage* alias *Southe* : a convocation of all tenants, freeholders, and inhabitants to help to pay the Earl's debts, or to help him to money at his need. *Refection* is only repast and away. *Cosshery* : a charge of the Earl's people for lodging 40, 60, or 100 together under one roof. *Cuddy* : a charge of meals, meat, and drink the time he hath his people in coshery. *Gillicrie* is as much to say in English as a stud-keeper, allowed to be maintained by his tenants. *Gillycon* is as much to say as dog-keeper or huntsman, in like manner allowed.

Copy. Pp. 2.

133. The ARMY.

Vol. 605, p. 186.

Orders meet to be observed by the captains and soldiers, and by constables and wards of castles: whereof the Clerk of the Checque is to take charge.

"That every captain having charge shall make choice of some one of his company to read the Divine Service audibly before them thrice a week at least, and if any be absent, to cheque them for the first time his day's wages, and upon further absence at his own discretion."

That all captains shall present true muster-rolls, upon pain of losing six months' pay. That every captain deliver his muster-roll upon his oath.

No captain to "hire or take to be mustered any soldiers or any other persons to supply muster." No English captain of 100 men to keep in his band above four Irishmen, and a captain of 50 but two.

That no captain do license any soldier to depart without entering his name with the Clerk of the Checque, and then the Governor to license him but for two months, and in like sort a captain or garrison man for three months. Such absentees

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to be chequed; provided that if any so licensed be stayed at the waterside for want of passage, he shall not be chequed. Every captain to certify any diminution of his number. No captain to present a soldier to musters without his furniture complete.

No captain shall suffer any person's servant to have pay within his band, but pay shall be only bestowed upon the soldiers that shall personally serve.

Every captain to see to the preservation of armours and weapons from wastes, spoils, and losses, and that their value be defalked out of the wages of the soldiers as heretofore.

That all captains do pass their reckonings, or at least do procure their "warrants of alterations" half-yearly to be signed and allowed by the Governor.

Dated by Carew, "1592."

Pp. 2.

Endorsed: An abstract of the orders for musters sent from England and to be delivered to the captains of Ireland.

134. ULSTER.

Vol. 635, p. 76.

"A Report of the Forces of Ulster, according to a note delivered unto Sir G. C[arew], in anno 1592, by an Irishman."*

In Tirconnel: 310 horse, 2,680 foot; (of these, 80 horse and 500 foot are retained by O'Donnell). Tyrone: 930 h., 5,260 f.; (of these 200 h. and 1,000 f. are retained by the Earl of Tyrone.) Colrane: 400 h., 1,000 f. Farmanaghe: 250 h., 1,500 f. Monaghan: 120 h., 1,000 f. The Fuse: 60 h., 200 f. Orire: 60 h., 400 f. Killultogh: 20 h., 100 f. Kilbarlin: 10 h., 120 f. Evaghe: 122 h., 610 f. Kinalertie: 30 h., 200 f. Upper Clandeboy: 80 h., 400 f. Nether Clandeboy: 116 h., 760 f. The Rout: 90 h., 700 f. The Glynnnes: 200 f† Total: 2,238 horse, 15,130 foot; 17,368 h. and f.

Copy. Pp. 2.

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June 28. 135.

Vol. 611, p. 230.

The EARL OF TYRONE and SIR TIRLAGH O'NELE

Articles of agreement indented between Hugh Earl of Tyrone and Sir Tirlagh O'Nele, before Sir William FitzWilliams, Lord Deputy, and the Council, at Don-dalke, 28 June 1593.

(1.) Whereas the said Earl has her Majesty's entertainment for 50 horsemen to serve under him (636*l.* 9*s.* 4½*d.* ster. a year), it is concluded that Sir Tirlagh shall receive the said entertainment to his proper use during his life, according to

* These words, "by an Irishman," were added by Carew.

† The forces of each lord and gentleman within these countries are specified.

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her Majesty's pleasure signified in the patents of the captainry of Tyrone passed to him, finding the said horsemen to serve her Majesty at the said Earl's charge.

(2.) Sir Tirlagh shall have the yearly rents and duties payable by Magwyre, according to her Majesty's grant; and the said Earl shall constrain the said Magwyre and his heirs to pay the same if they refuse to do so.

(3.) The said Earl is to pay to Sir Tirlagh so many cows yearly as shall, after the rate of 20s. ster. the cow, make up, together with the said entertainment and with Magwyre's rent, 2,000l. ster.; provided always, that if the said entertainment do, in the life of the said Sir Tirlagh, surcease by the death of the said Earl or otherwise, that thenceforth the said Earl, his heirs or assigns, shall pay to the said Sir Tirlagh, his servants or assigns, in lieu of it, and to make up the said 2,000l., the sum of 636l. 9s. 4½d. ster., or in default of money a choice cow for every 20s. ster.; such cows as shall be delivered at May yearly to be in calf, and the cows to be delivered at Hallowmas yearly to be sufficient beefs. 5s. extra to be paid for every cow not delivered at the said feasts. The said money or cows to be paid at Strabane or Bynnvorbe.

(4.) Sir Tirlagh shall have for life the towns and lands of Strabane and Large Virnevie, and also the lands adjoining Strabane (lying in length from Bundened in the north-east to Bundowglishe in the south-west, and in breadth from the river of Fynne to the river of Darge), free from all duties and charges by the Earl; "and also the town of Binvorbe or Curren, with the half Ballebetaghe, with their appurtenances next adjoining to such of the said towns as he shall choose; and the said Sir Tirlagh, taking his choice of the said house and land of Binvorbe, or of the said house and land of Curren, then such house of those as he shall make choice of to be required by the Earl for Sir Tirlagh in convenient time."

(5.) Sir Tirlagh shall quietly, without the disturbance of the Earl, receive three score cows yearly of O'Dogherty, and also the one half of the duties due from Logh Foile and the Bande; the other half to be received by the Earl.

(6.) Also, whereas Sir Tirlagh demands of the Earl some increase of pension over and above the said 2,000l., to be paid in manner as laid down, whereto the Earl was unwilling to yield, nevertheless the Earl and Sir Tirlagh have condescended and agreed to perform such order in that behalf as O'Cahan, Cormocke, the Earl's brother, Henry Oge O'Nele, and one of Sir Tirlagh's men, to be by him named, shall lay down. The said [Earl] also promises to stand to the order of the said arbitrators in the controversies betwixt Sir Tirlagh and Art O'Nele, his son, touching certain lands, parcel of Sir Tirlagh's ancient inheritance, now in the occupation of the said Arthur, and shall cause the said Arthur to perform the same.

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(7.) The Earl will endeavour to recover such spoils and preys as Hugh Roe O'Donell hath taken from Ferdoroghe O'Nele, Shane McTole, Art Umolaghe, and others; all which preys are included in the number of 2,000 cows, whereof complaint was made by Sir Tirlagh in his articles of complaint preferred at this assembly against the Earl.

(8.) The Earl promises to assist Sir Tirlagh against O'Donell that now is or shall be, and other bad bordering neighbours, having licence of the State to use force. He also promises to restore Shane O'Donell, servant to Sir Tirlagh, to all such spiritual livings as he held by the presentation of the Lord Primate of Ardmaghe.

(9.) Sir Tirlagh shall receive such rents and duties out of the lands of Sleveshees as were due and payable at Easter or May last, and as yet not paid. The Earl shall cause payment to be made to him of all rents due to him by such as dwell in Tyreone, and shall cause Magwyre and O'Cahan to pay Sir Tirlagh the arrear due upon them. He shall permit Sir Tirlagh to receive such arrear as is behind this last year of the Earl's entertainment for the horsemen aforesaid, and pay to Sir Tirlagh such arrearages as are due "upon the lease determined above the said entertainment."

(10.) The Earl and his heirs shall hold the territory and lands of Tyreone against Sir Tirlagh and his heirs, discharged of all such title and demand as Sir Tirlagh claimeth to have in and to the same, or any part thereof, the castles, hereditaments, &c. hereby appointed to Sir Tirlagh excepted only for term of his life; and also excepted all the ancient inheritance of Sir Tirlagh, to him and his heirs, saving that the said ancient inheritance shall contribute *pro rata* as like lands in the county shall do.

(11.) If any question or doubt do arise upon the construction of these articles, the same shall be expounded and ordered by the Lord Deputy and Lord Chancellor, or such two of the Privy Council within this realm as the said parties shall choose.

Signed: W. FitzWilliam; Ad. Dublin, Canc.; Rob. Gardener; Tho. Midensis; Geff. Fenton; George Bourcher.

"Ex", Geff. Fenton."

Copy. Pp. 4.

Sept. 136. ACCUSATIONS against SIR ROBERT DILLON and others.
Vol. 616, p. 64.

"Sheane McCongawney's Relation, written by himself in Irish, and translated afterwards into English."

Delivered to the Lord Deputy and Council the 13th of August, anno '93.

"This is the service which I have opened against Sir Robert Dillon, viz., that O'Rwaircke sent the constable of Longfort, Chr. Browne, to Sir Robert Dillon and Sir Lucas Dillon, to know what course they would advise him to hold, or whether they were able to do him good, or espy about

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the Lord Deputy and Council, what disposition they bare towards him ; and Sir Robert sent him answer that it was hard for him to do him good, for that Sir Richard Byngham had written into England how he had made a wooden image for the Queen, and caused the same to be trailed at a horse's tail, and kerne and horseboys to hurl stones at it, every day ; and that therefore there was commission come from the Council of England to apprehend O'Rwaircke, howsoever he might be gotten, in war or peace.

"And moreover Sir Robert Dillon sent him weeting how the Lord Deputy said, if he were taken in peace or war, the usage meet to be holden towards him was, to bind his tail to a board, and to cram him with meat until his belly bursted. And O'Rwaircke was upon Lough Moiltaghar, when Chr. Browne brought him these intelligences, and he brake the letter immediately after Christopher had left it him, and I myself was present that day. And therefore it was that Sir Robert might not help him, and thus much might suffice him for intelligence, and he wished him to be assured of all that Chr. Browne should tell him. And within two days after, O'Rwaircke sent for the McSwines of Tirconill.

"And further, when certain bands of soldiers went into McWilliam Burg's country, Christopher sent O'R. word that he had been at Dublin, and had gotten most certain weeting from those of his acquaintance, that when they had brought in that country, they would make seeming to dissolve and disperse them, but they had commandment from the Lord Deputy to invade O'Rwaircke, one company from Connaught and another from the country of Longforte, by reason whereof O'R. sent for Murgha na Mart, who was with Captain Byngham in Connaught.

"And whatsoever other service I have disclosed to the Council, I have the copy of it ; and the cause why I have written this is, for that the Council do not understand my language, and also for another reason, that I know not what the interpreter declares, and that I wot not but that he might leave some things unexpounded to the Lord Deputy or the Council which I should speak. And further, truly I will stand to all this for the Queen, here or before the Council of England, wheresoever I shall happen to be, there or here.

"JOHANNES MACCONGAWNEY."

- II. "The true Copy of a Relation made by Cairbre Treawair, the 10th of February, to the Lords of Delvin and Howthe, William Nugent, and Patrick Bermyngham, at the Castle of the Crane in Dublin, the said Cairbre at that time being in her Majesty's protection ; which relation written by the said Cairbre is yet extant and to be seen in the hands of the said William Nugent."

Delivered to the Lord Deputy and Council, 13 August in '93.

"Upon the time that my Lord Deputy granted a protection to Sir Brian O'Rwaircke, and sought to have my Lord of

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Meath, Sir Robert Dillon, Sir Henry Harington, and Sir Thomas Le Straung to be his safe conductors going and coming besides his protection, the day that they should go to bring him Sir R. Dillon took upon him to prepare himself and go among the rest, which he never meant to do indeed, but after that he put on his boots and spurs, went in the Castle to my Lord Deputy, and took his excuse that he could not go upon that journey. The excuse I know not, but my Lord Deputy was not well pleased with it.

"And after he came forth he did send a certain friend of his to the Castle again to one Charles Treawer, who was prisoner, then servant to Sir B. O'Rwaircke, and willed him to write to his master that he should not appear at all," for that if the Lord Deputy "had him under his lee, he should make him eat his fill and stop his body, and put him in a chair, to be there an example as long as one piece of him should stand together."

Le Straung and Harington waited at Longfort for Sir Brian's coming, but upon the receipt of that letter he turned home again.

III. "A Relation delivered by John Garlond to the Lords of Delvin and Howthe, in the Easter Term, anno 1593.

"When I was sent from Sir John Perrot with letters to O'Rwaircke by direction of the Lords of H.M. Privy Council in England, within a two months after mine arrival here, I set forward to perform that service, attended upon by my brother Patrick Garlond and my horseboy Richard Neile. And being come as far as Mr. Rowrye O'Ferall's house in the Anal, he sent one with me to be my guide. Having travelled so far as to the woods beyond Longfort, we overtook three men on foot, whereof one carried a bottle of *aqua vitæ*, the other a small barrel of gunpowder, and the third, who wore a hat, bare in the skirt of his mantle some heavy thing, which to our seeming should be lead. We made no long tarrying with these fellows, misdoubting the danger of the way, by reason that O'Rwaircke was (not long before) fallen into rebellion. This was on Tuesday, and we held on our journey towards O'Rwaircke, to whom we came the morrow after and accompanied him to Loughfguire.

"Upon Thursday the three footmen before mentioned arrived there, where O'Rwaircke, being at dinner, called for Chr. Browne's man, whereupon he that had carried the gunpowder, leaving off his mantle, stood up and answered. Then said O'R., 'I will drink to thy master and to my friend's man there with thee. Thank thy master for the *aqua vitæ* and munition which he hath sent me; pray him to send me more, and tell him I will pay him for it to his own contentation, and (that I may not forget it) commend me to Tanckerd's daughter.' At these words one of O'R.'s men that waited did shake his head, as seeming to mislike with him.

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"Hearing these things I rowned my brother in the ear, saying, 'Brother, what traitorly knaves be these?' Wherewith he jogged me on the elbow, and I bade him say nothing, but mark all things that should be spoken or done.

"Dinner being ended, as O'R. was going forth at the door, Chr. Browne's man stepped to him, and pulling him by the cloak, for I remember he ware a long black cloak, said, 'Christopher wisheth you to give credit to anything that this messenger of Sir R. Dillon's shall tell you; and now, if you will anything with us, let us understand it, for we would fain be going.

"Before we had come from the Lough, O'R.'s letter being written, his secretary, finding me and my brother together, said these words: 'O'R. marvels greatly that Sir John Perrot is so earnest in persuading him to come in and not to stand to his defence against the Lord Deputy, considering that sundry as well of Sir John's inward friends as O'R.'s friends in the English Pale, and among the rest Sir Robert Dillon, do forbid him in anywise to trust the Lord Deputy or Sir Richard Byngham, affirming, if he do, that he shall leese his head; for you* were not past a week in Ireland when Sir Robert Dillon sent him warning that he should not give credit to you nor to Sir John Perrot's letters, for all was but to betray him.

"My brother and the guide wished me to come in company with those messengers of Sir Robert Dillon and Chr. Browne the shortest way towards Longfort, but I refused so to do, telling my brother that I would never keep company with such traitorly knaves, bidding him to note well what he saw and heard.

"The messengers, driving with them a six or seven heads of cows and garans, departed, which Rowrye O'Ferall's man, that was our guide, saw as well as we.

"After we were come over the Lough, and that O'R. was on horseback, I being come to take leave of him, he laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said, 'John Garlond, I thank you for your pains, and I would you had comen a six or seven weeks sooner, for then had I not done that which I have done; but now I am so far gone as I cannot draw back again, without the Queen will use grace towards me. And you were not in Ireland a week when Sir Robert Dillon sent me warning that I should not give credit to you nor your letters, as Edmund McSheane here can tell (meaning his secretary); and here is now again his messenger comen with Chr. Browne's man yonder, and he wisheth me in any wise not to come in, assuring me, if I do, that I shall lose my life.' Which words my brother heard, and may remember, if he please."

* i.e., John Garlond.

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- iv. "The Relation of Patrick Garlond made to the Lords of Delvin and Howthe the 8th of August 1593, at Howthe."

"Delivered to the Lord Deputy and Council the 13th August in '93."

Description of the journey made by himself and his brother John to O'Rwaircke, similar to that in the preceding document. He then proceeds to say :

"After our return from O'R.'s country my brother sent me before him to Dublin, where I repaired to Sir Lucas Dillon's house, whom I found in his hall walking with Sir Robert Dillon. Sir Lucas asked me, 'What news from O'R.?' I told him he was out and would not come in, and all was long of them, as he affirmed. Sir Lucas asked of whom. I answered, 'Of you and Sir Robert Dillon, and others his friends.' With this Sir Robert stormed, and said, 'God's body! not I; the knave lies!' Then said Sir Lucas, 'Fear not, Sir Robert; I warrant you Pat. Garlond is an honest man; he will say nothing.' And therewith Sir Lucas and Sir Robert went from me to the window towards the garden, where they talked together in secret a little while. And after Sir Lucas put his hand into his pocket, and gave me a twenty shillings sterling in money, saying, 'Pat, stay within the house, and go not abroad, and say nothing!' And then Sir Robert, well quieted, and he went together to the Castle."

- v. "The 15th of August '93, in the forenoon, Jo. Garlond, at the Castle of the Crane in Dublin, added further to his former relation, in presence of the Lords of Delvin and Howthe, William Nugent, and Patrick Bermyngham, this following:—

"After my brother Pat. was departed from me, I took my way to Agher, where, being something diseased with a flixe, I sojourned for certain days. Sir Lucas Dillon, one day coming thither from his house of Moymet, asked whether his cousin George Garlond was at home; and being answered that he was not, he asked mine aunt whether I were there. She told him I was, and he prayed her to call me to him. When I came to the door, where I found him on horseback, he bade me welcome, and prayed me to pull on my boots, and ride with him a piece in his way. I said I could not. 'Go to! I pray you come,' quoth he. Then I made me ready, and rode with him a part in the way towards Maynoothe, where (as we rid together) he had this speech with me, viz., 'Cousin Garlond, your brother hath been with me at Dublin, and told me that Chr. Browne sent certain *aqua vita*, powder, and lead to O'Rwaircke when you were there.' Then said I, 'What more did he tell you?' 'Marry!' quoth he, 'he told me there were some of Sir John Perrott's friends and of O'R.'s also, who warned him not to give credit to you nor the letters

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you carried, and, if he did, that he should leese his head : and I pray you who be those ?' I answered, 'The Bishop of Laighlin for one, and one Mr. White, and you and Sir Robert Dillon.' Then said Sir Lucas, 'I had lever he were hanged than that he should prove that.' And so we left at that time.

"Being to return from him, he asked me when I would be at Dublin. I said within a ten or twelve days, when I were well ; and so we departed, I returning back to mine uncle's house again, where, when I was come, mine aunt asked, 'I pray you what great counselship was this betwixt you and Sir Lucas Dillon ? I am glad that you are taken up with such great men. It is well that Sir Lucas Dillon stays for you until you have pulled on your boots. Nephew, there is something in the wind when such men stay for you.'

"After my recovery, when I went to Dublin, I repaired to Sir Lucas his house, where I supped with him. Supper being done, he commanded all his servants out of the chamber, and locked the door himself, and then fell in talk with me of Chr. Browne, of whom, when I had said that he was a traitorly knave, Sir Lucas said, 'John Garlond, you mean to go into England shortly.' 'Yea, marry do I,' said I. Then he leaned with one elbow upon the bed, which was low, and his knee almost laid upon the ground, with tears standing in his eyes, lifted up his hands, saying, 'John Garland, I desire thee, for the passion of God, not to bring Chr. Browne in question ; for if you do, you undo him and me and all my friends. I will be thy friend during thy life, and I will never see you want anything as long as I live.' Within a little while after he gave me forty shillings in money and a grey nag. Not long after I went into England, and returned hither back again. At my next going over, which was with the examinations of the priest Sir Dennis [O'Roughan], that I carried in a bag, Sir Lucas gave me 5*l.* sterling in money, and said, 'John Garlond, look well to this ; if this were taken, it is as much as my neck is worth, and all that ever I have.'

VI. "The last part disclosed by Jo. Garlond, tending to the proof of Sir R. Dillon's traitorous practice with O'Rwaircke ; by him opened to the Lords of Delvin and Howthe, William Nugent, and Pat. Bermyngham, the 11th of September 1593, and by them delivered to the Lord Deputy and Council at Killmaynham the 13th of the same."

"When I landed at Chester, being returned into England with the answers of O'Neile, O'Rwaircke, and others of the Irishry upon those letters which I brought them from Sir Jo. Perrot, there I met Sir Edward More, who delivered me a letter from Sir John, which I have forthcoming. This letter, among other things, bare special direction that I should come with Sir Thomas Cecile into Ireland, and attend upon him during his abode here, &c., which I did accordingly, sending my

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brother Patrick with my packet and certain hawks to Sir John. At my return into England again in company of Sir Thomas, I carried, among other letters, one from Sir Lucas Dillon, who at my leave-taking bestowed a hackney upon me.

"When I was come to Sir John and delivered my letters, he commanded the rest of his servants to avoid, which done, and I having shut the chamber door, he said, 'God's wounds! Garlond, hast thou not heard how that same blind villain hath played the traitor, first with the Queen and after with me?' I asked, 'Who, Sir?' He answered, 'That blind traitorly villain Sir R. Dillon.' And drawing forth of his desk the packet which I had before sent him by my brother, pulling out of the packet a letter, and out of that letter another written paper, he said, 'Here is a note which O'Rwaircke sent me in his letter of their names who forbade him to come in; and he was the only principal man, as I understand by O'Rwaircke; but, by God's wounds! I know who set him on. I do not marvel that he should play the traitor now, for he played the villain with me when I was in Ireland Deputy, and I knew it very well; but, by God's wounds! I shall want of my will but I will hang him.' Then said I, 'By God! Sir, if you do, you will hang another with him, whom you think very well of.' 'Why, who is that?' said he. I said, 'Sir Lucas Dillon; for if you bring him in question you must bring Sir Lucas in question too.' He said, 'Nay, God's wounds! I would not do that for a thousand pounds.' I said, 'By God! then, you must let the other alone.' Then said Sir John, 'Garlond, how hath Sir Lucas dealt with you?' I answered, 'Well, Sir.' Then he nodded, smiling, and said, 'That is because thou canst tell tales of him and that blind villain: I know what thou canst say as well as thyself; but i'faith, Garlond, what did he give thee, or what did he promise thee?' I told him he promised to keep me two horses and a boy, and that I should myself be allowed as long and as oft as I would during my life to lie and remain at his house, and that he would, under his hand and seal, bind his son and heir to give me the same allowance all the days of his life. At my next return into Ireland I told him also that he had given me five pounds and a nag at my leave-taking. Sir John said, 'God's wounds! I think I shall let the blind villain escape for Sir Lucas Dillon's sake, for fear lest I should bring his name in question.'

"At my next coming into Ireland, which was betwixt the Christenmas and Shrovetide following, when I went to take leave of Sir John Perrot at Greenwich, he having written letters by me to sundry of his friends here, and having gotten me allowance of packet money, though I came but with private letters only, said to me these words, 'Garlond, commend me to Sir Lucas Dillon, for he is one of the best friends I have there, and I charge you, as you look for any good at my hand, do not touch him, for, by God's wounds! if you do, I will hang you.' As I was taking my leave, he caused his servant Main-

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wareing to give me forty shillings in gold, and caused also his secretary James to write to Rise Thomas, who kept his wardrobe at Yorcke House in London, to deliver me his Irish ash-colour cloak, which was thick laid on with gold lace over the sleeves; and taking me by the hand (a thing extraordinary for him to do to any of his servants), said, 'Farewell, Garlond; commend me to all my good friends in Ireland. As for those that are not my friends, I care not that they were all hanged.'

"The morning next after my landing at Dublin, which was, as I remember, a week before Shrovetide, I repaired to Sir Lucas Dillon's house in St. Nicholas' Street, to whom, being in his study, I delivered Sir John Perrot's letter. He welcomed me very kindly, and after he had read the letter he said, 'Jo. Garlond, I think myself greatly beholden to you for the good report you have made of me to Sir Jo. Perrot, as I understand by his letter. Have you seen my cousin Sir Robert since your coming?' I answered, 'No.' Then said he, 'He is below in the garden: I pray you do so much as desire him to come up hither.' Then went I down to the garden, where I found Sir R. Dillon and Fergus O'Ferall walking together; but Sir Robert, so soon as I came thither, brake off his talk and company with him, and coming towards me, said, 'O gentleman, are you there? You are welcome out of England.' I thanked him, and told him Sir Lucas desired him to go up unto him. He said, 'I will do so when I have walked half a dozen turns with you.' And then said he, 'I am sorry that Sir John Perrot is such an enemy to me; he hath undone and discredited me with the Queen and the Council there; he hath brought me upon my knees.' I said, 'If you had not deserved it, I am sure he would not have done so; but, by God! I know, were it not for fear lest he should bring Sir Lucas Dillon in question, he sware God's wounds he would hang you.' 'I sent him a goshawk,' said he, 'by my son Patrick Sadgrave, but he refused it, and was at defiance with me and my hawk.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'Sir John told me so much, and said he would rather see you and your hawk hanged than he would be beholden to you for a hawk; but if you had sent her by me, I think I would have used that office that would have made him to receive your hawk.' Then went he up to Sir Lucas his study; I went up also, and stayed without in the chamber. After they two had been some quarter of an hour there together, and that Sir Lucas, as I imagined, had showed him Sir Jo. Perrot's letter, they came both together out of the study into the chamber, and Sir Lucas said, 'Cousin Sir Robert, John Garlond hath dealt honestly and like a gentleman with you and me; therefore I would have you to deal well with him, and use him like a gentleman, for he hath deserved it well at our hands.'

"Then Sir Lucas willed me to call his man Shea, who being come up, Sir Lucas said, 'Shea, send for some white

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wine to John Garlond for his welcome.' The wine being come, Fergus O'Ferall being brought in also to drink, when we had drunken, Sir Lucas, taking Fergus with him down, said, 'Well, cousin Sir Robert, I will leave you and John Garlond together, and Fergus and I will walk into the garden.' And so they went down together, leaving Sir Robert and me in the chamber, whence Sir R. went into the study, and there remained a short while, and after anon asked, 'Who is there without?' I answered, 'None but I, Sir.' 'O Sir,' quoth he, 'I pray you come in.' I went in, and he said, 'John Garlond, I understand, by my cousin Sir Lucas, that you have dealt very justly and truly with him and with me, and whatsoever he hath promised you I dare undertake he will perform it; and as for mine own part, assure yourself, if I may do you any good, I will be ready to do you a good turn as soon as any friend you have in Ireland.' And therewith he put his hand into his pocket, and drew out, lapped in a piece of brown paper, ten angels, which he delivered me, saying, 'John Garlond, here is a token of goodwill for you until a better come, and if your master were not, I should be able to give you a better;' and then embracing me, said, 'John Garlond, you are welcome, and I thank you with all my heart.' Then he and I went down immediately to the garden, where Sir Lucas and Fergus O'Ferall walked together. Then Sir Lucas said, 'Cousin Sir R., I pray you that you will sup with me here this night, for John Garlond and we will be merry; and, cousin Fergus, I pray you, sup you with us too.' We supped there together that night, and so departed.

"At my last coming into Ireland (which I trow was about a twelvemonth past), after my landing, I went late in the evening to see Sir R. Dillon, and being told at his lodging that he was gone to see Mrs. Parkins, I went thither, and found him in talk with her in her garden. She having departed into her house, I walked with Sir Robert half a dozen turns, talking of the proceeding of his man Anthony Dillon in England, and thence brought him to his lodging.

"At my departing he prayed me to see him the next morning, and so I did. I found him in his hall, accompanied with Mr. Fytton and one more. Sir Robert, making towards me, said, 'You are welcome, gentle John;' whereupon Mr. Fytton and the other departed. Then he said, embracing me, 'By my troth! Jo. Garlond, you are welcome. I heard say you have behaved yourself like a gentleman, and I am glad of it. And now tell me what news, I pray you.' I said, 'By my troth! I have no news, but I did abide a year's imprisonment for Sir Lucas Dillon and you, for Captain Wooddhowse charged me before the Commissioners that I could accuse Sir Lucas Dillon; and you know what promise Sir Lucas made me, but now he is dead, and may not perform it; howbeit I hope, if you be out, you will remember me, and use me as I have deserved.' Whereunto he said, 'Assure yourself, John,

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whensoever I am abroad you shall not want anything that I have.' And so we departed."

VII. "Arguments gathered upon the relations of the Priest,* John Garlonde, Carbre O'Treawair, and Patrick Garlonde, tending to the proof of the practice of Sir R. Dillon, Sir L. Dillon, and Chr. Brown with O'Rwaircke in his late rebellion.

"The concurrency of the relations laid down in this book, as of that of the priest with Carbre O'Treawair, in the image made for the Queen, and the Lord Deputy's words uttered in secret to Sir Ro. Dillon of O'Rwaircke; also with Jo. Garlond and Patrick Garlond in charging Sir Ro., Sir Lucas, and Chr. Browne, seem to fortify greatly each other, and do sufficiently prove the points wherein they agree. Where it is to be considered that the Garlonds have not so much as any little acquaintance with the other two, whereby they might be suspected to have devised this betwixt them.

"Also that Jo. Garlond gave some touch of this in England, ere ever Sir Ro. Dillon came in question for any matter here, as it was confessed by Sir Ro. Gardener before the Lord Deputy and Council, being by Garlond avouched for witness thereof. Neither doth it much weaken the priest's evidence that some have said he hath showed himself inconstant, some time denying that which he first affirmed; where he hath written, as is to be seen, that when he first was examined by the Lord Deputy and the Lord Bishop of Meath, who desired to find some matter against William Nugent, and that he, to redeem his own life out of danger, disclosed to them the particular of that wherein his service might advantage the Queen, detecting Sir R. Dillon, the Lord Deputy sware he would hang him, saying that he could not be content to be a bad man while he was with O'Rwaircke, but he must now belie the Queen's subjects: by which threats if he were made to retract, it is no great wonder."

Cairbre O'Treawair, being twice examined upon William Nugent, refused to reveal the party whom he had to charge without assurance of his pardon; but he was rejected by the Lord Deputy. Whereupon he attempted Sir. R. Gardener, who, as the Lord Deputy had appointed others of the Council to examine him, would not meddle in their charge; so he cometh to the Lords of Delvin and Howethe, William Nugent, and Patrick Bermyngham, and at the said Lord of Delvin's house in Dublin did with his own hand write the second relation laid down in this book.

Here follow numerous comments on the evidence given by John and Patrick Garlond, insisting on the guilt of Sir Robert Dillon, Sir Lucas Dillon, and Christopher Browne.

* Sir Denis O'Rowghan.

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"Last of all, the testimony of the Lords of H.M. Privy Council of John Garlond's honesty, his dutiful and faithful behaviour in her Majesty's service, more strong out of comparison than any exception to the contrary, fortifieth the credit of his witness."

VIII. "A Note of such the Lord Deputy's* favours showed to Sir Robert Dillon since his coming out of England, as were open, and are by us able to be proved.

"1. The morrow after his landing here he rode with the Lord Deputy to the church in great pride, familiarly conferring with him by the way.

"2. When William Nugent demanded protection for Carbre O'Treawair the 2nd of August, the Lord Deputy denied it, saying Carbre was the arrantest traitor in all Ireland. Nugent said that his Lp. had yet protected him before that time. 'Yea, Mr. Nugent,' said he, 'that protection was upon letters out of England, and for a matter concerning you;' so as he thought him a meet man to be examined upon Nugent, and for that purpose twice protected him; but when he was to be examined upon Sir R. Dillon, he took exception to him. But yet after this, the 13th of August, the same demand being made again for Carbrei's protection, a full Council then being there, it was granted.

"3. When Jo. Garlond, being commanded by the Council to attend at Dublin for this service, was maliciously arrested by Sir Robert Dillon's son-in-law, and the same was complained by William Nugent, who besought the Lord Deputy to give order for discharging him of that arrest, he showed discontentment that Nugent would trouble him with his importunity, saying it was reason that men should pay their debts. Nugent said he would be bound for him in any bond. The Lord Deputy said he had not to do to take sureties, and so departed out of the Council chamber; but two of the judges going forth after him, said, 'We have commanded him to stay for the Queen's service, and we will protect him.' And so, when the Council came there again in the afternoon, there was order given for Garlond's discharge.

"4. The Lord Deputy and Council having written for the party that procured the arrest of Garlond, viz., Sir Robert Dillon's son-in-law, determining to punish him for arresting Garlond, he never made appearance. The same was remembered to the Lord Deputy, yet he never punished him for that contempt.

"5. The Cowarba of Drumrela was a very inward man with the late O'Rwaireke. This man being alighted into the hands of the sheriff of the county of Letrym, and the agents in these matters understanding the same, moved the Lord

* Sir William FitzWilliam.*

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Deputy and Council that the sheriff might be caused to send him to be examined upon Sir R. Dillon. Commandment was sent to the sheriff to that effect very peremptory. The sheriff dismissed the prisoner for certain money, and (as it was informed to the Lord Deputy) for the use, or rather the abuse, of his sister. The Lord Deputy seemed to be greatly moved hereat, and threatened to punish it severely; but yet the sheriff is now in the English Pale, and nothing said to him for this.

"6. After the examinations heard and the relations seen of the priest, Carbrey O'Treawair, and both the Garlands, when all men had now in their own opinions seemed to condemn Sir Robert Dillon; the Lord Deputy, with the Lord Chancellor and others of the Council, being at the hills, of Taraghe to take view of the musters of the English Pale, he graced Sir R. Dillon in the presence of all that assembly, using him as a special councillor and assistant in all public actions by him there done, to the wonder and astonishment of all those that saw him, and that night after lay at his house.

"7. Where Chr. Browne was bound in recognizance to be at Dublin in the Easter term '93, and was not, yet he is not called upon for his recognizance, though the same were remembered to the Lord Deputy the last day of that term.

"8. It hath been often demanded that he might be committed in respect that the priest chargeth him to his face, and the Garlonds by means, but it hath never been granted.

"9. It hath likewise been often urged that the agents and the priest might be brought face to face before the Lord Deputy and Council, whereby no doubt there would practices appear that as yet be hidden, but it is ever avoided.

"10. Where there was direction sent from the Lord Deputy and Council to Sir John Noreys to send O'Rwaircke's secretary to them, and a protection also sent to him, the same was delivered to the Lord of Delvin, who sent his footman to seek for the secretary in Munster. He could not find him, but yet hath heard where he hath been the very night before his own arrival in the same place. After the return of the messenger, when the Lord of Delvin told what success he had, the Lord Deputy said, 'Why, I understand the secretary was gone into Spain a quarter of a year since.'

"11. Sir R. Dillon sat in Council not past three or four days before his going into England now last, which by some of the Council was thought strange.

"12. Richard Neile, who was with John Garlond at O'Rwaircke's, was not examined, and yet the same was demanded."

Signed : C. Delvin, H. Howthe, William Nugent, P. Bermingham.

Pp. 22. Endorsed.

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March 14.
Vol. 617, p. 205.

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The EARL OF TYRONE and SIR HENRY BAGNALL.

"A Note of sundry Causes and Articles wherewith the Earl of Tyrone is grieved."

(1.) The Marshal (Sir Henry Bagnall), having possessed the now Lord Deputy (Sir W. FitzWilliam) with many bribes in plate and great sums of money wrested from the inhabitants under his rule, hath, in June last, by false accusations of treason sought the Earl's life, and produced base men to prove the same when the Lord Deputy and Council were at Dundalk, who have brought disquietness into all these northern parts.

(2.) When the Earl brought into subjection the Upper Clandhuboies in the time of Con McNeile Oge, Kilultagh, Kilwarlyn, MacCartan's country, O'Hanlon's country, and all McMahan's country, such as appertained to the Earl (bearing rule in any of those places) were removed, and base and servile fellows of the Marshal's faction were placed in their rooms.

(3.) All gentlemen bearing affection towards the Earl are put from having any place of credit or government, and those that have served under them, either as officers, soldiers, or servants, are preferred before them; so that, though the Earl could digest the villainy of Thomas Henshawe, now seneschal of co. Monaghan, William Mote, vice-constable of the fort, and many more (who, being instruments of the Marshal, do nothing else but seek to cut the Earl's throat), all the Earl's followers and tenants do so much loathe and hate those parties as they will never trust them or come at them; whereas if any gentlemen of good minds or calling were in the places of these base men, they would yield the Earl assistance in her Majesty's service.

(4.) The Earl's foster brothers, Captain Richard and Henry Hovendon, having the leading of 200 footmen upon the Earl's charges, overthrew 500 or 600 Spaniards in Tire-Connell, and brought all the best of them to the Earl, whom he sent to the now Lord Deputy; but neither they nor the Earl had any recompence for that service, or so much as part of the ransom of those prisoners (which was great), they being greatly indebted for the furnishing of their companies at that time.

(5.) In the late service against Magwire it was promised to the Earl that he should be in commission, and he promised the Lord Chancellor (Archbishop Loftus) that he would come with the Marshal in that service, without remembering any causes of discord between them, being greatly moved against Magwire, in that he brake his word with him. That service cost him near 3,000*l.* ster., for which and the loss of his blood he had no thanks, but was called traitor by the Lord Deputy at his own table; while the Marshal (having only her Majesty's forces and none of his own) obtained a concordatum of 400*l.*

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(6.) The Earl and the Marshal encamping in Fermanaghe, the Marshal caused a false alarm to be suddenly raised in his camp, in hope to find him unwatchful.

(7.) When the Earl requested but 200 soldiers to enable his company to go upon the borders of Tیرهconnell to take a prey, the Marshal would let him have only about 60 or 80 men, the refuse of several companies. The Earl, however, set forward, after obtaining the Marshal's promise that he would follow next day, and meet the Earl's men the second night at "Le Place" in Termon Magrath; but the Marshal came not until the third or fourth night, wherein he colorably betrayed the Earl and all his company, who had to continue in arms day and night until he came.

(8.) After the overthrow given at Beeleke by the Earl's means, wherein he himself was sore hurt, the Earl wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council of the manner of the service, and showed the letter to the Marshal, at whose request he added that both himself and the Marshal did kill of the enemies with their own hands, though there was no eye-witness of the Marshal's killing any man; but the Marshal in his letter made no mention of the Earl according to promise.

(9.) "In the time of government of Sir John Perrot, the Earl brought unto him, to Drogheda, Sir Rosse McMahon, Knight, for defraying of whose charges then the Earl gave his word to the town there for the sum of 188*l.* ster. The said Sir Rosse had also the Earl's daughter to wife, with whom he gave a large portion of his goods in marriage. And the Earl, having exhibited complaint hereupon in England, brought direction from thence that the said sum [of] 188*l.* ster., as also the goods which he gave with his daughter, might be paid unto the Earl out of McMahon's country, or else by such to whom the country is fallen, or otherwise that his daughter in lieu of her marriage goods should have a third part of that country for her dowry; in neither of all which the Earl hath got no satisfaction. And when the country was divided every peddling merchant, and other men of no account or desert, had a share thereof; and the Marshal (who never took pains in bringing of that country to subjection) had a great part of it almost within some part of the Earl's inhabitants; and the Earl himself, neither for payment of the said debts or for his service done in that country, had any part thereof."

(10.) The Lord Deputy and Marshal are knit together against the Earl, and do [seek] and have sought his life. They are greatly befriended in Court, while the Earl himself, since the death of the Earl of Leicester, the late Lord Chancellor (Hatton), Sir Francis Walsingham, and others of his friends in England, is destitute of friends. Therefore, although for the confidence he has in the Lord Chancellor and Sir Robert Gardiner, and also in Sir Anthony St. Lieger (third now in commission), he is come to them, nevertheless the Earl will use the best means he can for preserving his life, and will

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not trust those that seek his death by such indirect means ; yet he will be true and faithful to her Highness.

(11.) Hugh Roe McMahon, succeeding his brother Sir Rosse McMahon by virtue of her Majesty's letters patents, and coming to the State upon the word of a nobleman here, and the word also of Henry Moore, deceased, a gentleman of worship, was afterwards executed as a traitor for distraining for his right according to custom.

(12.) The Lord Deputy sent Humfrey Willis and John Fuller, a couple of base men, with 300 men or more, to invade Fermanagh suddenly, upon pretence that the said Humfrey Willis went thither as sheriff ; whereupon Magwire gathered 600 or 700 men, and besieged them in a church. The Earl rescued them, and procured licence for them safely to return with bag and baggage.

(13.) " When the Lord Deputy made a journey into Tireconnell (after the said Hovendons overthrew the Spaniards) Sir Owen O'Toole, Knight, came to his Lo. upon his word, and he promised (as by witness shall be proved) not to take him any further than Donnigall, being ten miles from the said Sir Owen's house, where the Lord Deputy then was, which was not performed, for that Sir Owen is detained prisoner ever sithence," though he had done good service. This has made the now O'Donnell to be most fearful.

(14.) These dealings have caused the Earl to fear his life in coming to the State and to bring in any other.

(15.) The Marshal (unknown to her Majesty and the Council of England) has procured a commission to end and determine all causes in Ulster, and appointed a chief sergeant to execute all his orders. The Earl is not well pleased that the Marshal should bear that sway over him.

(16.) Whereas the late Marshal (Sir Nicholas Bagnall) left his daughter, now married to the Earl, 1,000*l.* current money of England for her preferment, the present Marshal (" sithence the said marriage, being two years and upwards ") wrongfully detains and withholds the said sum.

(17.) Finally, forasmuch as neither the Earl himself nor any the inhabitants of his country can abide or digest the said malicious practices against him (insomuch as the chiefest in his country were ready to tear him for his coming in to your Honours), he therefore humbly prays that it would please her Highness to remove those base, covetous, and cowardly persons that only seek his overthrow.

Signed : Hugh Tirone.

" These articles were delivered to us the Commissioners, the 14th day of March 1593, by the Earl of Tyrone.—Ad. Dublin, cauc., Rob. Gardener, Anth. St. Leiger."

" Ex', Geff. Fenton."

Copy. Pp. 7.

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The QUEEN'S INSTRUCTIONS to SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL.

Vol. 632, p. 112a.

Dated 3 May 1594.

Deliver our letters to our former Deputy (FitzWilliam) and Council, whereby we do signify to them our choice of you to be Deputy there.

After you have received the sword, you shall, in the place of Council, require to be informed of the general state of that realm; of the causes in Ulster, both touching the rebels Magwire, young O'Rwrke, and certain of the McMahones, and the behaviour of O'Donill; of the Earl of Tyrone's proceedings since his last being at Dundalk with our Commissioners, and what opinion they have of his disposition to behave himself like a loyal subject, and to serve us by subduing Magwire and the other rebels, and containing O'Donnell in his duty; of the disposition of Tyrloughe Lennoughe; and of the state of the Irish captains and the Scots having possessions in the north part of Ulster. We hear not of any public disturbance in any other part of the realm than Ulster, which is to be taken in hand without delay.

Require our former Deputy and the Council to deliver you in writing the state of Leinster and Connaught, and what persons of any note or value are known to be rebellious. As soon as your leisure shall serve, provide for the remedy of the disorders therein.

The Earl of Tyrone of late forbare to come to our Commissioners at Dondalke with such readiness as he ought to have done, pretending that he lived in fear of his life, by reason of malice borne to him by Sir William FitzWilliams, then Deputy, and Sir Henry Bagnall, then Marshal. He came to them after some delays, exhibiting in writing sundry griefs and wrongs done to him by the then Deputy and Marshal, but yielding his oath and writing to continue a loyal and obedient subject. Thereupon we commanded our Commissioners to let him understand that we were resolved to revoke Sir William FitzWilliams from the office, and that the Marshal should nowise attempt anything against the Earl and his people.

Should these measures fail to bring Ulster to good obedience you are to use your authority, with our Council, and the aid of our forces there, to procure redress; and we will send you some augmentation of forces.

As to the general government of our realm, "have special care, by conferring with such of our Council as are well affected, to see the retaining of our good subjects in their duty towards God, according to the religion established there by law, and to restrain others from defection, and especially from adhering to the Pope."

Give your assistance to the Commission Ecclesiastical.

We have supplied with men out of England certain judicial places, occupied before by men native of that country, subject

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to partiality; which places are the two Chief Justices of the Benches, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chief Baron. As they may be maligned by the natives, you are to assist them.

Command the Muster Master to deliver to you perfect rolls of all persons that receive pay of us.

No such persons shall be free from check, but shall be duly mustered. Take the view of as many as conveniently may be brought to your presence; and for the view of such as be in remote places, give commissions to persons of credit in the countries where the captains and soldiers remain.

Inquire of the Muster Master or the Treasurer the names of the Pensioners, their wages, and where they serve, and examine by what warrant any of them are absent out of the realm; their payment to be stopped from the time they departed. If more soldiers be sent out of this realm, you shall appoint some of these Pensioners to take charge of the companies, forbearing their pensions in the meantime, and receiving only ordinary wages; for thus was it intended when they were discharged and put to their pensions.

We gave advice of late to our Lord Deputy (FitzWilliam) and Council there "to consider whether it were not meet, upon the expulsion of Magwire from his fort in the Lough Erne, to have the said Lough guarded by the said fort, and likewise to have the castle of Bellike, in the mouth of the said Lough, to be taken into our possession, and guard it with a ward, thereby to defend the whole province of Connaught from all offence that might come out of O'Done's country, and especially to restrain the insurrection of the Scots into that province." We have since perceived, by letters from Sir Richard Bingham, that it is very necessary to put a ward into Bellicke, and that certain numbers might be taken out of divers wards to serve as good guards both for Bellick and for the Island in [the] Lough.

All our commandments to the late Deputy and Council which have not been performed are to be executed by you. Communicate these instructions to the Council, and once every quarter cause all instructions to you to be communicated to the Council, "so as all things directed to you may be kept in memory, and not to be put up by you, as commonly they have been by former Deputies."

"Require the Chief Justice and other the Councillors to declare unto you what hath been done upon the memorials of sundry Articles to the number of 92 sent to them in March last, whereof they were commanded to consult, according as the same were comprised [under] five special titles."

Copy. Pp. 9.

Vol. 612, p. 284.

2. Extracts from the preceding, headed: "Part of the Instructions for Sir William Russell, Knight, being appointed to

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be Deputy in Ireland, for government of the same realm. Dated the 25th of May 1594, at our manor of Greenwich."

P. 1.

Vol. 617, p. 223.

3. Copy of the preceding.

[Aug.]

Vol. 632, p. 116a.

139. STATE OF IRELAND.

"A summary Collection of the State of the Realm, as it standeth at this present in the several Provinces thereof, considered and debated in Council;" delivered to Sir William Russell by the Lord Deputy (Fitz-William) and Council.

First, some parts of Ulster are in open rebellion, as Fermannough, being McGuier's country, where now her Majesty has no other footing left than the castle of Iniskillyn, and that so strongly besieged as her Majesty's forces, being 600 foot and 46 horse, under the charge of Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Harbert, sent to re-victual it, have forborne the same since the 25th of July last hitherto; and we have now sent a further force of 200 foot out of Dublin and 50 from Drogheda under Sir Richard Bingham. All the protectees taken in before by the Marshal (Sir Henry Bagnall) and Sir John Dowdall are gone again into rebellion, except Connor Ro, Maguyre, and McDonnoughe. Touching Monoughan, Brian McHughe Oge and the greatest number of the McMahownes, with Ever McCoolie's sons, the late captain of Ferney, are in actual rebellion.

All the rebels in these two countries have been aided and countenanced by O'Donell in person, and the principal forces of Tyer-Connell, as Sir John O'Dowharty and the three McSwynnies in person; and out of Tyrone by Cormock McBaron in person, the Earl of Tyrone's brother, Con the Earl's base son in person, his son-in-law Henry Oge, Sir Tyrlaugh Lenuaghe's two sons, Art and Cormock O'Neale, sundry of the O'Hogans, and by others of the Earl's principal followers in person, with great companies of forces out of Tyrone, being all within the Earl's rule and jurisdiction.

Moreover, Tyrlaugh McHenry, captain of the Fues, half-brother to the Earl, and at the Earl's commandment, has given aid to those rebels, and his country serves as a receptacle for them, and for the preys and stealths they take from the subjects. Collo McBrian's sons, "who have been late out upon the country of Ferney," have been taken into protection upon suit made for them, for respect of service, by Sir Henry Duke.

O'Donnell, with all his principal followers of Tyrre-Connele, and Cormock McBaron, Con the Earl's son, and the residue above named of Tyrone, are combined with the rebels of Fermanoughe and Monoughan, and have openly showed

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themselves with them both at the siege of Iniskillin and the preying of Monoughan.

In the Upper Clandeboye, Neyle McBrians Fertogh, being lord thereof, has long stood for her Majesty, and kept upon his country 50 soldiers under Captain Bethell, until of late he was invaded with open force by Brian McArt, base son to the Earl's base brother, and compelled to give a "buying" to the Earl of 3 horses and 60 cows.

In the Nether Clandeboye, Shane McBrian and Neyle McHughe, being lords of that country, have been driven by Bryan McArt, living with his forces in their Creata, to give a "buying" to the Earl.

"In the Duffreyne, Randall Brereton, being farmer of the whole country and sheriff of the county, is all spoiled by Brian McArt, the Slutt, McO'Neys, and O'Kellies, the Earl's followers, with others at the Earl's commandment, and being sheriff, remaineth here at the State, and dares not return to his charge.

"In Kilwarlyn, Ever McRory McGwynusse (a man brought under law and of good obedience to her Majesty) is now utterly expelled out of his country, and havoc made of all he had, by Brian Mc Artand others of the Earl's followers, and remaineth here at the State at her Majesty's charges of 40s. sterling by the week.

"In Kittloltogh, Cormock McNeile (a gentleman of the same condition and answerable to law and justice) is now compelled by the like extremity to be under the Earl; and for proof thereof, he giveth bonnaught at this present to Brian McArt.

"In the Rowte, James McSurley, son to Surleboy the Scot, having expelled McGuilly, being lord of the Rowte, possesseth it wholly, except that part of the Glynnes which Randall McNeece holdeth for Agnus McConnell the Scot. The said James McSurley hath of late preyed the town of Knockfergus and distressed the ward in the castle of Olderfleete. He is greatly devoted to the Earl, and will do as the Earl will have him, as it is said.

"In Ivagh, being McGennis' country, and Orier, being O'Hanland's country, it is commonly reported that both these have given buyings to the Earl of late, but they stand fast for her Majesty as yet.

"The co. of Cavan, otherwise called the Brenney, standeth in good obedience, though they have been greatly afflicted with the said rebels of Fermonnaughe and Monoughan.

"The Little Ardes Captain Bethell farmeth of the Lord Savedge, and defendeth it."

Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner, being present at this conference, reports that Connaught is unusually quiet and has no disturbers, saving Brian Oge O'Rworck, who is in Tyreconnell with O'Donnell.

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Sir Thomas Norries, Vice-President of Munster, is now absent from hence, but has very lately, on the 29th July last, written that that province stands in quiet.

In Leinster, Feaghe McHughe "doth still give proof of his former bad intentions, by standing aloof and shunning to come in to the State; by adhering openly to Walter Reaghe, his son-in-law (a notable traitor and murderer), with whom he doth take part, and between whom both they do receive into his country loose and bad men from all parts in the realm; by making extraordinary provision of victuals, mustering the forces of his country, making preparation of armor and weapon; and, as it hath been advertised, they both have and do entertain intelligence with the rebels in the North." Therefore we think the said Feaghe and Walter Reaghe are traitorously bent, and when opportunity shall serve will not fail to show themselves. Other parts of Leinster, as co. Longford and the English Pale (saving for bodraggs and stealths by night) are in good quiet; neither is there any other known capital disturber in the whole province.

"And touching the O'Connors, O'Moores, and Cavanaughes, there is as good an eye had on them as may be, that they increase not to multitudes as heretofore they have done. And for the O'Moores, Captain Sellinger, Lieutenant of Lex (within whose charge they are), being now called before the Council table, affirmeth that he knoweth none of the O'Moores to be dangerous, other than a son of Rory Oge's, who from his childhood hath been fostered by Feagh McHughe, being his sister's son, and is still with him; and for the residue he saith they answer law and justice as other good subjects do.

"The three sons of Shane O'Neale—Henry, Con, Brian—are in hand with the Earl of Tirone, and detained in prison by him, notwithstanding he hath been required by letter from the Lord Deputy and Council, and by the late Commissioners at Dundalk, to send them in to her Majesty, in whose custody they were before they broke out of the Castle of Dublin.

"Touching pledges, the constable of the Castle of Dublin (where all the pledges of most importance are used to be kept) being required by the Lord Deputy and Council at this conference to deliver in the names of such pledges as he now hath in his custody, and for whom they lie, hath accordingly made particular certificate thereof," annexed to this collection. Pledges for the provinces of Connaught and Munster remain in the said provinces by direction of the governors there, for anything that we know.

"Lastly, we are of opinion that the province of Ulster, being divided into these great disorders, besides the access of 3,000 Scots lately arrived in Tyre-Connell, as is credibly advertised, and being replenished with more treasons than we have known it to be in former times, not only the estate of that province is far more dangerous, but also we cannot think

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but that the peril of the whole realm in other parts is greatly increased thereby."

Copy. Pp. 7.

Aug. 13.
Vol. 612, p. 4.

140. By the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.
At Dublin, 13 August 1594.

Whereas, for relieving of her Majesty's castle of Inniskillen, commission was directed by Sir W. FitzWilliams, late Lord Deputy, and his Council, to Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Harbert, who, with 600 footmen and 46 horsemen, going to attempt the same the 7th (?) of this month, being four days before the delivery of the sword to me the now Lord Deputy, "whereby the traitors met withal, and not only by them defeated of their purpose, but likewise received great loss of soldiers, and all the victuals prepared to victual that fort;" we do conclude and resolve that the Lord Deputy and others of this Council shall repair thitherward to relieve the said distressed ward. Though the forces to attend him be but mean, he has not disfurnished any other places of their necessary forces; having given commission to the Earl of Ormond for defence of the borders against Feagh McHugh and Walter Reoghe, with directions to the sheriffs of the several counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, Catherloghe, Kildare, Dublin, and the Queen's County, to be at his commandment with their several forces and holdings for the defence of the said borders. It is agreed that whatsoever be concluded or executed by the Lord Deputy and Council in this journey, or by those other of the Council in the English Pale remaining, shall be as vailable, perfect, and permanent as if the whole body of the Council had been present. "Direction shall be sent to the Lords of Gormostone and Slanye, L. of Trymlestone and Killene, the sheriff and chief gentlemen of the county of Meath, for a present holding to be kept by the forces of the country upon the borders of the county of Meath, towards the north parts." The like direction to be sent to the Lord of Louth and the sheriff and gentlemen of co. Louth.

Signed at the beginning: W. Russell; *at the end:* Ad. Dublin., Canc.; Thomas Ormonde; Tho. Midensis; H. Bagnall; Ro. Gardner; Ro. Napper; Antho. St. Leger; Ro. Dillon; Richard Bingham; G. Bowrchier; Tho. Norris; Geff. Fenton.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Aug. 17.
Vol. 612, p. 10.

141. The EARL OF TYRONE'S SUBMISSION.

"Delivered to my Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, and to the rest of the Council, at his coming in, the 15th of August 1594," at Dublin.

I, Hugh Earl of Tyrone, acknowledge that my late absenting of myself from the State, though occasioned through the hard

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measure of the late Lord Deputy, has been disagreeable to my obedience, and that other unhappy accidents in the North, though not done on my behalf of any intent against her Majesty (so laid to my charge by my enemies there), have induced her Majesty to be offended with me. But when the wrongs and injuries done me by Sir William FitzWilliams, the late Lord Deputy, and the Marshal (Bagnall), practising my life by going about to entrap and ensnare me, shall be discovered, I trust I shall recover the good opinion of my Prince. Her Majesty's displeasure has been my greatest grief, for she it was who advanced me to high title and great livings; and I know that her Majesty, who by grace has advanced me, by force may pluck me down. How can it be, then, that I should be so void of reason as to work my own ruin? I confess I am not clear of offence, but I have done what I have done to save my life; nevertheless I am sorry for my fault. And whereas I durst not trust my life in the hands of Sir William FitzWilliams, understanding of the arrival here of your L., the now Lord Deputy, I have made my repair to you, assuring myself to have my causes considered of with indifferency. I crave some fit time to be appointed for hearing my wrongs, which I would have proved before FitzWilliams himself if he had stayed but one day longer. I here offer my service, either in relieving the distressed ward at Iniskyllin, expelling the Scots, or doing anything else.

Signed : Hugh Tyrone.

"The 17th of August 1594, the Earl of Tyrone presented this submission as is here written, upon his knees, the Lord Deputy and Council then sitting in Council."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Vol. 617, p. 217.

2. Another copy of the same.

Vol. 621, p. 53.

3. A third copy.

Aug. 17. **142.**
Vol. 617, p. 214.

PROPOSITIONS to the EARL OF TYRONE, with his ANSWERS.

(1.) That he presently call home his brother Cormack and all other his followers and forces of Tyrone and elsewhere, and that they give no further aid to the traitor McGwire, Brian McHughe Oge, Ever McCoolie's sons, Brian Oge O'Rwrke, or any other rebels; and that he expel the Scots out of the realm.—*The Earl promises to withdraw all his forces, saving some 50 or 60 knaves under Neale McArt, whom he cannot rule; and also to do his best to expel the Scots.*

(2.) That he cause O'Donnell to revoke his forces of Tyrconnell, and to dismiss the Scots.—*He promises to do his best herein.*

(3.) That, during the Lord Deputy's absence, the Earl defend the borders of the English Pale.—*He promises to do his best for guarding the same.*

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4.) That he suffer his country to yield composition according the articles he agreed to in England.—*He will yield to such a composition as the country is able to bear, in manner as the tenour of the articles doth purport.*

(5.) That he make a gaol at Dongannon.—*He promises to perform the same.*

(6.) That he receive a sheriff and justices of assize into his country.—*He yields to this, so as cos. Ardmaghe and Tyrone may be made but one county.*

(7.) That he answer for Tirloghe McHenry of the Fuse.—*He undertakes this.*

(8.) That his band of 50 horse, in her Majesty's pay, may be ready to attend the Lord Deputy in this journey.—*He says they are converted to the defence of the borders with himself.*

(9.) That he will send to her Majesty his eldest son, the Baron of Dongannon, to be brought up at the University, at his own charges.—*He promises to send his son Hugh to the city of Dublin, here to be kept, either with Sir Henry Walloppe or with Sir Robert Gardiner, and within a quarter of a year to be sent into England.*

(10.) That no attempts be made by any within his rule upon her Majesty's subjects.—*This he promises to perform.*

(11.) That he put in good pledges.—*He promises to send Tirloghe, son to Art O'Hagan, and Patrick, son to O'Quin, the one to be kept at the house of Henry Warren, the other at the house of William Warren, for three months; then two others to come in their places.*

At Dublin, before the Lord Deputy and Council, 17 August 1594.

Signed: Hugh Tyrone.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Vol. 621, p. 51.

2. Another copy.

Vol. 632, p. 123.

3. A third copy.

Aug. 17. 143.

INFORMATIONS against the EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 614, p. 189.

Preferred by the Knight Marshal, Sir Henry Bagenall, 17 August 1594, to the Lord Deputy and Council.

(1.) "First, as a matter to begin the troubles here, one sent from the Bishop of Rome, the King of Spain's ordinary minister, to take upon him the primacy of this realm, being accompanied with Magwire and sundry of the Earl's men, foster-brothers, and household servants, invaded Connaught this last year; where having spoiled divers her Majesty's subjects in that province, and slain of her soldiers, yet hath the Earl ever since entertained those persons."

(2.) After he had undertaken to serve against Magwire, he had a meeting with him and O'Donnell upon a mountain in the night, where they three did conclude together how the war should be prosecuted.

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(3.) Not contented to withhold his dependants from annoying Magwire, when Shan O'Neale's sons did burn in that country, he reviled them and took all their weapons from them.

(4.) When, pretending to invade Magwire, he had preyed Connor Roe, the only serviceable man to her Majesty in that country, and amongst his cows took much of the traitor's goods, he caused full restitution to be made; but Connor Roe notwithstanding his protection and the Deputy's commands could never get one cow restored.

(5.) Magwyre, Brian McHugh Oge, Evar McCooley and his sons, and other principal traitors have been divers times with the Earl since they were proclaimed.

(6.) The Earl has harboured the said traitors' goods in his country, and yielded them relief and countenance, making his country a receptacle for their spoils, and furnishing them with forces.

(7.) Fermannaghe being subdued, and Magwire brought so low that he was not able to make 10 horsemen and 40 kerne, Magwire invaded not only that country but the Brenny, being accompanied with the force of Tyrone under the Earl's brother Cormock, his natural son Con, his son-in-law Henry Oge McHenry McShane, together with the Earl's foster-brothers and his household servants, and slew some of her Majesty's soldiers, and conveyed the preys taken there into Tyrone. Yet the Earl has ever since entertained those parties.

(8.) Many of the banished traitors of Connaught have been of late in his company, and by him relieved.

(9.) He has dealt with Shane McBryan to withdraw him from obedience.

(10.) As well by threats as open invasion, he has drawn sundry of the high principal Uriaughtes from obedience to his dependency; as, namely, Cormock McNeale, captain of Killultoghe, Shane McBryan, Neile McHugh, and others; and has taken "buying" of Sir Hugh Maginnisse, Neile McBryan Ferte, and the rest. Ever McRoory, captain of Kilwarlin, refusing to do the like, the Earl sent his brother's son, his guidon-bearer, and others to invade the said Roory, whom they expelled out of his country.

(11.) He sent his natural son and his brother's son and the rest above named almost to all parts of Ulster where her Majesty had any loyal subjects, whom they preyed, burned, and spoiled.

(12.) Cormack McBaron, Con the Earl's son, Art Bradaghe [O']Hagan, Henry Oge O'Neale's son, McCon Boye O'Neale, Turloghe McHenry's sons, Clan Turlaghe McY'Neale, Phelim O'Neale, and Hugh Oge O'Neale, the principal leaders of the Earl's shot, O'Quin and O'Hagan, his chiefest officers, and Shane McDonnell Groone, his own sergeant, together with all the forces of Tyrone, were in company with O'Donnell and

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Magwyre in July last, when they invaded co. Monaghan and wasted it, to the utter ruin of that new-reformed place.

(13.) On 5 August the Earl, since he had knowledge of your Lordship's* arrival, came to a town called Carntiell in Tyrone, and went from thence to his brother Cormuck's town called Aghor, where he met with Cormuck and O'Donnell. After he had conferred with them, O'Donnell went to meet the Scots, to agree with them, and Cormuck went into Fermanagh, to maintain the traitors against Sir Henry Duke and his forces.

(14.) Cormuck McBaron, the O'Hagans, leaders of the Earl's shot, with most of the forces of Tyrone (without whose aid the traitors were little able to annoy her Majesty's subjects), have been with O'Donnell and Magwyre, besieging her Majesty's castle of Iniskillyn.

(15.) The said companies were at the late encounter in Fermanaugh against her Majesty's forces; and most of the horses then lost fell to the shares of Cormuck McBaron and the rest of Tyrone.

Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew.

Vol. 632, p. 120.

2. Copy of the preceding.

Aug. 17. 144. By the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL, 17 August 1594.

Vol. 632, p. 122a.

"Whereas, upon occasion of certain Articles of Information exhibited the day and year abovesaid by Sir Henry Bagenall, Knight Marshal, &c., against the Earl of Tyrone, without proof or time when the things were done,† a question was put generally whether it were convenient at this time that the Earl should be stayed to answer the said Articles presently, or to be deferred to a more meet time: It was resolved, for weighty considerations concerning her Majesty's service, that the Earl should not be charged with the said Articles at this time, but to be deferred to a more fit time."

Copy.

Oct. 31. 145. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 632, p. 123a.

"A minute of her Majesty's letter to the Lord Deputy and Council, upon the receipt of theirs of the 15th October."

You may not think it strange if in a case extraordinary you receive new admonition and direction. We can no longer forbear to let you know what great mischief the remiss and weak proceedings of late have wrought in that kingdom. We do not impute it to you our Deputy (Russell), who are but lately come to the helm, but to you our Council. Since first the Earl of Tyrone began to affect superiority over such principal persons as (before we advanced him) daily bearded him,

* Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy of Ireland.

† "dewe" in MS.

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we did ever lay before you seriously the prevention of such inconveniences. It is gross to find "that such a man, so laid open to you all, and made so suspicious by his own actions, hath been suffered to grow to this head" by your receiving his excuses and subterfuges. When he came in to the late Deputy (FitzWilliam) at Dublin and was substantially charged, he was dismissed. When he came to Dondalke to you the Chancellor (Archbishop Loftus) and the Chief Justice (Sir Robert Gardiner), where many things were apparently proved, he was "discharged with triumph to his own partakers and with a general discouragement to all those that (for our service) had opposed themselves against him." For amends whereof, when voluntarily he came to you the Deputy (Russell), it was overruled by you the Council to dismiss him, though dangerous accusations were offered against him. This was as foul an oversight as ever was committed in that kingdom.

The natures of treasons are secret, and not to be proved for the most part but by presumptions. He coming in of purpose to offer personal purgation, with great reason you might have stayed him till proofs had been made, or kept him in suspense upon his trial till you had received our pleasure. You alleged that you thought it perilous, but he or his could not have any way prejudiced you or our estate, and none of his durst have stirred whilst he was in restraint.

As for your demand for 200 men, to fill up bands, order is given for them to be levied; and as for the money, before this time you have doubtless received it.

Your last despatch is very imperfect; it mentions Sir Edward Moore's dealings with the Earl, and yet we do not find whether they have spoken together, or whether he be returned or no, or what is concluded. "But, that which is most strange to us, in the course of his letter we find a privy acknowledged by the Earl of our Chief Justice's coming into England, including in further words both hope and expectation of his success in the journey." A meaner person might have served, and therefore would we have him stayed. Besides, in the Earl's letters to Moore mention is made of truce and peace, which we disdain to hear in the mouth of a subject; so we hope you have not given him cause to speak thus. Command him, without any respite or excuse of business or sickness, to make his present repair to you, to answer wherein he is justly charged, and to submit to our estate there; which if he do not, we are determined to proclaim him a traitor.

We hope to find amendment in your future proceedings, and will princely provide for all such events as may happen. For further particulars we refer you to the letters of our Privy Council.

At Richmond, the last of October 1594.

Copy. Pp. 4.

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Oct. 31. 146. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (RUSSELL).

Vol. 632, p. 126.

"A minute of her Majesty's letter to the Lord Deputy in private."

Although we have in our general letters precisely insisted upon the errors committed by the Council before your arrival and since, yet no one has more forgotten or mistaken our directions than you have done. We enjoined you not to dismiss the Earl if he once came to you till our pleasure were known, and did not expect that any persuasion of the Council "would have altered that which from us you had received." We would have you know that, as we have to others in your place, so will we write many things in private to you our Deputy which are not to be imparted to others, for vigilance and secret industry must be used to prevent and entrap such crafty and dangerous persons.

We hold it strange that in all this space you have not used some underhand way to bring in the Earl; and we think that by setting division in his country, wherein full many there are which would be glad to be maintained against him, and by other sound means, he may be disabled and reduced to obedient conformity, which were more honorable to us and commendable in you than to be put to trouble for such a base person. Although we have touched in our joint letter the sundry omissions, "none of these things have fallen out which we did not directly forejudge."

"We set you not there to cry 'aim' to the Council, but to sharpen and quicken their concepts, if either partiality or timorousness do make them cold or negligent." We shall not be wanting in that which shall be needful for the preservation of our good subjects. If you once be found credulous of fair offers and protestations in offenders, you shall be fed with them daily.

"You shall also of yourself (and not as by our commandment) cause it to be intimated to O'Donnell that where he hath in a letter of his declared that he would be content to conform himself (so that Maguire might be included in the commission), that you durst undertake, so that he will leave that condition for Maguire, who hath so openly rebelled against us and the State, that we may be induced to grant him pardon for himself and his particular followers."

At Richmond, the last of October 1594.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Nov. 11. 47. FORCES of the EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 612, p. 10.

"An Advertisement of th' Earl of Tyrone's Forces, received the 11th of November 1594.

"*Foot.*—Th' Earl hath cessed to attend himself 800 shot, whereof be present on foot but 400, led by those whose names ensue: Con McTyrlagh O'Neale, 100; Donagh O'Hagan, 100;

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Tyrlagh Boy O'Hagan, 100; Neale O'Hagan, 50; Patrick Pevy, 50; Cormock th' Earl's brother, 200; Henry Oge, 100; Con the Earl's son, 100; Bryan McArt, 300; Sir Art O'Neale, 40. These be their chiefest force of footmen, trained after th' English manner, having many pickes among them, so as all these are not shot. In their charge they cesse above 2,000, which dead pays these chieftains turn to their own commodity. I omit to speak of the rascals and kerne, whereof there are very many.

"*Horses.*—Th' Earl himself, 100 [and] 40; Cormock, 80; H. Oge, 80; Sir Art and Slight Arte, 80; Art McBaron, 20; Turlagh McHenry, 40; O'Hagan, 100.

"I omit to speak of O'Donnell, the McMahonds, and them of Clandeboy—their forces are so well known. The above number is very little defective. They appoint leaders to 40, to 20, and to 10 of their foot, for the fitness of the service of the passes; for in plains they mean not to fight."

Copy. P. 1.

Nov. 16. 148. ESCHEATED LANDS in MUNSTER.

Vol. 614, p. 71.

Commission to Sir Robert Gardner, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland, Sir Henry Wallopp, Treasurer at Wars, Sir Robert Napper, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and Roger Wilbrahame, Solicitor-General there, to cause to be drawn and engrossed on parchment books for disposing of the lands comprised in letters patent dated at Westminster 27 June, 28 Eliz., to the several Undertakers, and to execute the articles hereto annexed, some of the former Commissioners having died.

Westminster, 16 November, 36 Eliz.

No grants to be made "by colour of concealments," but the escheated lands are to pass to undertakers, for the habitation of the province with English people. Certificate to be made to the Queen of the profits that have grown to the Queen by these attainted lands, and what may be expected to be yearly paid to her from Michaelmas 1594.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Nov. 16. 149. ESCHEATED LANDS in MUNSTER.

Vol. 614, p. 69a.

Instructions for the Commissioners authorized by letters patent dated 16 November, 36 Eliz., to make grants to her subjects of lands in Munster escheated by the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond and others of late years.

Names of the Commissioners:—Sir R. Gardner, Sir H. Wallop, Sir R. Napper, Sir A. Sentleger, R. Wilbraham.

(1.) You shall seek to understand how many persons have undertaken to inhabit the lands so escheated with English

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people according to letters patents, 27 June, 28 Eliz, and 25 April, 29 Eliz.

(2.) Inform yourselves how many of the Undertakers have obtained letters patent, how they have inhabited or peopled the lands, whether they have paid their rents, and how many have not procured letters patent. Also, "what is the quantity of the said escheated lands whereupon they have attempted to enter, and how long they have occupied the same." Commission of inquiry respecting these points to be given to sundry persons in every county of the province, "being no Undertakers."

(3.) You the Chief Justice (Gardner), and you the Solicitor (Wilbraham), former Commissioners in Munster, shall renew your former certificates containing the names of the Undertakers, the quantity of their lands, and their yearly rents, and showing that there would be at Michaelmas 1594 payable yearly 1896*l.* 3*s.* 6½*d.* And at the same time, about December 1592, you sent another abstract, "digested into columns," containing the names of the Undertakers, the number of acres granted them by patent, and the rents reserved, with the numbers both of Irish and English inhabiting the seignories. Likewise you made certificate of persons who had "particulars" only and not letters patent, and of others who had seignories allotted to them, "but never proceeded therein." Also you made mention of the escheats in co. Tipperary sued for [by] the Earl of Ormond. You are to "take consideration how the same may be surveyed truly and granted to the Earl, if he shall require the same, or if not, then to some other person that will answer yearly rent for the same." Since these certificates many things may have been altered, and her Majesty has therefore renewed her commission.

(4.) Make choice of meet persons to be Undertakers. No grant to be made of more than 12,000 acres. No one to be an undertaker except he have sufficient freehold, either in England or Ireland, on which a distress for rent may be levied, or procure sufficient bonds.

(5.) "Ye shall inquire how many Englishmen every principal Undertaker hath in his house, and how they are furnished with horses, armour, and weapon." Also, what English families inhabit under any of the Irish, and "whether any English, being recusants, are come thither to inhabit, and how they behave themselves there." Also, whether any that have had lands allotted to them do not come to inhabit there; and if so, their lands are to be granted to others. If any Undertakers have been evicted from any part of their lands, they are to be "preferred to the increase of their portions so diminished with lands of like condition."

Copy. Pp. 3.

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Nov. 16. 150. The EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 608, p. 80.

"Notes out of the Earl of Desmond's evidences;" *sc.* of the following documents:—

Entail by Maurice FitzThomas [FitzGerald], Earl of Desmond, 26 Edw. III. Grant by King Hen. III. to his son Prince Edward of all Ireland. Royal charter to Maurice FitzGerald, 10 Hen. VIII. Indenture between the Barretts and the Earl of Desmond, 4 Hen. VI. Deed of grant by Geoffrey FitzPatrick [of] Galway to James Earl of Desmond, 20 Hen. VI. Exchange between William FitzGerald, knight of Kerry, and Earl James, 5 Edw. IV. Feoffment by John Roche, son and heir to Philip Roche, of Kinsale, to James Earl of Desmond, 3 Edw. VI. Deed of grant by William White to Thomas, son to the Earl of Desmond, 18 Hen. VII. Grant by Cahir McDermid O'Connor of Carrickfoyle, and his next kinsmen of the O'Connors, to Earl James, 7 Edw. VI. Grant by Sabina, the heir to Robert McLearnay, to Earl James, 2 Edw. VI. Grant by the King to Maurice FitzThomas, Earl of Desmond, 35 Hen. VIII. Grant by Thomas Mandevile and Anastace, his wife, to Earl Maurice, 24 Edw. IV. Grant by Maghon O'Brien to David Arthur, chaplain, to the use of Earl James, 4 Edw. VI. Grant by John McPhillip of Glankine to the Earl of Desmond, 7 Edw. VI. Grant by Richard FitzThomas FitzStephen to Earl Maurice, 6 Edw. IV. Grant by William FitzJohn Burke to Earl Maurice, 3 Hen. VIII. Grant by James Bollerye to John, son to the Earl, 3 Hen. VII. Grant by — Barrett to William Barrett, — Edw. —. Grant by John FitzGibbon, the White Knight, and his kinsmen to Earl James, 6 Edw. VI. Release by John Oge, David, Gilbert, and Thomas FitzGibbon to Earl James, 4 Mary. Grant by William Barry of Olegan to Thomas FitzJames, Earl of Desmond, and Ellis Barry, his wife, 37 Hen. VI. Commission to Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Valentine Browne, and others, to inquire what lands were escheated by the rebellion of Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, his brethren, and others, 25 Eliz.* Commission to Lord Deputy Perrot and others to take the surrenders of O'Moloy and others, 27 Eliz.† Four commissions to Thomas Norris, Vice-President of Munster, Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Valentine Browne, and others, to survey and divide the escheated lands in Munster, &c., dated 5 July and 1 Sept., 28 Eliz. Commission to Sir Robert Gardener, Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Robert Napper, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Roger Wilbraham, &c., authorizing them, as the former commission for the plantation of Munster is determined by the death of some of the commissioners that were of the *quorum*, to give warrant to her Majesty's learned counsel in the laws

* A copy of this commission is to be found in Vol. 608, p. 97.

† A copy of it will be found in Vol. 608, p. 98a.

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of Ireland to draw up books for disposing of the escheated lands in Munster to the Undertakers; dated at Westminster, 16 November, 36 Eliz.

Pp. 7.

151. "A DISCOURSE for IRELAND."

Vol. 632, p. 106a.

"Sithence I have been acquainted with Ireland for the space of these 20 years, I am the more bold to speak of Irish causes, and particularly of the Earl of Tyrone, who by all probability (as by his refusal to come to the Governor and by his articles may appear) is very like, and that shortly, to be in actual rebellion, which doth manifest itself by the late disorders committed by his base son and his brethren, who are the principal instruments to effect all his designs." If his purpose is to rebel, it must proceed "either from a combination with Spain (which may be suspected as well in regard he is of the Romish Church, as also heretofore, for *viva voce* by Hugh Gavelock, one of Shane O'Neill's sons, to his face hath been accused to have a Spanish heart), or else an ancient Irish practice to hinder the proceeding of English justice, which of late hath crept further into Ulster than accustomed." His rebellion will be more dangerous, and cost the Queen more crowns, than any that have foregone him since her Majesty's reign; for, educated in our discipline and naturally valiant, he is worthily reputed the best man of war of his nation. Most of his followers are well-trained soldiers, using our weapons; and he is the greatest man of territory and revenue within that kingdom, and is absolute commander of the North of Ireland.

If he have plotted with Spain to pull the Crown from the Queen's head—for combining with foreign power has no other pretence—then assuredly Scotland is made a party to assist them; and Sir William Stanley and other English and Irish traitors are like to be employed in the action. The way for them most to annoy us is to put into St. George's Channel, and not to let fall an anchor until they come to the entrance of the haven of Dublin, where they may unship their men, and ride safely in all weathers. The lesser ships may safely pass the Bar of Dublin, and land where they list.

It is objected that they will never hazard to put into St. George's Channel because of the danger of that passage, but we cannot build any assurance therein. The coast of peril, from Tower Hooke in co. Wexford to Dublin, is not a day's rounding, and the seas in the midst of the Channel are in depth sufficient for the greatest ship that ever floated. The winning of Dublin would breed more terror to the good subjects in Ireland than if London in England were in the enemies' possession. It is unfortified, and could not resist an army of 5,000 men three days.

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The Earl of Tyrone shall no sooner hear of his friends' landing, but within 24 hours he may join with them, and for their relief bring with him all the cattle between Dundalk and Dublin; "wherewith I am persuaded the Papists and malcontents of the English Pale—under which title almost all the gentlemen there may be comprised—will not be displeased."

For the cutting off of supplies from England there is no place so convenient [as Dublin], "and especially if such places be taken by them upon the coast of Wales as is in their power, namely, the Isle of Man, Bamarrishe, Milford Haven, and the river of Waterford in Ireland." Most of the inhabitants upon the coast of England and Wales are in religion Catholics; and Dublin excepted, "I know not any city or almost village in all Ireland but in affection is Spanish." Therefore they will not be so foolish as to land in the West, far from the Earl, or to sail round about Ireland and land in O'Donell's country; and it is requisite to set down how these dangers may be prevented, which I refer to their (the Privy Council's) great wisdoms.

"But if his (the Earl's) purpose reach no further than ordinary rebellions in Ireland, which evermore arise either upon dislike of the person of some one that doth govern and administer justice, or else to justice itself, with both the which it appeareth that this Earl doth find himself grieved (well agreeing with the humour of the Irish lords, which by all means do strive to keep that tyrant Justice—for so they esteem her—out of their countries, that they might live uncontrolled to exercise their extortions upon their poor tenants and followers, over whom—not much unlike the race of Ottoman—they tyrannize with absolute power, confiscating both goods and lives at their pleasure, whereof this Earl is a present example, who hath and doth govern in Tyrone after that manner), then I dare the more boldly say my opinion, holding his rebellion not so dangerous."

If the Queen's honour may be saved "without blemish, like unto an unspotted virgin herself," all possible means should be used to draw this Earl into his former obedience, his griefs being not very difficult to redress. Those whom he loves (and faithful to the Queen) should be employed in that service; "amongst which number _____" * is the best to effect it, being of that credit with this Earl as at his will he can lead him to do what he list, for upon his wisdom and friendship he wholly dependeth."

If the Earl will not withdraw from his wicked prestence to rebel, all mercy should be laid aside, "whereof evermore the Irish retain a hope grounded upon false opinion, that to save charges the Queen at all times will receive them into protection, which is no small cause of these their often rebellions." Like

* Blank in MS.

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Desmond, he should be prosecuted to the utter extirpation of himself, his adherents, and followers, that the land may be divided amongst the English "collonella." He has evermore had a thirsty desire to be called O'Neale—a name more in price to him than to be intituled Cæsar.

"To cut off all succours from the Isles or the Main of Scotland is most easy, by sending small shipping to lie up and down abouts Lough Swillye, Lough Foile, the mouth of the Banne, the Raughlins, and Glanarum, to impeach the landing of any Scots, who are never better provided to pass the seas than in small boats, which they call galleys, vessels of no defence to maintain any fight; to accomplish which service four or five of the Queen's small pinnaces were most convenient. But yet, if that may not be allowed of, the Queen's ship *The Popinjay*, that still remains in Ireland, and a few small barques, that may be had either at Chester, or from Waterford or Dredathe, will be a fleet sufficient to assure all that coast.

"To cut off all aids that may come from Connaught, which no doubt the Bourcks and O'Rourk with their associates (except Sir Richard Bingham were better beloved and of greater power to support them than I think he is) will be ready to send into Ulster, there must be a strong garrison placed at Beleck, for there is no other way by land but that, or to pass Lough Erne by boats, both which this garrison may hinder, or else to march through the Breany."

Thus, although the Earl is "a more absolute commander in the North than was that archtraitor Shane O'Neyle, yet it is in her Majesty's power to determine this war in a few months; and the first step towards it is to send a worthy gentleman thither to be her Deputy, that hath a stirring martial spirit and an able body."

The power that this Earl can make is about 6,000 or 7,000* footmen, and better than 1,000 horse. To encounter this force, the Queen (besides the forces now in garrison) hath need to erect into bands 2,500 footmen and 500 horsemen. When the Deputy shall make his general hostings to bring him into the enemy's country, he may command the established garrisons of Ulster to come to him.

The places most fit to leave garrisons in are these, viz., Belleck and Inniskillen upon Lough Erne, Liffar or Dunalong upon the river of Fynnies, Blackwater, Monahan, Dundalk, Newrie, Carigfergus, and Colran, upon the mouth of the Banne. They could speedily join together upon actions of service, and be easily victualled by sea. At Colerane, Liffar, and Beleck there must be good provision of great flat-bottomed boats, or else bridges built.

Lastly, wards of 20 or 30 men in a place are, besides these garrisons, very meet, as at Bellfast and Castell-Toame; and a

* "6 or 70,000" in MS.

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third ward in a sconce fast by Castle Fynne in Tyreconnell, for there is a good ford into Tyrone, which being kept, O'Donnell and the Earl cannot meet but with great difficulty.

All this being accomplished, whether the Earl divide or unite his forces, "the poor churls of Ulster that till and labour the land, without whom no traitor in Ireland can long abide in rebellion, because they have no victual but by their travail, are assured to be slain, and their lands left merely waste; which miserable state being general (as in reason it must be), the greater lords of Ulster, pitying their poor husbandmen, and seeing [in] their overthrow imminent ruin, and perceiving the Earl to be unable to redress it, will fall from him, and pray to be received to mercy; insomuch as the Earl himself must be enforced either to do the like, run out of the country, have his throat cut by his own people, or [be] delivered up to the Governor's hands as a sacrifice for their redemption."

Copy. Pp. 12.

152. The EARLS OF TYRONE and CLANCONNELL.

Vol. 617, p. 157.

Henry VIII., 1 October, 34th year (1542), created Connace O'Nele Earl of Tyrone, and granted him his lands in Tyrone. Matthew, Earl of Tyrone, and Barnabas his eldest son were slain in the field, whereby the premises descended to the now Earl, as heir male. By Act of Parliament 11 Eliz. the whole country of Tyrone and divers lands in Ulster were given to the Queen.

In 19 Eliz., by articles indented between the then Lord Deputy and Sir Turlough Lenagh, now Earl of Clanconnell, all the lands from Loughfule (Lough Foyle) to the Great Water were granted to the latter for life, with the countries of Clancam and Clanbresologhe "*ut sequacibus.*" These articles were ratified by the Queen 26 May —. Afterwards she created Sir Turlough Earl of Clanconnell, but he promised to claim no other lands *colore honoris*.

Afterwards, 10 May 29 Eliz., reciting the said Act, the Queen created Hugh Earl of Tyrone for life, and granted him his lands. By indenture, 13 May 29 Eliz., the same Earl covenanted to convey and assure to Sir Turlough Lenagh or Sir Arthur O'Nele his son so much of all the said lands near the Fyn and the Leefere as should be found by office or inquisition to have been usually possessed by Turlough's father; and the Earl of Tyrone was to pay certain rents to the Earl of Clanconnell.*

Copy. Partly in Latin. Pp. 2.

* In the margin: "The Earl of Tyrone may by force of this covenant be enforced to make assurance accordingly, albeit the letters patent made to him be good." Besides this, there are several other marginal notes.

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March 20. 153.

The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 632, p. 128.

In your letters to our Council of 26 February you advertise that the forces of Tyrone and his complices have spoiled the town of Cavan, preyed the Brennye, and taken our fort of Blackwater; also your journey on Feaugh McHugh, the state of the country, and what wants you have.

It was a great oversight in you of the Council there, when the Earl was first so probably charged, to dismiss him so slenderly upon his denials; for when it appeared that either he was so much favoured, or rather feared, as to be borne with in all his insolences, it settled his fortune, gave heart to all his adherents, and discouraged those who would have opposed him. Although we cannot make any imputation to you our Deputy in particular (being before your time), yet must our former dislike continue towards that Council, for since your coming they have ever advised to do the like, even at his last coming to the State, when he had from you no protection. Our commandments to you in private for his stay ought otherwise to have guided you.

You our Deputy cannot but call to mind what charge was given you for the safe conservation of the fort of Blackwater, which the Earl has long ambitiously sought. You should not have suffered the constable of the ward to be absent at such a time, and it ought to have been sufficiently secured against the traitor.

As for the Lords of the English Pale left behind you to defend the frontiers, when we observe how little they prevented the violence to our good subjects, how short a time they made their abode, and how slenderly they excused themselves for want of victuals, none of them being 20 miles from their own house, we are not a little offended, and desire you to expostulate with them. You shall be furnished with such forces as shall both defend our honour and correct the rebel's insolence.

As for your journey on Feaugh McHugh, we find the Earl of Ormond has well assisted you. Harrington could have kept him from any offence to our good subjects. We very well allow of your justice done upon that race of traitors, the brethren and line of Wat. (Walter) Reaugh, whose outrages upon our subjects "we like should be severely revenged." For the service done lately in Tyrone by Bagnall our Marshal, we wish you to let him know we retain him in our good grace and favour.

Whitehall, 20 March 1594.

Copy. Pp. 4.

June 1. 154.

REPORT by LIEUTENANT TUCHER.

Vol. 612, p. 21.

On Sunday, 24 May 1595, we marched from the Newrie, 1,500 foot and 250 horse, to the eight-mile church. The

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enemy appeared upon a hill with 1,500 horse. Our General (Sir Henry Bagenall) commanded all the horse to be drawn up towards them. The enemy retired, thinking to draw us up "into their straights of foot, which lay some mile distant;" but the General drew back. Next morning, after eight miles' march, the Earl of Tyrone brought all his forces to a straight which we were to pass, and turned off seven or eight companies of foot to skirmish with us. They annoyed us much, the passage being between a bog and a wood. After we had passed the straight the enemy's powder was spent, but their forces increased. We found that Magwire and McMahon had besieged Monohon, but they rose so soon as we came. We encamped on a hill close to the Abbey. Our loss was 12 slain and 30 hurt; the enemy's, 100 slain and many hurt. The same evening the enemy drew up his forces, increased to above 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, within three quarters of a mile, and yet did nothing.

Having put victual [into Monaghan], and changed the ward, the next day we dislodged and marched back. The enemy stopped all the straights and passages. It was long before we could wind ourselves through one of them, "being driven to exceeding many stands." We lost 12 horse, amongst whom was Sir Edward Harbert's brother. "Having recovered the champion, they somewhat withdrew the heat of their skirmish, their munition being very near spent, having consumed almost 14 barrels of powder, as we were informed, for we had ever good intelligence from amongst themselves." They sent for a supply to the Earl's house at Dongannon. Next morning we marched away in some quiet. Thinking we would go to Dondalke the Earl stopped all the passages, but we marched to the Newrie, where we found all our losses to have been about 31 or 32 slain and 120 hurt, but none hurt of account except Sir Henry Duke, Captain Cunye, five lieutenants, an ensign, and a sergeant. Of the enemy we hear 300 or 400 were slain and very many hurt. The enemy have broken up the causeway between the Newrie and Dondalk, and "plashed and made up the same." They lie there expecting our army's coming that way. But having spent all our powder, 10 barrels, our General drew to a council, and determined to send me in a small boat by sea to declare what was done and crave a supply of munition, "which had, they are ready and desirous to come away, if they be commanded; but I think it impossible for them to do it were they as many more as they are, for now the enemy is fourteen or fifteen thousand strong in that place."

Signed: Tucher; Perkins.

Headed in Carew's hand: "A report of the service done by Sir Henry Bagenall in the relieving of Monaghan."

Copy. Pp. 2.

1595.
June 28.
Vol. 617, p. 220.

155.

PROCLAMATION against the EARL OF TYRONE and his
CONFEDERATES.

Whereas the Queen advanced Hugh O'Neile, the son of one Mathewe Ferdarrocke O'Neale, a bastard son of Con O'Neale, commonly called Great O'Neale in Tyrone, to the noble dignity of an Earl, endowed him with larger territories than any other Earl of Ireland, allowed him yearly 1,000 marks ster., and at his repair into England given to him and his heirs by letters patents very large possessions and rule over sundry her subjects; yet nevertheless he has fallen from allegiance, and committed sundry foul murders and other violent oppressions against her subjects; as, namely, in hanging one of Shane O'Neale's sons, born of more noble parents than the Earl himself, for which act he was pardoned, upon promise of amendment; but he has since taken by force two others of the said Shane O'Neale's sons, holding them captives in places unknown. Aspiring to live like a tyrant over a great number of good subjects there in Ulster, he has lately allured O'Donell, the chieftain of Tireconnell (by matching with him in marriage), whose father and predecessors have always been loyal, to enter into rebellion; and has in like manner comforted and provoked, with the aid of his brethren and bastards, certain other disobedient subjects, as McGwire, chieftain of Fermanagh, the traitor O'Rowrke's son, and sundry of the McMahones of Monohan, to invade divers countries in and near to the English Pale. In order to become Prince of Ulster, he has also, partly by force, partly by false persuasions, allured and drawn to concur with him in rebellion a great part of the chieftains of Ulster.

For these causes her Majesty doth now, upon the preparation of her army, notify to all her good subjects, both English and Irish, the said Earl to be accepted the principal traitor and chief author of this rebellion, and a known practiser with Spain and other her Majesty's enemies; commanding all her subjects that have aided and accompanied him, and yet shall now desire to live peaceably in her favour, to withdraw themselves from him and his complices. And when her army shall enter Ulster, if they come to the Lord Deputy, they shall, upon their submission, have pardon of their lives and lands. If those who were the servants or followers of Tirlough Lenough, her very loyal subject, return from the said Earl to the said Tirlough Lenough, and join with him in withstanding the said traitors, they also shall have like pardons.

Postscript.—Not knowing whether you [the Lord Deputy and Council] have already proclaimed the Earl of Tyrone to be traitor with his confederates, we send you the draft of the proclamation meet for that purpose, which you may execute if already you have not done the like. If you have any hope of recovering O'Donnell, then, notwithstanding this

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proclamation, entertain him secretly with hope, for that we have a disposition to save him.

Date given by Carew, "28 Junij 1595."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Vol. 612, p. 24.

2. Another copy of the same, undated.*

June. 156.

RESERVATIONS to the CROWN.

Vol. 612, p. 53a.

"Certain Reservations to her Majesty's use upon receipt of surrenders, and upon other compositions and agreements between the Lord Deputy and Council on the one part, and certain lords and gentlemen on the other part, made from the 5th of June 1584, until this present month of June 1595, and to continue as followeth. Besides a tenure by knight service thereupon reserved to her Majesty."

This document shows the rents, beoves, hawks, and chief horses payable to the Crown by the following persons, and the numbers of horsemen and footmen which they were bound to find at risings-out:—O'Conner Sligoe, Sir Turlaugh O'Neele, Donnell Grone McConnell of the Glinne, Sir Hugh O'Donnell, Theobald McO'Ville,† Cone McNeale, Shan McBryan McPhelim, Hugh Oge McBryan Hugh Oge McHugh McPhelim O'Neale, Cormock McNeale McBrian, Aghovell McCarten, Sir Hugh McGennis, O'Conner Dunne, Sir John O'Reley, Edmond O'Reyley, Philip O'Reyley, Hugh O'Reyley, C[ahir] O'Reyley, Mulmory O'Reyley, O'Madden, Ever McRorie, Brian Duffe, Cowconnogh McGwere, Sir Brian O'Rorke, Richard McMorrice, and McMahoune.

Summa totalis: Rent per annum, 545*l.* 19*s.* ster.; chief horses, 4; hawks, 11, besides the Glinnes; beoves, 663; horsemen per annum, 25; footmen, 1,133; allowances for officers, 100; horsemen for risings-out, 211; footmen for risings-out, 455.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Vol. 617, p. 237.

2. Another copy.

157. A NOTE of the BEEVES, HAWKS, and HORSES due to the GOVERNOR for the time being.

Vol. 635, p. 81.

Sc., from Sir Donnel O'Connogher Sligogh, the O'Reilleys, Sir Hugh O'Donnel, Sawyerley McConnel, Hugh Magnisse, Cormock McDermot, and the heirs of Sir Cormocke McTegge, by indentures dated 26, 27, and 28 Eliz.

* This copy is inserted in Sir William Russell's Diary (MS. 612) between the 28th and 29th of June 1595. This is probably Carew's authority for the date assigned by him to the copy in MS. 617. Many of the documents in MS. 617 have evidently been copied from those in MS. 612.

† "Staunton" is added by Carew.

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Upon the surrender of the Brenny by Sir John O'Reilley and others, there was a reservation of 230 beoves; but since the rebellion Sir William Russell received out of her Majesty's coffers 230*l.* ster. in lieu of those beoves.

Copy. Pp. 2.

July 17. 158. TYRONE and O'DONNELL.

Vol. 632, p. 30.

A Journal of the late Journey by the Lord Deputy (Russell) against the archtraitor Tyrone and O'Donnell, entered into at Dundalk, the general rendezvous of the army and the risings-out, the 18th of June 1595, and ending at the said town the 17th of July following.

The army, reviewed at Dundalk, rose from thence the 21st of June, and marched strong in infantry in her Majesty's pay, besides the risings-out, 2,200 and odd, and in horse, as well risings-out as others in her Majesty's pay, together with the voluntaries, some 550 horse, the lieutenant-general whereof was Sir Edward York, and the colonel-general of the infantry was Sir Henry Norris. The said infantry was divided into three several battailes, a vanguard, a battaile, and a rearward; to each ward appointed a third part of the carriage, with a third part of the horse. Our cows, which were 1,000, were driven by our kerne with a strong guard of shott and horse.

The same day we passed the pass of the Moyrie, and the causeway, beforehand broken down by the rebels, was made passable with "caishes" by a band of pioneers. We marched that day two miles beyond the Moyrie before the army lodged upon a ground convenient, and there remained until the 24th.

The Lord Deputy called several councils at wars. Sir John Norris, Lord President of Munster, appointed Lord General of the wars with absolute commission, made protestation to the Lord Deputy that during his presence the army and himself were to receive all directions from his Lordship. The Lord Deputy, however, showed himself willing to impart with him of his authority in some measure of equality; but he (Norris) with great modesty refused the same.

From the Newrie in two days his Lp. marched to Ardemagh, where in a ground convenient two miles beyond the same, and within two miles of the Blackwater, his Lp. encamped. Whilst the camp was in quartering, his Lp., taking certain troops of horse with him, with some boat companies, passed a certain pass between his camp and the Blackwater, to take view of the rebels, who made show upon the far side of the water of their forces. Few bullets were exchanged, but many railing speeches both in Irish and English.

That night the sentinels on the west quarter of the camp were beaten in, but without any alarm. The Lord Deputy in person, with some few companies of horse, made great haste (though night services upon alarms are altogether for footmen to answer), being very jealous over our cows, and could not

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satisfy himself until he had been upon the island where they were under good guard, which consisted, however, chiefly of Irish and kerne. But the rebels, whose espials had been in the camp among us, both day and night, made no attempt that way at all.

The next day his Lp. made the army to rise, and to lodge near to Ardmaghe in a ground more plentiful of grass. But the rebels, conceiving that the rising was rather for fear of their near neighbourhood, prepared the night following to give us a second alarm. His Lp., being certified by his espials that certain companies of foot of the rebels were come over the Blackwater and drawing into a wood, sent Captain Hugh Mostin, with his company, and Captain Baker, of the Brittany regiment, into the wood, so that the rebels passing through the same towards our camp found every quarter without alarm ready to charge them, and these two companies at their backs. They never after attempted to waken us any more.

"The next day his Lp., having advised with the Lord General, Sir John Norris, that the church and abbey of Ardmagh, as much of it as had the roofs of the same unburned, would make a fit garrison place instead of the fort of the Blackwater, by the rebels long before razed, did set the same work in hand, and raising a certain parapet, made the same very guardable, and capable of 200 men for the present, and with only some cost it will be able to contain 4 companies of foot and one of horse."

"The second day of our encamping near to the Blackwater, the archtraitor himself not only fired the houses of all his special gentlemen and followers in the country about him, but also his own town Dungannon,* and in the end razed to the ground the castle itself. And having not four days before my Lord Deputy's arrival with H.M. army assembled all the masons of the country about him to have fortified the same as he could in the strongest manner, having with pioneers long since made great ditches with rampiers by the device, as it was said, of a Spaniard he had with him, he in the end employed those masons that were entertained for builders up, for pullers down of that his house, and that in so great haste, as the same overnight mustering very stately and high in the sight of all our army, the next day by noon it was so low that it could scarcely be discerned; which eased the army of a great deal of trouble and her Majesty of great charge, that otherwise her Highness must have been at in transporting the cannon, which was already brought to the Newrie by sea, over the Blackwater by land.

"The church of Ardmagh having now been made tenable, and victuals growing scant in the army and munition also,

* "Dungannon" in MS.

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and his Lp. determining to revictual Monaghan, resolved to lay up all our carriages and provisions of the army within the church of Ardmagh, where he left two companies in the guard of the same, and with the rest of the army, horse and foot, upon the sudden raising his camp, marched directly to the Newrie, within three miles whereof the second day of his march he encamped, having borrowed all the garrans of the army, whose owners had by order of his Lp. laid up their provisions and carriages in the guard* of the garrison of Ardmagh, and from the camp sending a convoy of horse and foot with empty garrans to the Newrie, with the same they brought to the camp such store of victuals and munition as there was before for the supply of both those garrisons before specified, and furnishing of the army with powder and shot to have made a fight with the rebel if opportunity were offered. For, in our march to the Newrie from Ardmagh, we had but 9 barrels of powder left, which could not have maintained half a day's fight, if the rebel had urged as he had done at Monnogohan.

"During three days that his Lp. lay in camp, [the rebel] expecting his Lp. was returning towards the Pale, leaving us with all his force, meaning to have belayed us in the pass of the Moyrie, passed on before us, and by the way showing himself upon the hills. My Lord Deputy, suspecting that he meant to cut off the convoy that was at the instant with all the provision for the army marching from the Newrie towards our camp with a guard only of 400 foot and 100 horse, issued himself with one half of the army to make a stand for them; which the rebel perceiving, he retreated himself without any further offer at all. Yet half a dozen of her Majesty's horsemen falling in skirmish with some of theirs in the arrear, one of the rascals willed them to tell the Lord Deputy that Cormock and McGwier would every night lodge by his Lp. whilst he should remain in those parts, and afterwards would wait upon him in the pass of the Moyrie.

"The next day, contrary to expectation, his Lp. returning towards Ardmagh, they supposed that he meant with all the whole army, victualled as they thought, to pass over the Blackwater into Clandeboy. But finding after two days' encamping there, upon the rising of the army and the view of the march of the same, that the revictualling of Monnogohan was the only mark which we shot at, they in like sort prepared to attend upon us, in such sort as it was not unlikely but that they would have some doing with us, even upon the same ground that they had before assailed her Majesty's forces upon. Nevertheless we passed the bogs with all our carriages without any their offer at all, other than upon the hills afar off; but there they braved us with all their forces of horse and foot,

* "in regard" in MS.

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which made a great show. Whereupon the Lord Deputy, although his Lp. protested that he assured himself that, since they would not fight with us upon the bog, they would never abide it upon the hard ground, he nevertheless commanded certain troops of horse to put them from the ground where on the travile,* which immediately was done, notwithstanding a while he made some show to the contrary. But Sir John Norris, assuming with his own troop of horse with certain companies of foot to pass unto them by a nearer way over a bog, although he could not do it by all the means that he could use, yet nevertheless it made them betake themselves under the guard of their usual fastness of the woods adjoining.

"Whereupon my Lord Deputy, perceiving their meaning was but to make him spend time in vain, commanded the army to follow on their march to the place we pretended, which was to Monnaghan, where being arrived, my Lord Deputy found that Patrick McArte Moile McMahonne, being sheriff of the county of Monnaghan, had carried himself for the victualling of the garrison there, in the spite of the rebel in his greatest forces, most loyally and valiantly, having taken from them 1,000 cows; to whom my Lord Deputy, towards some recompense of that and other his faithful services, increased his 15 horsemen that he had in her Majesty's pay to 25 for himself, and 16 to a principal follower of his, being one of the Clanardens, all being his followers.

"Having encamped three days within two mile of Monnaghan, which his Lp. in person visited with a convoy of horse and foot, we marched the next day within eight mile of the Newrie, where being forced to remain two days, through extreme foul weather, the third day we encamped within two mile of the Newrie, which was the 10th of July, having heard by the way, by the rebels themselves to some of our army which fell in skirmish with them, this lie, that whilst my Lord Deputy had been visiting Monnaghan the archtraitor of Tyrone had burned the Newrie. But being arrived at that our camp near the Newrie, we found in truth that he had preyed the Newrie and Sir Hugh McGwynnies of some 1,500 cows, and had broken down and burned the Marshal's mills about the Newrie, which indeed it is a great hurt to her Majesty's garrisons that are laid there; where the army remained two days.

"The third day, which was the 12th of July, in the morning about 5 of the clock, the scout came into the camp, who signified unto the Lord Deputy that they had discovered the rebels with all their forces even at that instant within one mile of the camp, drawing directly towards the pass of the Moyrie; whereof his Lp. advertised by them, as also by the guides of the army, that they were upon a hard ground distant from any wood, pass, or bog four mile, he commanded

* Sic; qu., *whercom they travelled?*

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forthwith the whole army to draw to the field; and, leaving some two bands of the out-risings for the guard of the camp and the baggage and sick men of the army, he with the forwardness of his own horse troop where his person was, so hastened the rest of the bands of horse that were within half an hour separated above — miles from all foot, and advanced so near the rebels as that between the point of our vanguard of horse, being upon one hill, and the rear-guard of theirs, being upon the next, nothing separated them but a small valley between both.

“His Lp. at that instant was so carried with desire to attain his troops and theirs with some close skirmish, to entertain the rebels till our infantry might be drawn up unto them, that he not then remembering that his troop, being indeed the gross of the cavalry, and therefore being to make the greatest stand for all the horse troops in the field, was by the order of the war to have been the hindermost of all, as that the word went generally through the army, both horse and foot, that his Lp. was engaged; whom the General Sir John Norris with his person accompanied, but his troop, although the fairest and best armed, and therewithal the chiefest men that were brought into Ireland since her Majesty's reign (which the Almighty long continue!), was not able, with all the haste they could make, to come near him.”

The archtraitor the Earl, together with O'Donnell, upon the next hill, viewing the troop of horse and foot with such haste marching towards them, did lay 200 shott close by the way and a bog at their back, where he saw the greatest troop bent to pass, and he himself and O'Donnell drew all their troops of horse behind the gross of their shott, which were some 1,000 or more, to a hill further off.

My Lord Deputy “came fair unto the fist and laps of the ambush,” which, on seeing that their horsemen had deserted them, quitted their ground after bestowing one volley of 30 shot, without hurt to any but only to O'Hanlan, who was my Lord's guide that day, and by turn her Majesty's standard-bearer for Ulster. There his Lp. did find the want he had of 50 carabines and some kerne, for that volley being discharged, they instantly fell off to the bog, where they knew themselves sure enough for all the horse, and fled to the woods; but some of the better sort were killed or taken. If such a running away had been in France or Flanders, either of the French King's army or the King of Spain's, the mightier of them could not have showed himself again in the field within one year following, and must of necessity have lost towns and territories. “But these rascals, although they run away and be dispersed into so many parts as they are heads, yet till they be all killed, or the fastness[es] of their countries garrisoned upon, and their cows, which is their revenues, and their very lives, taken from them, will cloke themselves together.” As yet the archtraitor holds in his own possession both their pledges and cows.

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It was confessed by a foster-brother of Cormocke, the Earl's brother, who was taken, that the Earl and O'Donnell had that morning assembled a council, and the general resolution was, a fair runaway.

The army returned to the camp, where reposing itself that night, the next day it marched through the pass of the Morie, and lodged beyond the same some two miles from Dundalke. After his Lp. had rested there three days, he appointed the bands to be disposed in several garrisons within and upon the skirts of the archtraitor's pretended territory and countries. He assembled a council at war for that purpose, in which he notified to Sir John Norris and the rest, that having performed as much as was enjoined to him by her Majesty's letters, he from that time forward rendered the prosecution of the war absolutely to Sir John according to her Majesty's commission, with determination wholly to attend to the defence of the Pale, while Sir Richard Bingham would attend to Connaught; 1,000 foot and 100 horse being hourly expected out of England.

Sir John Norris protested he would prosecute the war according to the means afforded him, and erect the fortifications appointed; hoping that, if his invasion of the archtraitor's country should be frustrated by the failure of provisions, as was his Lp.'s journey thither, it should be without imputation to him. Wherewith the Council ended, the army dissolved, and every man returned well wearied towards his own dwelling that had any, the 18th of July 1595.

Copy. Pp. 16.

July 24. 159. EXPEDITION into the NORTH.

Vol. 612, p. 40.

"24 Julij, 1595.—This day, the service of the North being in question, the Lord Deputy before all the Council, then sitting at the Council Board, required the Lord President * to take the general charge of that service upon him; unto whom he would give and yield all the assistance he could from time to time.

"Then present of the Council: the L. Chancellor, the L. President, the L. of Meathe, Sir H. Wallop, Sir Ro. Gardner, Sir Ro. Dillon, Sir Anth. St. Leger, Sir Geo. Bouchier, Mr. Brabson, Sir Ra. Lane.

"This is a true copy of the entry made in the Council Book, examined by me, Pa. Foxe."

Copy. P. 1.

160. To SIR JOHN NORRIS, President of Munster.

Vol. 612, p. 49.

Commission to be General of her Majesty's forces in Ulster, for suppressing such of the Queen's subjects in that province

* Sir John Norris, President of Munster.

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and its borders as have traitorously entered into arms, and are now in open rebellion, daily burning, murdering, and spoiling. He is to have the leading and governance of all the martial forces within the realm of Ireland, and of all others that shall hereafter be sent hither or erected here. To form the ablest people in Ulster into bands, and to arm them out of the store of munition lately brought into this land. To proceed to the finishing of the fortifications within the said province. The Deputy and Council shall effectually perform all promises made by him touching pardon or protection to be granted to any rebels. To take man's meat and horse-meat within any part of the realm, as well within liberties as without, in reasonable sort without oppression, paying ready money or giving bills. In the absence of the Deputy, to perform all other actions expedient for this service.

Signed at the beginning: W. Russell; *at the end:* Ad. Dublin., Canc., Ro. Gardner, Ro. Dillon, Antho. St. Leger, Ro. Napper, G. Bowrchier, Edward Brabson, Tho. Norris, Nich. Walche.

Dated "1595."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Vol. 617, p. 233.

2. Another copy.

Aug. 20. 161. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 612, p. 37.

Whereas there is an indictment presented in co. Tipperary for a slaughter of some of the Cantwells by Sir Charles O'Caroll, and an appeal brought for the same fact before the Justices of our Bench there, the said Sir Charles has made complaint that not only the loss of his life is intended by means of that indictment laid in Tipperary, where he is mortally hated in regard of divers spoils between his country of Elye and the County Palatine, but also that, by his answering of the appeal, he shall be forced to confess his country to be in co. Tipperary, and thereby prejudice his inheritance, for which he has duly paid us these many years 100*l.* a year. Finding that he has put in bonds to answer the appeal to a great value, and asks no favour, if by any indirect jury he may be found to have either been present, or to have done anything but in defence of his own country, we require some commissioners to be appointed to inquire of the fact before any further proceeding. As for the appeal, the trial is to be suspended until the difference of the title betwixt the Earl of Ormond and the said Sir Charles O'Caroll be determined, whether the country of Eley be in co. Tipperary or not. When a commission was granted to inquire of that matter, this gentleman answered the bill brought against him, and the Earl did not reply. If he shall now be justly condemned

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upon the appeal, we will not pardon him for any respect;
and so we wish you to inform the Earl of Ormond.

Given under our Signet at our Palace of Westminster,
20 August, 27 (*sic*) Eliz. 1595.*

Copy. Pp. 2.

Vol. 617, p. 228.

2. Another copy.

Aug. 20. 162. By the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 612, p. 39.

Proclamation for restraining the transporting of gunpowder into this land, and forbidding the sale thereof to any but to her Majesty's good subjects, viz., as Noblemen, Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace. It is to be kept in the common halls or town houses of cities or towns, and from thence to be issued to the owners' benefit.

Dublin, 20 August 1595.

Signed: W. Russell, Ad. Dublin, Canc., H. Wallop, Ro. Gardner, Antho. St. Leger, G. Bowrchier, Geff. Fenton.

Copy. Pp. 2.

163. By the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 612, p. 40.

Proclamation for restraining the carriage of corn, beef, and other victuals out of Ireland.

Copy. P. 1.

Sept. 6. 164. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR RALPH LANE.

Vol. 612, p. 50.

Where lately we wrote to the Lord President to cashier such companies as were not three score strong, these are to require you to take view of such companies, and to cashier them accordingly.

Castle of Dublin, 6 September 1595.

Signed: W. Russell, Ad. Dublin, Canc., H. Wallop, Ro. Napper, G. Bowrchier, Geff. Fenton.

"P.S.—Our meaning is, that such as are wanting should be chequed, and the rest cashiered should supply th' other bands."

Copy. P. 1.

Sept. 6. 165. "The SHERIFF of WESTMEATH'S CERTIFICATE"

Vol. 612, p. 40a.

Whereas it pleased your Lordship (the Deputy f) to direct your letters to me for a proportion of garrons, pioneers, and beoves to be delivered to Sir John Norris at his being in Ulster, we sent the same, but when they came thither the collectors could get no tickets for them. Besides, whereas our pioneers

* Enrolled on the Patent Roll of Ireland for 36-38 Eliz. See Mr. Morrin's Calendar, vol. ii., pp. 405-407.

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should have been kept but 30 days, they stayed 9 weeks, and could get no entertainment. Therefore the country will not be so willing hereafter.

Mollingar, 6 September 1595.

Signed: James FittzGerrald.

Copy. P. 1.

Sept. 12. 166. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY (RUSSELL).
Vol. 682, p. 137a.

Her Majesty has received from Sir John Norris a despatch of the 25th and 27th of August, from the camp near the Newrie. When the traitor's letter came Sir John did not allow of it, as it contained but a few bare lines, scarce sufficient to crave pardon for petty trespasses, and he presumed to make himself the advocate for the rest, especially O'Donnell, Mc Guire, and others. Her Majesty "will have him simply implore mercy for himself, divided from all show of greatness and dominion over any her subjects."

"Where it is spread that she intendeth the utter extirpation of the Irish, and is offered due obedience and refuseth it," her Majesty will have it known that no subjects of hers shall be oppressed by any, if they will live in obedience; but if any think by tyrannizing over others to fashion to themselves any greatness, no formal submission shall preserve them from the rod of her justice.

"Direct Sir John Norries to let the traitor find that what he will do must quickly be offered by him apart, in which kind her Majesty will not refuse to hear the others severally by themselves, upon free and absolute submission." That vile and base traitor was raised out of the dust by herself. If he will singly and simply receive pardon for his life, her Majesty is contented that you shall pardon him with the conditions enclosed. Sir John Norries is to follow your directions. "Nothing will more become the traitor than his public confession what he knows of any Spanish practices, and his abjuration of any manner of hearkening or combining with any foreigners,—a course fit in his offers to be made vulgar, that in Spain and abroad the hopes of such attempts may be extinguished."

In all parleys no principal subjects or commanders are to be sent to him, "but rather some mean men of quality."

The Queen now leaves these matters to you, "not tying you to send over for every circumstance, whereby so much time is spent and opportunity lost." Manage the same with great regard to her honour. She has caused some articles to be sent you respecting what is to be performed by the traitor. She has also written to Sir John Norries. "He did set down a chargeable project how the war should be prosecuted, and that only for Ulster."

From the Court at Nonsuch, 12 September 1595.

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II. "Articles to be performed [by the Earl of Tyrone and the other] traitors that [shall] crave pardon."*

(1.) You shall assure him of pardon of his life upon laying down his arms, dispersing his forces, and submitting himself.

(2.) He shall reveal all foreign practices he is acquainted with, and abjure all such practices ever hereafter.

(3.) He shall not presume to make suit for the pardon of the captains or leaders of rebels.

(4.) If he peremptorily refuse his submission except the like favour be showed to O'Donnell and McGuyre, either out of pride in his own strength, or out of fear that they being left out will oppress him, he may be answered that if her Majesty will be so merciful as to receive him into grace she will be as merciful towards others; and her Majesty will treat with the rebels singly and simply, without any combination.

(5.) If he speak of his living, he shall be absolutely answered that he must trust to her Majesty's grace; and he must put in pledges and good assurance.

After the receiving of Tyrone and O'Donnell, who are the chiefest, Maguire might be gotten, and some example made of him, because he was first in actual rebellion at Iniskillyn.

If Tyrone insist upon remission for his brethren and base son, you shall not much deny it.

Copy. Pp. 5.

Sept. 27. 167. The EARL OF TYRONE and O'DONNELL to the KING OF SPAIN.
Vol. 612, p. 46.

Our only hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion rests on your assistance. Now or never our Church must be succoured. By the timidity or negligence of the messengers our former letters have not reached you. We therefore again beseech you to send us 2,000 or 3,000 soldiers, with money and arms, before the feast of St. Philip and St. James. With such aid we hope to restore the faith of the Church, and to secure you a kingdom.

5. Cal. Octobris 1595.

Signed: O'Neill, Hugh O'Donnell.

"Intercepted, and received the 29th Sept. 1595, from the hands of Piers O'Cullen."

Copy. Latin. P. 1.

Vol. 617, p. 232.

2. Another copy.

Sept. 27. 168. The EARL OF TYRONE to DON CAROLO.
Vol. 612, p. 45.

I have been informed by the bearer of this that you have written to me, but your letter has not yet reached my hands.

* The words in brackets are in Carew's handwriting.

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I was confident that I should not in vain appeal to you for aid. The faith might be re-established in Ireland within one year, if the King of Spain would send only 3,000 soldiers. All the heretics would disappear, and no other sovereign would be recognized than the King Catholic. Both I and O'Donnell have besought him to succour the Church. Pray second our petition. If we obtain positive assurance of succour from the King, we will make no peace with the heretics. We have written frequently, but are afraid none of our letters have reached the King, as he has returned us no answer. The bearer, a man of pious zeal, has undertaken this perilous mission.

5. Cal. Octobris.

Signed: Amicus tuus ignotus—O'Neyll.

Countersigned: Franciscus Montfortius.

"Intercepted, and received the 29th Sept. from the hands of Piers O'Cullen."

Copy. Latin. P. 1.

Vol. 617, p. 230.

2. Another copy.

Sept. 27. 169.

Vol. 612, p. 45a.

The EARL OF TYRONE, O'DONNELL, and MONTFORT to
DON JOHN DELAGUILA.

As we have heard of your fame, and of your goodwill towards us and our country, we pray you to assist the bearer, who is sent by us to the King Catholic to obtain his aid in our warfare for the Catholic faith. By acceding to our request, he will re-establish our religion and acquire a kingdom.

5. Cal. Octobris 1595.

Signed: Amici tui—O'Neill, Hugh O'Donnell.

Countersigned: Franciscus Momfortius.

"Intercepted, and received the 29 Sept. 1595, from the hands of Piers O'Cullan."

Copy. Latin. P. 1.

Vol. 617, p. 231.

2. Another copy.

Sept. 28. 170.

Vol. 612, p. 34.

The QUEEN to SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL, Lord Deputy.

By our letters of the 12th inst. we authorized you to follow the articles signed by our Council, wherein we directed you within what limits we would accept the submission of the traitor Tyrone. We are persuaded that you have proceeded with him in that form. Out of commiseration for those poor people, whose ruin must follow by the prosecution of the heads of this rebellion, we give you liberty to assure him of further grace and favour, if he be not contented with the pardon of his life only. Our meaning is contained in these articles enclosed. They are to be carried secretly, and you

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are to draw them as low as possible you may. [Sir] John Norris is to be informed of these articles.

Under our Signet at Nonesuche, 28 September 1595, 37 Eliz.

II. "Articles concerning the submission of the Earl of Tyrone and other rebels in Ireland, 28 Sept. 1595."

When Tyrone seeks his pardon, he may petition for his living and estate. Though we could like best to have it simply referred to us, you may agree to his desires, rather than to break and leave him to utter despair.

Let him know that, besides his life, he has forfeited his whole estate, so as whatsoever he may have hereafter is to come to him anew from us. He must leave all combinations with all disobedient subjects and all strangers. If he consent to this, you may tell him you will procure that he shall be restored to his former estate of the barony of Dungannon, as granted to his father Matthew, when Con O'Neale, his grandfather, was made Earl by King Henry VIII.; the Earldom to remain in our disposition until he deserve to be restored to the same. It is to be considered what lands might be restored to him: none to be near the bridge or the fort at the Blackwater, nor to Armagh, or Monaghan, or the Newrie.

Further, there is to be considered to how many things he did submit in England in April 1590, upon being charged with putting to death one of the sons of Shane O'Neale. All the captainries of the Irish on the east side of Lough Eawgh to be exempted from his rule. He is to put to liberty Shane O'Neale's son, and to suffer Turlaugh Lennagh to enjoy his castle of Straban.

These conditions seem more tolerable than to continue an uncertain war. For the observation of them, he shall deliver his eldest lawful son as a pledge, to be brought up at school in England, and three or four others, "whereof, if it may be, one of his brothers and one of his base sons, and one of the O'Hagans, and one of the O'Gwyns to be of that number;" to remain in the English Pale.

O'Donnell, McGwire, O'Rowrke, or any of the McMahons, are not to have pardon at the solicitation of the Earl, but on their own several submissions; and by a letter of the Earl's dated the 27th of August it appears that he yields to this. As for O'Donnell and McGwire, some portions of their countries are to be assigned to such others of their sept as have not rebelled, and that are competitors to their captainries, whereby to diminish their greatness. Those who are pardoned are not to have combination with any stranger or with any captain of the Irishry, nor suffer any Scots or other strangers to reside in their country. And if the Earl of Tyrone refuse these conditions, it shall be secretly procured that O'Donnell be received to grace and severed from the Earl, and thereby Connaught reduced to the former obedience; and the commodity of land-

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ing any Spaniards upon the coast of Tyreconnell may be also avoided.

Copies. Pp. 4.

Vol. 617, p. 224.

2. Other copies of the same.

Oct. 10. 171. GEORGE HARVY to [LORD DEPUTY RUSSELL].

Vol. 612, p. 41.

Whereas your Lp. and the Council directed a commission to me to levy within co. Meath 450 beoves, 80 garrons, and 100 pioneers, I did use my best endeavour to send them forward to Dundalk, there to be delivered to such as my Lord General (Norris) should appoint. Your four letters have caused me no little grief, that after 42 years' service I should be charged with negligence. I called all the collectors to Tryme and examined them. They answered that they had every one delivered according to their warrants; which I could not reprove, as no receipts had been given.

Skrene, 10 October 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Oct. 18. 172. SUBMISSION of HUGH O'DONNELL, now chief of his Name.

Vol. 612, p. 46a.

I confess to have offended your Majesty contrary to your peace and laws, which I cannot justify, though proceeding not of any malice against your Majesty, but chiefly from the bad usage of me by Sir John Perrott, in the unlawful apprehension of me, with many other abuses. As this has been my first offence, extend upon me and mine your gracious pardon. Protesting hereafter faithfully to serve you, I do renounce to join with any foreign prince or potentate.

Signed: Hugh O'Donnell.

Dated at the beginning, 18 October 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Oct. 18. 173. SUBMISSION of HUGH EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 612, p. 47.

Calling to mind the great benefits and the place of honour I have received from your Majesty, I confess forgetting my duty and obedience contrary to your peace and laws, which I cannot justify, yet I protest the same proceeded not of malice or ambition, but from being unjustly and wickedly charged by my enemies, who sought to deprive me of my life. These ungodly practices being known to my kinsmen, allies, and followers, they in revenge entered into some traitorous actions without my privity or consent. As this has been my first offence, and I have before served your Highness with loss of my blood, extend upon me and my followers your gracious pardon.

I did not take the name of O'Neale upon me in respect of any greater dignity than I have, but mistrusting some other might take that name on him, and so thereby breed great

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trouble to my tenants and followers. I am now desirous to renounce it. My enemies have published abroad that I practised with foreign princes to draw strangers into this kingdom; but I did not go about any such matter before the 20th of August last, other than the retaining of some Scots for my own defence. Before that date I never practised with, or received letter or message from the King of Spain or other potentate, for the disturbance of the quiet of your Majesty's realm, neither will henceforward.

Signed: Hugh Tyrone.

Dated at the beginning, 18 October 1595.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Oct. 27. 174.
Vol. 612, p. 47a.

The EARL OF TYRONE.

"Articles agreed unto in the Cessation of Arms taken the 27th of October 1595."

(1.) That no act of hostility or stealth be committed upon her Majesty's subjects.

(2.) That all her Majesty's garrisons shall freely pass with victuals, munition, and other provisions.

(3.) That any soldier shall fetch in grass, timber, stone, &c., for the fortifying or repairing of the said garrisons.

(4.) That the Earl shall not make any journeys into Clan-deboy or other countries bordering upon Tirone, to use force upon any that submit to her Majesty.

(5.) That the creaughts of the Earl's adherents shall not graze upon the ground of any persons under her Majesty's obedience.

(6.) That if any of the contrary part shall offer themselves to her Majesty's obedience, it shall be lawful to receive them.

(7.) For the performance of all things in these articles the Earl shall deliver such pledges as by Captain St. Leger shall be demanded; which pledges, in case his pardon be not granted, shall be re-delivered.

(8.) As the Earl's followers will reap great benefit from this cessation, in that their cattle shall freely feed in the plains, he is therefore to furnish 1,000 beoves for the garrisons.

[*Note in the margin:* "This article only for the beoves denied by the Earl, and all the rest agreed unto."]

(9.) This truce to continue till 1 January, and for one month longer if the Lord Deputy desire it.

Signed: Hugh Tyrone.

Names of the pledges: Brian O'Hagan, McFerdarragh O'Hagan, Donough Rerogh O'Hagan, McMelaghlin McBrian Boy O'Hagan.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Nov. 8. 175.
Vol. 612, p. 41.

"The SHERIFF of DUBLIN'S CERTIFICATE"

I have received directions from the Lord Deputy to send 300 beoves to the North for her Majesty's forces there, the

1595.

most part whereof have been sent. Some turned back, as none had been appointed to receive them ; and no bill was given by the General (Norris) or Provost-Marshal for those delivered. Owing to this, the poor country will not furnish any more beoves. As for carriages, the General and captains have been very sufficiently served out of this county of Dublin.

8 November 1595.

Signed : Natha. Smithe, sheriff.

Copy. P. 1.

176. "CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS set down for the SERVICE"

Vol. 612, p. 48a.

A fit man to be sent to the Earl of Tyrone, to let him know the doings of his son Con, those of O'Donell in Connaught, and those of the McMahanes in the Breyneie, contrary to the cessation ; and to sound him touching his coming to the State for his pardon.

A garrison must be sent at once into the Breyneie.

If the Earl will not come in, sundry persons, both in the English Pale and other parts, are to be arrested, "as men doubtful to give aid to the Earl, specially if he take upon him the cause of religion."

The O'Mores in Leax to be stayed. Feogh McHugh to be watched during his protection. Rice O'Toole to be espied, "and what resort is to her from all parts." Dongannon to be strengthened with ordnance, and co. Wexford to be ready to defend it.

The Vice-President of Munster to see beacons along the sea-coasts kept ; and that province is to be mustered and put in arms.

Copy. P. 1.

177. The ARMY.

Vol. 612, p. 51.

Certificate of the horsemen, footmen, and kearne in her Majesty's pay in Ireland, 1595.

Under the chief officers, 230 horse, 90 foot. Companies of horsemen, 427 ; supplied out of England in August 1595, 100 horse ; one company erected in April 1596. "Old companies [of foot] with new erections," 1,450. Bryttaine companies, 1,500 foot. Companies of foot sent out of England, 1,000. Kearne, 158.

Total, 657 horse, 4,040 foot. In all, 4,855.

Signed by Sir Ralph Lane, muster-master.

The names of the officers and captains are mentioned. At the end there are lists of the companies received from England in August 1595, and in October and November 1596.

Copy. Pp. 5.

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178. The ARMY.

Vol. 612, p. 56a.

"A Note of all the Footmen in Ireland and of their several places of Garrison."

Carrickfergus: Sir Henry Wallop, 100; Captain Merriman, 60; Captain Bethell, 50. Ardmaugh: Sir Thomas Knowles, 60; Captain Wilmote, 60; Captain Barker, 60; Captain Kingsmill, 60. Newry: The Marshal, 100; Captain Audley, 60; Captain Mansfield, 60; Captain Collier, 60; Captain Treuer, 60. Carlingford: Captain Ashendon, 60; Captain Cuny, 60. Dondalke: Captain Lister, 60; Captain Stonton, 60; Sir H. Duke, 60. Atherdy: Captain Rice ap Hughe, 60. Kells: Captain Goodwine, 60; Lord Montjoye, 60. Navan: Sergeant Major, 60. Trime: Captain Percie, 60. Drogheda: Sir H. Norris, 120; Captain Ma. Wingfield, 60; Captain Brett, 60. Talbottoune: Captain Garrett, 60. In Leix: Captain St. Leger, 100; Captain Lee, 50. Waterford: Lord General (Sir John Norris), 120; Sir Richard Wingfield, 60; Captain Izod, 60. Youghall: Sir John Dowdall, 100. Limricke: Sir Thomas Norris, 100. Thomond: The Lord of Thomond, 120. Athenry: Captain Willis, 60; Captain Hu. Mostion, 60. Offally: Sir George Bouchier, 100. Athlone: Captain Parker, 60; Captain Parsons, 60. Westmeath, and there adjoining, whereof three are appointed for the Earl of Clanricard: Captain Baptist, 60; Captain Pettit, 60; Captain Tutchet, 60; Captain Streete, 60; Captain W. Mostion, 60; Captain Higham, 60. Abbieboyle: Sir Richard Bingham, 100. Corroghboye: Captain Conwey, 60.

The whole number of captains of foot, 47.

Dated "1595," in the margin.

Copy. P. 1.

179. TYRONE'S REBELLION.

Vol. 614, p. 191.

"A Discourse of Ireland [by Sir George Carew], wherein it is conjectured that if the Spaniards do invade Ireland, they will make their descent in Munster.—G. C.*"

"That the Earl of Tyrone is a traitor, and combined with strangers, no man doubteth; which being granted, we are to consider of these heads ensuing; viz.,—What aid he is like to have out of foreign parts, and from whence. Where it is likely that they will make their descent, and what harm will ensue when they be landed."

His foreign aids will be either Scottish or Spanish. The common landing places of the former are Lough Foyle, Dunluse, Dunserke, or the Glynnnes, and sometimes further up in Tircconnell. "They are a valiant nation, able to endure the

* This heading is in the hand of Sir George Carew.

1595.

miseries of a war better than the Irish, and will be pleased with any entertainment, be it never so little."

The aid from Spain must be either money or men. Money is the least dangerous, though it will give him power to draw all the loose people of Ireland to him; "and as for the great lords, a very few excepted, a little gold will make them neutrals."

If he is aided with men, they will do most harm by landing at Dublin, in Connaught, or O'Donnell's country, at Waterford, Cork, or Kinsale. Of these Waterford and Cork are most to be feared; yet the reasons for their landing at Dublin are,—the same that moved us to Lisbon,—that a blow given to the head is most dangerous; that it is easy to join the Earl from Dublin, being only 30 miles from the borders of Ulster; and that this is "an assured mean (if likewise he do possess himself of the Isle of Man and Mylford Haven) to keep all succours that may be sent out of England, saving such as shall come out of the west country, which is a long cut, and when they are landed in Munster (for there they must land), a dangerous weary march to pass to the English Pale."

St. George's Channel is, I confess, dangerous through shoals, but the sands are not above fifty miles in length, and are near to the coast, and at the mouth of the river of Dublin there is safe riding.

But to surprise Dublin and to fortify themselves in Man and Myllford, as they must, would require too large an army to be victualled in Ireland, and to supply it out of Spain is almost impossible.

"Forces out of Spain to land in Connaught or O'Donnell's country (where are safe harbours), in every man's opinion, must give great comfort and aid to these northern rebels;" but the passage by sea is somewhat long, and the Earl has no need of men. "Many he cannot feed, and few will do him but little good, and especially Spaniards in Ulster, who by former experience were unable to endure the hardness of that country in time of peace, much less in war; and also their being there is too remote to draw the rest of Ireland from obedience, which is Tyrone's desire."

Then it may be concluded that the Spaniards will make their descent in the province of Munster, where are goodly havens, and good towns to refresh their men; and the climate is more agreeable and the soil more fertile than in Ulster.

"The people of Munster are Spanish in heart, Popish in religion, and infinitely discontented since the traitors' lands were divided amongst the Undertakers." If the gentlemen of that province could agree upon a leader, they would declare themselves in action, as Ulster has done, and "with joyful hearts, as unto their deliverers out of bondage, they will resort and yield obedience" to the Spaniards, who at Waterford would find all kinds of conveniences,—fortifications, artillery, "portable rivers," salt, wine, iron, fish, &c.;

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and there is more shipping in that harbour than in any other port of Ireland. "If they of Waterford had minds to resist, I know them unable to defend themselves, and once lost, I assure myself of a general revolt (the Earl of Ormond and some few with him excepted) of all the gentlemen in Munster." Further, if Munster be in a garboil before Ulster be pacified, no province will be free from rebellion, for Connaught already aids Tyrone, and Leinster is ill affected to us and wholly different in religion. 3,000 Spaniards would be sufficient to take and keep Waterford, and raise a general revolt in Ireland.

The best remedy is to place garrisons for the guard of the river and town of Waterford. As for the river, the fort of Doncannon, with one band of footmen, will be able to forbid the passage of shipping to or from the town. Two bands of footmen will be sufficient to restrain the town from any voluntary revolt. A small ward may be placed upon the rock on the further side of the river, opposite and over the town, with great ordnance. In 1589 a fort was begun in that place, but whether it be ended I am ignorant.

Next to Waterford, Cork is the most dangerous haven for the Spaniards to land at; "but it is far from the heart," and not so convenient as Waterford.

Draft corrected by Carew. Pp. 7.

Endorsed by Carew: "A discourse discovering what places are fit for Spaniards to land at in Ireland, what will ensue upon their descent, and how to prevent them from taking of Waterford, 1595,* per G. C."

180. SIR CHARLES O'CARROLL to SIR ROBERT CECILL.

Vol. 614, p. 87.

A true Note of certain Territories substracted and concealed by the Earl of Ormond from her Majesty, imagining them to be within his county palatine of Tipperary.

Dow Arra, called the country of McBrien Arra; O'Mulrian's country, called Wony-Mulrian; Keillanalforta, called Shane Glasse's country; Dow O'Loyagh, called McWalter's country; and Muskryhyry, now improperly and usurpedly called the Nether Ormond (extending to the river Shannon), are of Thomond, and not of Ormond, and were ever heretofore so reputed until of late substracted "by the greatness, countenance, and extort power of the said Earl." Proofs are given that the said countries have been and ought to be of Thomond.

The Earl of Ormond derives his name from "*Urwoyn*," signifying "the front of the two provinces, or Munsters." As he has no heirs male, the next heirs are gaping for the earldom,

* The date in the margin at the commencement appears to be "1598," but is indistinct.

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but their loyalty is doubtful. I remain a dutiful subject, and none of my ancestors have been touched with treason. If the Earl of Tyrone were cut off, "who were then so mighty in Ireland as the Earl [of Ormond]'s kindred?" It is to be feared that, degenerating from his Lordship, they may become as undutiful as they have been; and perhaps it might be needful to have a dutiful subject near them to cross their actions. "I know not to what end the plot is laid and followed with such heat by his Lordship to cut me off upon so slight an occasion," but "it gives me occasion to suspect that which I fear may follow." Judge impartially between us.

"From my Chamber at London, this present Monday 1595."

Signed: Ch. Carroulle.

Holograph (?) Pp. 2. Addressed.

Endorsed: The Meares of Ormonde.*

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Jan. 8. 181.

Vol. 632, p. 140.

THE QUEEN to SIR WM. RUSSELL, Lord Deputy, SIR JOHN NORRIES, SIR HARRY WALLOPP, and SIR JEFFREY FENTON.

We have by our general letters of the 7th prescribed how you are to proceed with these northern rebels. Considering their former submission, we "wonder at such alteration since they were advertised of your disposition to grant them pardon." We would not have been so ready to pardon them had we supposed our pardon would not be embraced with all humility and penitence. It is disputable whether it were not more fit to root out such notorious traitors and their posterity by violent persecution, especially him (the Earl of Tyrone) whom we have raised from the dust.

We see by your "collections" that his rebellion has been favoured throughout that kingdom, and therefore can hardly be extinguished without great effusion of blood. If you find that the principal ringleaders will not submit unless the rest [be pardoned], you may grant to Tyrone, O'Donnell, and all the rest named in your letters our free pardon, upon condition that they all shall come in and submit themselves. We leave their lands and goods to your discretion. You are to use the advice of the Chancellor, Chief Justice, and Chief Baron, and others of our learned counsel. For the speedy conclusion of a general quiet, you may ratify whatever may soonest effect the same. Make all the conditions as honorable to us as you may, and especially that our revenue in Monaghan be still answered to us. Spend no needless time in staying for fresh directions from us. Discover whether this last protraction of Tyrone and O'Donnell's coming in were only out of desire "to draw this remission to their companions," or whether it be "a plot of temporise" until they receive foreign aid. Delay is dangerous.

Richmond, 8 January 1595.

Copy. Pp. 3.

* There is a copy of the first portion of this document in MS. 635, f. 64. It has been noticed in the preceding volume. (See No. 564.)

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Jan. 8. 182. The EARL OF TYRONE and O'DONNELL.

Vol. 612, p. 50a.

"Instructions delivered to Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Robert Gardner by the Lord Deputy and Council how to treat with the Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, and others."

Where you are appointed Commissioners this day, to treat and parley with the Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, and others, notwithstanding the generality of your commission, you are to persuade them to accomplish her Majesty's instructions, and the articles he (the Earl) agreed to in England, and to renounce "all superiority and aid of foreign powers, especially from the King of Spain." The cessation of arms may be continued to the last of February.

Dated 8. January 1595.

Signed: W. Russell, Ad. Dublin., Canc., John Norris, Ro. Napper, G. Bowrchier, Geff. Fenton, H. Wallop, Ro. Gardner.

Copy. P. 1.

Vol. 617, p. 236.

2. Another copy.

Jan. 12-30. 183. TYRONE'S REBELLION.

Vol. 627, p. 210.

Journal of the Proceedings of Sir Henry Wallopp and Sir Robert Gardener, Commissioners to treat and parley with the Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, and other northern chieftains.

By virtue of our commission we set forward from Dublin on Monday, the 12th of January 1595, and came to Dundalk on Thursday, the 15th, when we received a letter from the Earl in these words.*

Signed at the end: H. Wallop, Ro. Gardener.

Pp. 84.

Jan. 13-26. 184. The EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 617, p. 265.

"A summary Collection of the Proceedings of Sir Henry Wallopp and Sir Robert Gardiner, authorized under the Great Seal of Ireland, dated — January 1595, to treat with the Earl of Tyrone and other the northern chieftains: collected out of their Journal presented to the Lord Deputy and Council, which was transmitted into England."

They left Dublin on Monday, 13th (*sic*) January, and came to Dundalk on the 15th. There they received a letter from

* The rest of this journal is composed of the correspondence which passed between the Commissioners and the Earl of Tyrone. Its substance is comprised in subsequent articles. The handwriting is similar to that in the letterbook of Sir William Pelham (MS. 597), which was written by Morgan Colman. Many passages of importance have been noted by Lord Burleigh, who has also made some few memoranda in the margins.

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Tyrone, who was come to Aghnoskye, two miles from Dundalk, promising to attend them, and "praying that the grievances since the last truce made between him and Sir John Norris, the Lord General, might first be cleared on all sides." The Commissioners answered, by letter dated 15 January, that they doubted not to accord all matters past, praying him to meet them at Dundalk; and that they had authority to protect him and all others that came with him. The Earl replied that he could not then give them full satisfaction, for his secretary, Henry Hovenden, was absent, and others he could not trust to write for him; and that O'Donnell was not yet come.

On the 17th the Earl announced the arrival of O'Donnell and most of the Irish chieftains, and prayed the Commissioners to come to a place called the Narrow Acre, while he came to a place adjoining called the Black Staff. This they refused to do, and commanded him to come to Dundalk, under her Majesty's protection. The letter was sent by Philip Hore, Sir Henry Wallopp's secretary, who was well known to Tyrone. Tyrone made answer that he could not come to Dundalk, but would come to any other indifferent place. On the 19th the Commissioners wrote to the Earl reproving his fears, and requesting him to set down in writing his offers and demands. If these should be acceptable to her Majesty, they assured him of her gracious pardon for his life, lands, and goods, and also for the rest of his confederates.

"Demands made by Tyrone, O'Donnell, and others, sent by Philip Hore, who was sent by the Commissioners with their last letter dated the 19th of January 1595."

(1.) "That all persons may have free liberty of conscience."

(2.) That the Earl and all the inhabitants of Tyrone may have pardon and be restored to their blood; and that all the chieftains and others who have taken the Earl's part may have like pardon, namely, McGwire, McMahon, O'Hanloyne, O'Relye, the McGennesses, Neale Brian Ertaghe, Shane McBrian McPhelims, and those of the Rowte. All these to depend upon the Earl's peace, the Earl yielding for them such rents, services, and rising-out as their ancestors have paid to her Majesty's predecessors.

(3.) That O'Donnell may have pardon for himself and his followers, as also for McWilliam and Rann McWilliam, Brian Oge O'Rwrke, and all those of Connaught that have taken O'Donnell's part, and all of them to have their several lands; and that O'Donnell may have such right in Connaught as his ancestors had.

(4.) That Pheagh McHugh be pardoned, &c.

(5.) That no garrison, sheriff, or other officer shall remain in Tyreconnell, Tyrone, or any of the inhabitants' countries before named, excepting the Newry and Carrigfergus.

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(6.) The Earl, O'Donnell, and the rest (if these requests be granted) will remain dutiful; and after a while, when the great fear which they conceived is lessened, they will draw themselves to a more nearness of loyalty to her Highness.

Signed: Hugh Tyrone, Hugh O'Donnell, McGuire, McMahon, Hu. O'Neale, Shane O'Neale.

The next day, the 20th of January, the Commissioners, having in their company the sheriff, Sir Henry Duke, and Geralt Moore,—in all but five,—met with Tyrone and O'Donnell a mile out of Dundalk, none of either side having any other weapons than swords. "The forces of either side stood a quarter of a mile distant from them, and whilst they parleyed (which was on horseback) two horsemen of the Commissioners' stood firm in the midway between the Earl's troops and them, and likewise two horsemen of the Earl's was placed between them and her Majesty's forces. These scouts-officers were to give warning if any treacherous attempt were made on either part." This treaty continued three hours. The Earl and O'Donnell stood still upon their demands, and the Commissioners upon the negative; and they departed without any important conclusion, agreeing to meet in the same place the day following.

Names of the principal men that were then assembled.—The Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, McGuire, McMahon, Cormack McBrian O'Neale, Sir John O'Dohertye, Philip O'Relye, Ever McCoolye McMahon, Shane McBrian O'Neale, Henry Oge O'Neale, Neale McBriau Ertaghe O'Neale, Con, the Earl's base son, Tirloghe McHenry O'Neale.

The day following, the 21st, the Earl and O'Donnell in a joint letter signified that they were resolved to stand upon their demands, and prayed the Commissioners to repair to Sir John Bedlowe's house, and from thence to send them word what they would allow of, and what articles they disliked. They answered that within two hours they would be at Sir John Bedlowe's house, but refused to send any answer to their articles until they had had a second meeting.

On the 22nd the Commissioners and Tyrone and O'Donnell met in the same place and in the same manner as before, but they were more fearful of foul dealing than formerly, and desired to treat by writing, which was refused. Nothing was concluded.

On the 24th Tyrone and O'Donnell desired that the truce, which was about to expire, might be prolonged to Michaelmas or All Hallowtide next ensuing; that Philip O'Relye's sureties might not be troubled for their bands; and that the Earl might have his pledges returned. The Commissioners agreed to prolong the cessation for two months, and assented to the other demands.

On the 25th Tyrone wrote to inquire whether they were content that the truce should continue for a fortnight after the

1596.

present truce shall be expired. To this the Commissioners condescended, for that on Friday following the former cessation ended.

On the 26th articles were agreed upon, and their grievances were set down, considered of, and answered.

Copy. Pp. 6.

Jan. 13. 185. The EARL OF TYRONE to the COMMISSIONERS (WALLOP and GARDINER).
Vol. 627, p. 210.

By the Lord Deputy and Council's letters I perceive you are to repair to Dundalk on Wednesday, the 14th inst., to let us understand her Majesty's pleasure. Nigh to that place, upon the borders, myself, O'Donnell, and the rest of the gentlemen of the North will not fail to be. I desire that the last truce may be "cleared" according to the Lord General's (Sir John Norris) order with me, for whilst the gentlemen of the North are here together, each of them may answer for himself, if he has done what he ought not, and also may be answered for all their grievances since this truce.

Maherlacoe, 13 January 1595.

P.S.—I stayed her Majesty's pursuivant here the longer because I looked for O'Donnell ere this. I will see the letters to him delivered.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 14. 186. WARRANT by the LORD GENERAL, SIR JOHN NORRIS, to the SHERIFF of CO. DUBLIN.
Vol. 612, p. 55a.

Whereas I directed my warrant to you for the placing of certain horses there, and to furnish the boys and grooms with their diets and lodgings, it appears by your certificate that some persons have refused to receive the said horses. Cause such persons to be apprehended, and to appear before the Lord Deputy and Council.

Dublin, 14 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 15. 187. The COMMISSIONERS to the EARL OF TYRONE.
Vol. 627, p. 210a.

We have received your letter of the 13th, and understand you have come within three miles of this place. Touching your desire that the last truce may be "cleared," your country shall be satisfied upon our conference with you. We hope O'Donnell is come to you, and that you have received our private letter. We trust the conference will take place here, as we have authority by commission under the Great Seal to grant protection to you and all others.

Dundalk, 15 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

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[Jan. 15.] 188.

- Vol. 627, p. 210a.

The EARL OF TYRONE to the COMMISSIONERS.

I have received your letter written this afternoon. I cannot answer it in all points, as Henry Hovenden is not here. "O'Donnell is not come here as yet, but nevertheless I will be where I was this day, and there I will make answer for anything done by any of my people, having the like shown to me; and when O'Donnell comes he hath promised to do the like."

From Aghneskey, —.

"To his very loving friends, Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Robert Gardener, give these."

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 16. 189.

Vol. 627, p. 211.

The COMMISSIONERS to the LORD DEPUTY (RUSSELL).

This bearer, your messenger, is returning this way from the Newrie. We came to this town yesterday, and received a letter from the Earl, to which we replied by the pursuivant Stanley. "O'Donnell's not coming with him doth minister some cause to suspect indirect dealing."

"Sir Hugh Magnise died the 12th hereof, upon whose death Glasney McCawley, pretending title by the tawnist custom, came to the stone whereon the Magnisses were wont to receive their ceremony, and hath called himself Magnise; but whether by the Earl's consent and privity or not we have not yet learned the certainty. Whereupon Arthur, Sir Hugh's eldest son, is this day come unto us craving our lawful aid and favour for maintenance of his title and right by her Majesty's letters patents; and would have made his present repair unto your Lordship, but that he feareth his castles would in the meantime be surprised by the adversary, which yet are held for him by his mother. Therefore we have written with him to Mr. Stafford, that if any such attempt shall be made, he shall do his best to maintain him in the possession of them until your Lordship's pleasure shall be further known; and what Mr. Stafford himself did therein, so soon as he heard Sir Hugh was dead, will appear unto your Lordship by his letter to us."

It is reported here that Philip O'Rely is come to the Earl. Dundalk, 16 January 1595.

P.S.—Captain Collier understands that a messenger which he sent to the Newrie was intercepted at the Moyrie, and his letters taken from him, which we gather were your letters for the execution of martial law. We have here but one pursuivant, and beseech you to send us another.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 16. 190.

Vol. 627, p. 211a.

The COMMISSIONERS to the EARL OF TYRONE.

We request an answer to our letter of yesterday. It is not pleasing to us to stay long here without effecting somewhat in

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these affairs. Whether O'Donnell be come or not we are ready to confer with you.

Dundalk, 16 January 1595.

Addressed: To the Right Honorable the Earl of Tyrone.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 17. 191. The EARL OF TYRONE to the COMMISSIONERS.
Vol. 627, p. 212.

I have perused your letters of the 3rd and 6th of this month, sent from Dublin, and also of the 15th and 16th from Dondalke. If it please you to come to a place called the Narrow Acre, towards Dondalke, on Monday next or tomorrow, I will come to a place adjoining called the Black Staff. Let me know your answer tomorrow morning, for that O'Donnell and the rest of the gentlemen of Ulster are here. I am ready to conform myself to the good liking of her Majesty and yourselves.

17 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 17. 192. The COMMISSIONERS to the EARL OF TYRONE.
Vol. 627, p. 212.

By your letter dated this day you confess the receipt of our several letters. We have manifested to you our power to give you and the rest protection, or any other assurance for your coming to us; and you need not doubt our sincere intentions. We think it strange that you should remain so suspicious as to appoint a place for us to repair to; and it is for us to appoint the time, place, and manner of our meeting. Should you absolutely refuse to come hither, we will return you our resolution what further course for conference we shall think meet to hold with you. "We are contented, before such as you shall think good, to give our oaths for the safe coming hither unto us, stay, and return of yourself and so many as shall come hither with you, over and besides the protection."

Dondalke, 17 January 1595.

P.S.—We send herewith Philip Hore, secretary to me Sir Henry Wallop, a man not unknown to you, for your further resolution.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Jan. 18. 193. The EARL OF TYRONE to the COMMISSIONERS.
Vol. 627, p. 213.

I have received your letter of the 17th by the secretary of Sir Henry Wallop. I was induced to name places for our meeting because I may not satisfy your expectation in going to Dondalke. I now refer the place of our meeting to yourselves, where I will attend your pleasures, if it be safe for me to do so.

18 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

1596.

Jan. 19. 194.
Vol. 627, p. 213.

The COMMISSIONERS to the EARL OF TYRONE.

"You still continue your former vain and fearful doubts." Seeing you will not be otherwise persuaded, we wish you, with all convenient speed, to set down in writing what dutiful and reasonable offers you will make, as also what demands you will require. If they be found acceptable, her Majesty's pardon shall be granted you for your life, lands and goods, "and the like to others whose submissions and offers shall be found in like terms." Touching our conference with you, we have delivered our pleasure to the bearer.

Dundalk, 19 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 19. 195.
Vol. 627, p. 213a.

The EARL OF TYRONE, O'DONILL, and others.

Their demands sent to the Commissioners by Philip Hore, 19th January 1595.*

Signed: Hugh Tyrone, Hugh O'Donill, Missi Maguire, Missi McMahon, H. O'Neill, Shane O'Neill.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 20. 196.
Vol. 627, p. 221.

The LORD DEPUTY (RUSSELL) to the COMMISSIONERS (WALLOP and GARDINER).

By your letters of the 16th it appears that O'Donnell's coming was looked for that night, but here we are informed that he is still in Tیرهconnell. You may discover more from the Earl alone than when O'Donnell shall be with him.

It will go hard with young Maguynes, from whom I have received a letter on the death of his father, seeing the Earl has appointed Glasnye McCawlie to be Maguynes, in order to command the passage into the Newrie. You have done well to recommend him to Francis Stafford for assistance, in regard of his title by letters patent. I had been advertised of what you write touching Philip O'Reley, and I fear it will prove too true, as likewise the reported interception of the letters sent to Captain Stafford from Captain Collier. I will send you another pursuivant.

Castle of Dublin, 20 January 1595. Received 24th January.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Jan. 20. 197.
Vol. 627, p. 214.

The COMMISSIONERS (WALLOP and GARDINER) to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

We cannot as yet assure you what will be the effect of our labours, but we send copies of the letters received from Tyrone and our answers. Finding he would not come to Dondalke,

* These demands will be found at p. 133.

1596.

we requested him and his associates to set down their demands and offers. Our messenger had hard access to him, the ways being guarded by his company. Their demands are insolent. As nothing else could be done, we assented to meet Tyrone and O'Donill at some open place in the fields by us named, one mile without Dondalke, near to Sir John Bedlowe's house, having in our company only the sheriff, Sir Henry Duke, and Gerrot More, and they to have as many, all without weapons except swords. About ten o'clock this present [morning] we went forth, until we saw Tyrone and O'Donill with about 200 horse and foot coming towards us. We sent to them [word] that this was not according to agreement. After many messages it was agreed "that on either part two should be sent to search and view the ways, and what weapons either part had, and that their troops should stand one quarter of a mile distant from us, and we to have two horsemen betwixt their said troops and ourselves, and Tyrone and O'Donnell to have other two horsemen betwixt us and Dondalke." One of us "parled" with the Earl, and the other with O'Donnell. We thought it best at the first not to make known our articles, but inquired what were the grounds of their demands, which we found to be partly false and partly disloyal. They utterly refuse to come to your Lordship. "In this treaty we continued this stormy and windy day about three hours on horseback (because to light they refused), and in the end we found them to continue very untoward." O'Donnell was most resolute. They offered, however, if we would stay a short time, to return to their company and give us a decisive answer, but we recommended them to take longer time of consideration in so great a cause. We agreed to meet again tomorrow at the same place. We also gave them some taste of our easiest demands, as they would hardly digest the strongest until they were better prepared. If they persevere in their undutiful courses, it will be best to take advantage of their disloyalty, and to insist on their greater condemnation. The cessation ends with the end of this month. We let them understand we had authority to prolong the same, "of which they seemed not to take any great hold."

Dondalk, 20 January 1595.

P.S.—O'Donnell has sent some of his forces into Connaught, and had not this "parle" been, would have gone there himself.

The names of the chief men now in the Earl's camp are these :—O'Donill, Maguire, McMahon, Cormock McBaron, Sir John O'Doughertie, Philip O'Rely, Ever McCowley, Shane McBrien, Henry Oge O'Neale, McBrien Fertaugh, Conn the Earl's son, Tirlaughe McHenry, Arte McBaron.

The Earl told Philip Hore this morning that Sir John O'Rely was joined with him.

Copy. Pp. 5.

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Jan. 20. **198.** For HUGH EARL OF TYRONE and HUGH O'DONNELL.

Vol. 627, p. 216.

Protection for themselves and six other persons in coming to the Commissioners and in returning.

Dondalke, 20 January 1595.

Signed: H. Wallop, Ro. Gardener.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 20. **199.** The COMMISSIONERS to the LORD DEPUTY (RUSSELL).

Vol. 627, p. 216.

We have signified our proceedings, but to whom of the Council it shall please you to make the same known we leave to your consideration. As yet we conceive no hope of an honorable end. Their demands are all so insolent and dangerous that no long quietness is to be expected.

Tyrone with great oaths affirms he never wrote other letters into Spain than those of October, which were known; but what others have done he would not warrant. That practice evidently still continues.

This place is in great want of victuals. Mr. Stafford affirms that the Newrie is only victualled for this month.

Upon the sending away of this pursuivant we are destitute of men to advertise daily. The wife and son of the late McGuynnes would not deliver the castle of the Narrow Water to Francis Stafford, but the wife delivered her younger son in pledge for safe keeping the same. Stafford thinks it will be delivered to the rebels, and then the Newrie will be lost, unless the castle be razed.

"The bands of 60 at Carlingford and Newrie are now as weak for threescores as they were before for hundreds, and here they are not strong."

20 January 1595.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Jan. 21. **200.** The EARL OF TYRONE and O'DONNELL to the COMMISSIONERS.

Vol. 627, p. 217.

As we concluded nothing yesterday touching our requests, we make it known to you "that we and the rest do ground ourselves upon the obtaining of those said requests." Therefore we desire you to repair to Sir John Bedlowe's house, and from thence to signify to us what you allow and what you dislike; "and we will be towards the place where we met yesterday." We understand a company of soldiers has gone into co. Cavan. Should this be so, we shall account the truce to be violated.

21 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 21. **201.** The COMMISSIONERS to the EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 627, p. 217.

Your letter came open. We will be at Sir John Bedlowe's within two hours. We cannot reply to your demands until

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we have speech with you. We will satisfy you then as to the sending of soldiers to Cavan.

21 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 21. 202.
Vol. 627, p. 217a.

The COMMISSIONERS to the LORD DEPUTY (RUSSELL).

Since the pursuivant's departure we have received the enclosed. They insist on their former demands. They account the sending of our soldiers to the Cavan as a breach of the peace. No doubt that is urged by Philip O'Rely, their chief councillor. They have sent 200 of their shot to the Breny. This town is weak and not provided with victuals. "Besides, by reason of the fear in fetching of wood, the same is at 2s. 6d. a garran load of green sticks." The wall has fallen down in one place 50 foot. The townsmen are greatly affected to the rebels.

21 January.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 22. 203.
Vol. 612, p. 65.

PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN, to the EARL OF TYRONE.

I have been informed you are defending the Catholic cause against the English. That this is acceptable to God is proved by the signal victories which you have gained. I hope you will continue to prosper; and you need not doubt but I will render you any assistance you may require. Give credence to Fussius, the bearer, and acquaint him with your affairs and your wishes.

Madrid, 22 January 1596.*

Headed: "A letter sent to the Earl of Tyrone from the King of Spain, delivered by Alonso Cobos; which letter the Earl sent to the Lord Deputy and Council, taking Captain William Warren's promise, and his servant's oath who brought it, that no copy should be taken of it."

Copy. Latin. P. 1.

Jan. 23. 204.
Vol. 627, p. 218.

The COMMISSIONERS to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Our second meeting with the Earl took place on the 21st, "with like number as the day before." He was more suspicious than before, and wished to treat by writing, which we refused. As the evening was approaching we perceived his troops were drawn nigher the place than we agreed upon; and then he sent to say he was ready to parle with us. We sent word the day was too far past, but we would come to the same place next day, when we met as before, and continued with them on horseback about two hours. "During our parley we found them as men exceeding fearful, continually

* "*Stilo novo*" is added in Carew's handwriting.

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gazing about, and their spies riding near unto us, and less attentive unto our speeches than at the first."

We requested a convoy for the victualling of Ardmaghe, but the Earl objected; and we gathered from his speeches that he intended we should never further deal with the Blackwater. He told Philip Hore he would have no peace so long as any soldier remained in Armaghe.

"Upon speeches said the Earl, 'Upon what ground was I proclaimed a traitor, having then done nothing deserving that name?' Unto which we answered, 'You had before the proclamation practised the winning of the Blackwater, and also you were there present or near the place at the time of winning thereof.' 'You cannot that prove,' said he. 'Yes,' said we, 'we can name you in secret such as are with you will prove it.' Then said he with an oath, 'There is but only one was privy thereof.' 'That is enough,' said we; whereat he stood much amazed. We also said, 'You also did fight with our army going to victual Monaghan, and all before the proclamation, and refused to come unto the State, being commanded upon your allegiance. And this we do not speak to make you judge hereby her Majesty's mercy shall be extenuated, but to make you not to stand as one so clear as you give out and now affirm.' Unto which he swore he never intended the same until the Marshal sent him word he was going to victual Monaghan, and that he would do in spite of his teeth, and all the North. Unto which we answered allowing the Marshal so said, yet such speeches from a subject (especially in a course so lawful) had no colour of ground to draw you to such an actual rebellion,' with many other speeches.

"Then we said, 'What cause had you, O'Donnell, to enter into rebellion, the rather her Majesty making account that you and all your ancestors had been always loyal?' Unto which he said he was unjustly long imprisoned. Also he said Wyllis with great strength sought not only to invade Fermanaghe, McGuyer's country, being his next neighbour, which warned him the like would happen to himself, but also came upon the borders of his own country. Also he feared the great extortion of shryves and officers if his country should be under laws, which he found true by experience of other parts. Also the Earl said, 'Why was Philip Hore so long imprisoned, and no cause charged upon him?' Unto all which we answered, 'Touching the imprisonment of you, O'Donnell, and of O'Relye, if there were no cause to touch you in disloyalty, yet all princes in policy may and do use to take their subjects in pledge for the peace of their countries, and you both, being but subjects, do use the like, and therefore should the less dislike of that course.'

"Then said the Earl, 'Why do you then take great sums of money for their deliverance, as you have done of O'Realie?'

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We said, 'The Queen did freely set him at liberty.' 'That is true,' said they, 'but others had it.' 'Neither,' said we, 'do we know it true, nor believe it.' But they still said they could prove it true, and inveighed greatly against such bribing, as they termed it. And we said, as touching Willis his proceedings, or of the corruption of officers, it was without warrant, and her Majesty's officers would many times be evil like their own. And after many other speeches had thereof, with persuasion that which was amiss should be amended, we ended those parts.

"Then we entered into speeches touching their general demands, which we have formerly sent unto your Lordship, saying, 'We on Tuesday last willed you to make them more reasonable, unto which you this last day sent us word you could not draw them to alter them; but since we hear not again thereof from you.' Unto which the Earl said, 'I will deal again with my associates to see if they will agree to any change of them, and send you them tomorrow.'

"Then said we, because we would as well alter their manner as their matter of these demands, 'The course you hold in setting down your demands in that manner you have done can neither be allowed or answered by us, because it is joint, and that you would have all the rest depend upon the peace of you the Earl only. And you the Earl,' we said, 'had in all your letters to the State mentioned you would deal but for Tyrone, and O'Donnell for Tirconnell, and every of the rest to deal for their own peace. Whereupon our commission, grounded upon your own desires, authorizes us to deal upon your griefs, demands, and offers, severally by every one of you to be delivered; and otherwise we could not deal. Neither could we deal with you, O'Donnell, for Connaught causes, because they were to make their own peace, agreeing with your, the Earl's, letters. Neither yet touching the Breny causes, for the Breny is, was, and ought to be under only her Majesty's immediate obedience. And our commission could not take knowledge of Philip O'Relye's being with you, nor of any title he had or could make for himself by law or custom. And we marvelled* in like manner why you meant in your articles to mention anything touching McGennys' country, who had the same by patent, and in his lifetime never complained of any grievances to himself or country; which country now was descended upon his eldest son according his father's patent.' Unto which O'Donnell answered, 'But there is now another claiming the same by ancient custom of the country, who is with us.' 'If custom,' said we, 'should prevail, neither O'Relye in the Breny, nor yourself have interest in Tircconnell, so as we perceive you now do not stand upon your own customs.' Unto which he answered not, but smiled.

* "more telled" in MS.

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"And we said unto the Earl, 'What intend you to clain. by patent or by custom, to the disherison of your children?' Unto which the Earl mutteringly answered, 'That shall come in question hereafter.' We gathered he would not fully answer because O'Donnell was present, and although we divided them the first day, as we have signified, yet now we perceive they intend not to have speeche but both being present, and to assent unto no more than to what they all shall agree. For we understand they have all combined that, if the Earl fail by any mean, they will stand for Cormock, and if Cormock fail, then for the next tawnist.

"They sent unto us Ovington to understand what moved the Lord Deputy to send unto the Breny two bands of soldiers. We answered we knew no interest any could claim in the Breny but her Majesty; also it was agreeing with the articles of cessation that her Majesty should victual any her castles, of which the castle of the Cavan was one, to which purpose they were sent. But since we learn that Philip O'Rely came unto the Earl of late with 50 horsemen and 150 foot, but now they are returned to the Breny, with which the Earl hath sent 200 shott. Also we understand that O'Roirk is this day looked for to come to them. They also demanded what moved the Lord Deputy to send forces into Connaught. We answered as we did for the Breny.

"In the conclusion of our parley we required them, for the reasons aforesaid, to set down dividedly all the causes of their grievances, their demands and offers, and thereupon we would answer them so reasonably as we hoped should be to their satisfaction. According to which they assented, requiring us to send Philip Hore to translate into English their demands, which we have performed accordingly. And this present morning they have sent unto us their demands for McMahon, as they term him, and of every Mc with their griefs, because, as they say, there began the cause of their complaints, which we send enclosed; by which it appeareth her Majesty, besides her interest with her royalties, shall yearly lose above 500*l*. ster., besides the Earl of Essex to lose the benefit of his lands of Fernye. The rest of their demands in likelihood will exportionably be of the same nature.

"Also we perceive by report of Philip Hore, who hath by our sending had daily conference with them, that they intend to have all temporalities and spiritualties in all the parts of Ulster and other places before mentioned; which Hore we rather use for that he hath been interpreter betwixt us and O'Donnell, and hath been acquainted with some of our letters."

We will keep them together by means of delays until we discover how far they will be drawn, and their further intentions. We desire to know whether we shall cease to treat with them after acquainting them with the easiest of her

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Majesty's demands. O'Donnell "carrieth great rule amongst them," and Philip O'Relie is a great councillor.

23 January 1595.

Copy. Pp. 7.

Jan. 23. 205. The LORD DEPUTY (RUSSELL) to the COMMISSIONERS.

Vol. 627, p. 222.

Your letters to me and the Council were delivered yesternight. "I like very well of the course by you taken to deliver me some things apart from the rest, to be concealed or imparted according to occasion." Their (the rebels') demands are insolent and unreasonable, and "most unlikely of either safe or honorable end; yet have I imparted them unto the Council here, all saving that for their liberty of religion, which I do not think fit should be broached here, lest it soon procure too great a party, being plausible generally to this country men." Endeavour to conclude a prolongation of the cessation, considering we are not provided for them. I am sorry Captain Stafford had not the possession of Narrow Water, for the rebel may get it. A pursuivant was despatched to you this morning.

Castle of Dublin, 22 January 1595.

P.S.—I have received your other letter of the 21st. I will send the victualler to you. Touching the Cavan you shall receive answer by our joint letter.

23 January 1595.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Jan. 23. 206. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the COMMISSIONERS.

Vol. 627, p. 222a.

Your letter of the 20th was delivered by the pursuivant Stanley, and read to us of the Council, together with Tyrone and O'Donnell's demands. We approve of your proceedings. We marvel at their insolent demands, and consider them contrary to the tenor of their submissions and their own voluntary offers. In a letter to Captain St. Leger the Earl "desired that every one upon their several submissions might have peace particularly for themselves, and to depend upon her Majesty." We hope they will moderate their demands, to which we cannot hearken, all of them being directly contradictory to her Majesty's instructions. When you have brought the rebels as low as you can, refer their demands to her Majesty's further consideration.

You seem to have given them a taste of some of the most easy demands on her Majesty's behalf. Considering the short time of cessation, we leave this to your discretion. You know how slenderly we stand furnished for wars and troubles. Deal with them that the cessation "may be continued for two months longer, or as much as you can, with some good assurance for performance, such as you can get." We return

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to you this pursuivant. Breminham was despatched to you yesterday.

Dublin, 23 January 1595.

Signed : W. Russell, Ad. Dublin., canc., J. Norreis, Antho. St. Leger, Geff. Fenton.

P.S.—The two companies were sent into the Breney to prevent incursions into the borders of the Pale, and to be a stay to the good subjects there. This is not a breach of the cessation.

Copy. Pp. 4.

Jan. 24. 207. The EARL OF TYRONE and O'DONNILL to the COMMISSIONERS.
Vol. 627, p. 224.

As the truce has so nearly expired, we desire you to prolong it till Michaelmas or Hallowtide next, and that in the meantime a final course may be taken for ending all past disorders. "We pray you to send back for the soldiers that went to the Breny, for avoiding of inconveniences," and to take order that no forfeiture of bonds be taken against Philip O'Relie or any of his surname. I the Earl desire that my pledges may be sent back to me, and satisfaction made for all the harms done to me during the truce.

24 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 24. 208. The COMMISSIONERS to the EARL OF TYRONE.
Vol. 627, p. 224a.

We have received your and O'Donnell's letter. We have authority to prolong the cessation for two months or less, which, when our commission was granted, was thought sufficient for ending the causes in question, and concluding a thorough peace. Within the next two months her Majesty's pleasure will be known touching such of your and your adherents' demands as the Lord Deputy has no authority to grant, and touching the prolongation of the cessation till Michaelmas, as you desire. We hoped to have concluded peace ere this, but your demands were not agreeable to the letters and submissions sent in by you and O'Donnell, especially those for liberty of conscience for all persons, for all spiritual lands, for discharge of all new rents and duties, and for the possession of Sligo; and some of you would pay no other rents or duties than were paid to her Majesty's predecessors, and some offer to pay no rent at all. We must first signify these demands to her Majesty, which we will do with all speed; but we shall be most willing to deal with you in these matters at our next meeting, and also to impart to you her Majesty's demands and further pleasure.

The soldiers sent to the borders of the Breney were only sent to victual her Majesty's castle and to lie upon the borders for defence of the Pale, as was agreed upon in the articles of

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cessation. Touching O'Relie's bonds for his appearance, we will make his desire known to the Lord Deputy. After the cessation, your pledges shall be returned according to agreement. Dundalk, 24 January 1595.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Jan. 25. 209. The EARL and O'DONNELL to the COMMISSIONERS.
Vol. 627, p. 226.

We have received your letter of the 24th, and are contented that the truce shall continue for a fortnight longer, in order that in the meantime the Lord Deputy and Council may prolong it until the time mentioned in our last. "Send me word tomorrow very early, that I may draw towards you where I have been lately."

25 January 1595.

P.S.—O'Donnell fears that in this short time he cannot well give warning to the men of Connaught, but will do his best "for stayment of them."

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 25. 210. The COMMISSIONERS to the EARL OF TYRONE.
Vol. 627, p. 226a.

We perceive you are willing to have the cessation continued for a fortnight longer, which we do not mislike, being willing thereupon to have conference with you at our meeting tomorrow morning, at the place where we formerly met. As O'Rowrke and the McWilliam's messengers are now with O'Donnell, we think by them he can give notice of our conclusions with you to the men of Connaught.

Dundalk, 25 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 25. 211. The COMMISSIONERS to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.
Vol. 627, p. 227.

"Since our last, late yesternight, the Earl by his secretary Nott sent unto us, as we advised him to do, his own demands, with O'Donnell, McGwyre, McMaughan, O'Rely, their several demands and offers, with also the like for O'Rowrk in his absence, all without subscription of names, terming them rough drafts, requiring a speedy answer what thereof we liked or disliked, for the said messenger told us O'Donnell would be gone; all which their demands are not in substance any ways varying from the former general, already sent unto your Lordships."

"No doubt their device in demand of free liberty of conscience for all men in the whole kingdom (for so they expound their meaning by their agent) is to draw liking of their proceedings from all parts of the realm, which, besides the dishonour to God, is most dangerous, and, being contrary to laws, may not be granted. Most of the rest of their said desires as appear,* as they are to the disheryson of the Crown,

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and to increase their own government and greatness, so will it increase their insolency to demand, with opinion to receive whatsoever hereafter they shall require." Their demand to have the cessation continued till Michaelmas argues they expect foreign or domestic aid, and they will probably "take advantage by not keeping of the articles to be agreed upon for another cessation, as formerly they have done by the former."

We desire to know whether we are to impart all her Majesty's articles to them or not. "They, having knowledge of all her Majesty's articles, will insinuate unto their bad affected countrymen by these terms or the like, in saying, 'See how we are to be brought to servile bondage and poverty, with danger, if we should have thereunto assented,' and touch new or maintain their old untrue affections' by the example of the late McMahonne or others the like. All desire abbey and spiritual lands and livings to be in their disposition, except the Earl, who intends no doubt as the rest, for he said to Philip Hore that the Primate* should have no part thereof."

We conceive no hope of their conformity, but we have sent to them to have another conference tomorrow.

4 o'clock, 25 January 1595.

Copy. Pp. 4.

Jan. 26. 212. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the COMMISSIONERS
Vol. 627, p. 249. (WALLOP and GARDINER).

We understand by your second letter of the 23rd your further proceedings with Tyrone and O'Donnell. Their immoderate demands are contrary to their former submissions, besides their several protestations made to Captain St. Leger, Sir Henry Warren, and others authorized to deal with them at the beginning. Upon their submissions being sent into England, her Majesty pardoned them, and drew up certain articles of conditions, which we wish you had imparted to them at the first, before they had time to exhibit their demands. If you have not done this already, we wish you would do it at once. This course may incline them to her Majesty's conditions, when they see they are derived out of their own submissions. If they persevere in their demands, you must require time to transmit them to her Majesty. This will be a good reason for continuing the cessation two months longer or more, as we advised you in our last letter, sent by Stanley the pursuivant. For your own safety, if you cannot get the time enlarged, "break off and return before the ending of it, which, as you know, is the last of this month."

The writing delivered by Bryan McHugh Oge and Ewer McColley, consisting partly upon grievances and complaints, and partly upon protestations and demands, shall be transmitted to her Majesty after they prefer their humble submis-

* Henry Usher, Archbishop of Armagh.

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sions as the rest have done. This also furnishes a reason for the continuance of the cessation.

Dublin, 26 January 1595.

Signed: W. Russell, Ad. Dublin, canc., John Norreis, Ro. Napper, Antho. St. Leger, Geoffrey Fenton.

Received 28 January 1595.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Jan. 26. 213.
Vol 612, p. 57.

The EARL OF TYRONE and O'DONNELL.

Articles between Sir Henry Wallopp, Treasurer at Wars, and Sir Robert Gardner, Chief Justice, her Majesty's Commissioners, and Hugh Earl of Tyrone and Hugh O'Donnell, touching the cessation of arms concluded upon between them the 26th of January 1595.

Similar to the articles dated 27 October 1595. The following are added:—

That they or any of them shall not draw or receive into their countries or adherence the persons or goods of any of her Majesty's subjects. [*Note in the margin:* "To this article we do not yield, unless like measure be showed us, that none in our adherence be drawn or received from us into her Majesty's obedience.—Hugh Tyrone, Hugh O'Donnell."] That the Earl's pledges shall be continued. That O'Donnell deliver such pledges as the Lord Deputy shall allow of. [*In the margin:* "O'Donnell saith he hath here no pledge to deliver, and his country is so far off as the time will be expired before he can send any."] The cessation to be continued till the 1st of April; and further till the 1st of May, unless warning be given to the contrary.

Signed: Hugh Tyrone, Hugh O'Donnell.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Vol. 617, p. 240.

2. Another copy.

Vol. 617, p. 271.

3. A third copy.

Vol. 627, p. 229.

4. A fourth copy.

Jan. 27. 214.
Vol. 627, p. 257a.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the COMMISSIONERS.

We received your letters yesternight by Brimingham. The demand of the rebels for liberty of conscience for the whole kingdom is "a matter which we have always doubted, though they with great art and cunning have suppressed it hitherto." We have no warrant to continue the cessation till Michaelmas or Hallowtide next, and "you know that in good service to her Majesty we have no reason to hearken thereunto." We wish you to draw them to assent to three months' continuance of the cessation. If you cannot procure so long a time, and you find your treaty will break off without any good conclusion, do what you can to get the cessation

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prolonged for a lesser time, for one month, 20 days, or 10 days, if further may not be had. Communicate her Majesty's conditions to them, for this "was the chief purpose of your employment thither, and not to receive demands and conditions at their hands first." If this be not done, we know not how we shall discharge ourselves to her Majesty.

Dublin, 27 January 1595.

Received 29 January.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Jan. 27. 215.
Vol 627, p. 244a.

The EARL OF TYRONE and O'DONNELL to the COMMISSIONERS.

"I, the Earl of Tyrone, do desire you to grant commission to Ryse Ap Hughe and Mr. Morgan for causing restitution to be made unto my men of the several preys and spoils taken from them upon the cessation; and I will appoint Arte O'Hagan and Shane O'Donnolly to yield the same measure to any other if they have cause of complaint since the truce; which four I pray you may meet a month hence at a place called Altcafraye to end such matters as shall be brought unto them, and in the meantime that restitution be made of all such parcels as cannot be denied to have been taken from my men.

"And I, O'Donnill, desire that my petition may be sent unto me presently, to mitigate such points as are thought unfit, for that my repair homewards requireth great haste. And for that one article of the last cessation imported that her Majesty might receive such as would willingly offer their obedience to her within the time thereof, although the meaning of that article did in like sort serve for us, yet now we desire that the same may be now set down in special words, for it shall not be lawful for any to go from us unless we may have the same measure for men to come unto us. We make not this motion as a new request, but to avoid scruple in the article.

"So we commit you to God, this 27th of January 1595.

"Your loving friends,—H. Tyrone, H. O'Donnell."

Copy. P. 1.

[Jan. 27.] 216.
Vol. 617, p. 278.

The EARL OF TYRONE'S PETITIONS.

"A Note of sundry causes which have compelled the Earl of Tyrone to this disloyalty, besides so much as by sundry articles was set down unto her Majesty's Commissioners at Dundalk, the 14th day of March 1593[-4], as also what hath been exhibited unto Sir Edward Moore, Kt., touching the griefs of his Lp., and of the sundry gentlemen of Ulster; unto both which writings he doth refer you."

(1.) Notwithstanding the Earl's services in bringing the Irishry of Ulster to obedience, the government of the places

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brought to subjection by his means was committed to such of the Marshal's * faction as best served his turn for practising mischief against the Earl.

(2.) The Marshal, in June 1592 or in June 1593, accused the Earl falsely of treason, and procured base men to prove those accusations; the Marshal having by bribes and other means "possessed Sir William FitzWilliam, then Lord Deputy, to be his partaker in malicious confederacy against the Earl."

(3.) Before he was proclaimed, he wrote several letters to the now Lord Deputy and to Sir John Norris, Lord General, "to desire such a mild course to be holden towards him as he should not be driven to the uttermost degree of disloyalty;" which letters were intercepted by the Marshal, who imprisoned the bearer, and afterwards enlarged him for 12*l.* sterling, delivered to himself or his man Phelim O'Hanlon.

And now the Earl, having exhibited his submission, "doth protest that he never combined with foreigner or other against her Highness, as in the accusations of treason was falsely laid to his charge; neither did he receive word from any such, or send unto them, before his first speeches with such as pleased the said Lord General to send to confer with him towards Armaghe." And he craves these petitions following:—

(1.) That her Majesty grant pardon to him and all the inhabitants of Tyrone, and that they may be restored to their blood; "and [that] the benefit of her Majesty's letters patents [may be] renewed unto him."

(2.) That all the inhabitants of Tyrone may have free liberty of conscience.

(3.) That the Marshal pay him the 1,000*l.* sterling left to his wife, lately deceased, by her father.

(4.) "That no garrison, sheriff, or other officers may be placed in Tyrone for a time, because he cannot draw the inhabitants thereof as yet to consent thereunto, in regard of the bad dealing they have seen used by like officers against the bordering neighbours."

(5.) That her Majesty restore to him the 50 horsemen he formerly had in her pay.

(6.) That if any of the Earl's bordering neighbours do commit any stealth or outrage against him or any of his, he may have redress.

Signed: Hugh Tyrone.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Vol. 627, p. 240.

2. Another copy.

* Sir Henry Bagnall.

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[Jan.]

Vol. 617, p. 275.

217. The COMMISSIONERS' ANSWERS to the EARL'S DEMANDS.

(1.) Her Majesty will grant "this protection," if he yield to reasonable articles, and upon his submission.

(2.) Her Majesty hath tolerated herein hitherto; so in likelihood she will continue the same.

(3.) "It is reason her Majesty give order for the payment thereof, if it be proved due."

(4.) This is not reasonable. Her Majesty will continue her garrison at Ardmagh because she is possessed thereof. She ought again to enjoy the Blackwater, which was excepted in his patent. As Monaghan was surprised during the last cessation, it should be restored. A sheriff and officers should be placed in Tyrone, "because it was so assented unto by the Earl" in England, in 1590; "which we think her Majesty will be pleased shall be of your own country people."

(5.) To be referred to her Majesty's consideration.

(6.) Very reasonable.

Copy. P. 1.

Vol. 627, p. 241.

2 Another copy.

Jan. 27. 218. HUGH O'DONNELL'S GRIEVANCES.

Vol. 617, p. 277.

(1.) It is well known that O'Donnell's predecessors were always faithful subjects. His father overthrew Shane O'Neale at Farsitmore, and killed and drowned 1,700 of his forces, thus forcing him to fly for refuge to his enemies the Scots, by whom he was betrayed, and so lost his life.

(2.) In the rebellion of the late Earl of Desmond, Sir Turlaghe Lenaghe, the late O'Neale, sought by bribery to induce O'Donnell to join with him against her Majesty, and take part with the Earl that he might not be banished, which O'Donnell refused to do; though the reward that O'Donnell had for these and many other services was that Sir John Perrott, in the time of his government, sent Captain Boyne with 150 soldiers into Tیرهconnell, under colour to help O'Donnell to set the country in good civility, to whom O'Donnell gave divers pledges, and four of the best towns for relief of his forces; but he not only took ransom for the pledges and sent some of them to Dublin, but also surrendered the same towns to a supposed base son of Callough O'Donnell's, named Hugh, the son of the Dean of Galchoule, an utter enemy of O'Donnell. By this indirect dealing Tyreconnell grew then in uproar against O'Donnell, and was utterly wasted.

(3.) The said Lord Deputy (Perrot), desiring to suppress the same O'Donnell, did countenance the said Dean O'Galchoule's son against O'Donnell, and sent his letters of special favour with him to her Majesty, from whom he obtained a yearly pension. By O'Donnell's suppression Tyreconnell was to have been brought into her hands. But this hard course against

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him was stopped by the death of the said Hugh, the Dean's son.

(4.) When the said O'Donnell was ordered to send in his second son as a pledge he would have performed the same, but before he could be in his country [from Dublin ?] the Lord Deputy sent one Skyppe with a bark, who took the now O'Donnell and brought him to Dublin, where he was committed to the Castle, from which he escaped ; but, "through the vehemency of the weather and his travail at that time, he was forced to cut off both his toes to the second joint, and at his coming into Tireconnell he found all his followers dispersed, the country ruinated, and then one Captain Willis beared such sway in the country there as he kept the last O'Donnell with him as a thrall or vassal, to be as it were a guide for him in the country."

(5.) When the late Lord Deputy made a journey into Tireconnell, he sent by John Breminham, the pursuivant, for Sir Owen O'Toole, who came to his Lordship upon his faithful oath and word that he would not carry him from his own house further than Donagall ; but the Deputy brought him to Dublin, where he was kept prisoner six years, and, by reason of his aged years and continuance in prison, he died soon after his deliverance. Before the Deputy's departure out of Sir Owen's town, his haggard was all burned, and the town spoiled. Such was the reward that the old knight had for his services to her Highness.

These and many like courses, together with the base practices daily used against his neighbours in Fermanagh and Connaught, caused O'Donnell to fall into his disloyalty, fearing his own turn would come to be banished.

II. O'DONNELL'S PETITIONS.

(1.) He craves pardon for himself and followers.

(2.) For free liberty of conscience.

(3.) "That all the castles, manors, and lands in the country of Sligo may be permitted in the hands of O'Donnells ; all which lands he will give Donoghe McCale Oge O'Connor," upon condition that he yield to O'Donnell such services, rights, and duties as his ancestors have given out of the same to all O'Donnell's predecessors.

(4.) That no garrisons, wards, or officers whatsoever be placed in Tyreconnell or Sligo until the fear they have conceived by the hard dealing of such officers shall be somewhat lessened ; but that it will please her Majesty to appoint commissioners for the ending of all controversies that shall arise, whose orders we will put in execution.

(5.) He "desireth a remittal of all arrearages past and a year's freedom yet to come, in regard of the several great sums that his father paid as well to the Earl of Tyrone and Sir

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Edward Moore, Knt., as to others sent from the State to receive the same for her Majesty's use."

Dated — January 1595.

Signed: Hugh O'Donnell.

Copy. Pp. 4.

Vol. 627, p. 242.

2. Another copy, dated 27 January 1595.

[Jan.]
Vol. 617, p. 281.

219. The COMMISSIONERS' ANSWERS to HUGH O'DONNELL'S DEMANDS.

(1.) The first her Majesty will grant if O'Donnell will yield to reasonable articles, and upon his submission; and it is likely she will let him have the spiritual lands of Tyreconnell.

(2.) As her Majesty has hitherto tolerated therein, without punishment of any, so in all likelihood she will continue the same.

(3.) To be left to her consideration, the Commissioners having no power to deal therein.

(4.) No garrison has ever been placed in Tyreconnell; neither will be, until the fear mentioned be overpast; but in Sligo of long time officers and ward have been placed. Commissioners for Tyreconnell will, as usual, be named indifferently, and O'Donnell may "except against them" upon just cause.

(5.) To be referred to her Majesty, who we think will be merciful.

Copy. P. 1.

Vol. 627, p. 244.

2. Another copy.

Jan. 28.
Vol. 627, p. 258a.

220. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the COMMISSIONERS (WALLOP and GARDINER).

We have received this day a special letter from her Majesty, containing her resolute will and pleasure respecting those traitors. Hold your course with them accordingly. If you have already concluded a longer cessation with them, "we see not but it must stand, for that it was an act done before this contrary direction came from her Majesty."

Dublin, 28 January 1595.

Signed: W. Russell, Ad. Dublin., canc., Jo. Norreis, Robert Napper, Geff. Fenton.

Received 29 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 28.
Vol. 617, p. 282.

221. GRIEVANCES of SHANE MCBRIAN.

(1.) Soon after the death of Sir Brian McPhelim, father to the said Shane, the island Magie, adjoining to Carrickfergus, being time out of mind of his proper inheritance, was taken

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from him by the Earl of Essex, and has ever since been kept to his use, contrary to equity and justice.

(2.) Soon afterwards Sir Henry Bagnall took from him the barony of Mawghrye Morne, and finding him on a time in the Newrye, did there imprison him, and would not deliver him "until he had passed unto him what assurance he would have upon the said barony."

(3.) He sustained many other griefs by the hands of her Majesty's officers at Carrickfergus, to the great losses of his followers and goods and hazard of his own life.

II. SUBMISSION and REQUESTS of SHANE MCBRIEN.

(1.) He craves pardon for himself, his country, and followers, &c.

(2.) That all may have free liberty of conscience.

(3.) That no garrison be placed in his country.

(4.) He will yield her Majesty such rents and services as his predecessors did.

(5.) A year's remittal of rent, in respect of the waste of his country.

Dated 28 January 1595.

Signed: Shane O'Neile.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Vol. 627, p. 245.

2. Another copy.

Jan. 28. 222. MAGWIRE'S GRIEFS.

Vol. 617, p. 284.

(1.) His predecessors have been of long time loyal subjects. When Fermanagh came into his hands he began therein a most dutiful course of obedience; and when first he went [to Dublin?] after his placing in his father's room, the late Lord Deputy and Council gave him special letters of favour, that neither the Bingham's nor his other bordering neighbours should molest him, but assist him in his lawful causes. Yet Sir Richard Bingham and the rest of his name in Connaught came with forces and arms into his country, burned it, killed divers men, women, and children, and took from him 3,000 cows, besides 500 garrans and mares, and certain women prisoners, whom he was fain to ransom.

(2.) Magwire sent letters to the Lord Deputy and Council to desire restitution, and they addressed letters to Sir Richard Bingham and the rest for causing amends to be made; but the said Bingham's came forthwith into Fermanagh at two several times, and preyed Magwire of 6,000 cows, besides much murder.

(3.) Captain Henshawe, seneschal of Monaghan, came several times with his forces to places in Fermanagh, called Clankally and Cowle, captured 3,000 cows, and killed men, women, and children; but Sir William FitzWilliam caused no redress thereof.

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(4.) In the several sheriffships of Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Harbert in co. Cavan, they killed and preyed Magwire's tenants in the Knockclangorie, the Cowle, and other places, to his and their damages of 3,000*l.* ster.

(5.) Afterwards, the said Lord Deputy being in Monaghan, Magwire obtained faithful oath and promise that he should not be charged with sheriffs or other officers, in regard of his coming to do obedience, for one whole year; for which grant he paid as a bribe to his Lordship and others 300 beoffs, besides 150 beoffs to the Marshal (Sir Henry Bagnall); but Captain Willis, having Captain Fuller's band and other companies with him, was sent with commission to be sheriff there, and preyed the country. They cut off the head of the son of Edmond MacHugh McGwyre, and hurled it from place to place as a football. These hard courses compelled him to entertain forces to expulse the said Willis and his companies, whereupon ensued the proclaiming of himself and his followers, and their banishment out of the country.

II. SUBMISSION OF MAGWYRE.

(1.) He protests that his disloyalty proceeded not of any conspiracy with any domestic or foreign enemy, or of malice towards her Majesty, but through hard usages, yet he craves pardon for himself and his country. He will yield the usual rents and services.

(2.) He craves that himself and all the inhabitants of his country may have free liberty of conscience.

(3.) That no garrison may be placed in Fermanagh, but that for the government thereof the like course may be taken as shall be for McMahan's country or other parts of the Irishry.

Dated 28 January 1595.

Signed: Macgwire.

Copy. Pp. 4.

Vol. 627, p. 246.

2. Another copy.

Jan. 28. 223. GRIEVANCES of BRIAN McHUGH OGE McMAHOUNE and
Vol. 617, p. 288. EWER MCCOLLO.

"First. The said Brian McHugh Oge saith that Hugh Roe McMahonne, named McMahonne by Sir William FitzWilliam, and so confirmed and allowed to succeed by virtue of his brother's letters patents, and coming in to the State upon the word of a nobleman and the word of Henry More of Mellifont, deceased, was afterwards most unjustly and treacherously executed by the said Sir William at his own house of Monaghan. Which allowance of succession, as this McMahonne doth imagine, was granted him, the said Hugh, purposely to draw an interest unto him and his heirs, contrary to the custom of the country, and then by his

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execution to draw the country into her Majesty's hands, as by the sequel sheweth. After whose execution a garrison was placed in Monaghan, the name of McMahowne extinguished, and the substance of the country divided by the said Sir William FitzWilliam between Sir Henry Bagenall, Baron Elliott, Mr. Solicitor (Wilbraham*), Captain Henshawe, Captain Willis, the Parson O'Connolan, Hugh Strowbridge, Thomas Asshe, Chr. Flemminge, and divers other strangers, and so the native country people for the most part disinherited, and some of those that had portions allotted them were afterwards slain and murdered; namely, Patrick McCollo Mc Bryen, coming upon safeconduct to the Parson of † O'Connolan, then a justice of the peace, and chief man in authority for her Majesty in that country, was intercepted by an ambush appointed by the said parson and Captain Willis, and there slain.

"*Item.* The said McMahowne saith that the late Mc Mahowne was indicted for taking of a distress according to the wonted custom of his country for certain duties belonging unto him, having, by direction from the State, Captain Willies and Captain Plunkett's companies in his company. Also a grand jury of soldiers, very base and corrupt people, were sworn and impanelled to indict him, and not gentlemen or freeholders of the country. Also in the jury for his trial there were four soldiers and nine gentlemen and kerne of the country. Whiles they chaunted they were guarded with a band of soldiers, who suffered the soldiers of the jury to depart from them at their pleasure, and the nine of the country were so strictly kept as they were not permitted to take any relief or part asunder during 24 hours, until they were forced by threatenings and — ‡ to condemn him. Also Ewer McCollo saith that Rosse Connor came to him from the Lord Deputy, willing him to persuade his son, being one of the jury, to agree to the condemnation of McMahowne, and that he should be pardoned for all offences.

"Also he saith that the said Hugh Roe McMahowne, for obtaining Sir William FitzWilliam's consent, promised and paid him 500 cows, the Lady his wife 100, and John FitzWilliam his son 100; and that also he paid to divers others in reward, and for charges while he attended the State, to the number of 800 cows.

"Also the said Ewer McCollo saith that, after the said McMahowne was executed, the said Ewer was forced by the Earl of Tyrone to pay about 200*l.* ster. to Captain St. Leger, as agent for the Earl of Essex, who claimeth interest in Farney, parcel of McMahowne's country, from her Majesty; since which time the said Ewer went into England to procure the Earl's favour and allowance that he might enjoy his

* Added in the margin by Carew.

† S.c.

‡ Blank in MS.

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country, in regard the Queen hath no interest therein ; which the Earl refused to yield unto, but purposed to supplant the said Ewer, and thereupon leased the same to John Talbott, who not only expelled the said Ewer out of the whole country, but also spoiled him of all his corn and goods, to the value of at least 1,000*l.*, and so turned him a begging, utterly refusing to let him have so much as one village in the country, for rent, upon which he might dwell.

"Also the said Ewer McMahowne saith that he and his country have endured and sustained many other injuries and oppressions too tedious to be repeated, but are well known to divers of the Council"

II. PROTESTATIONS and DEMANDS of BRIAN MCHUGH
OGE MCMAHOWNE and EWER MCCOLLO.

(1.) They protest that their disloyalty proceeded through their hard usages, and they crave pardon for themselves, their people and goods, with all lands spiritual and temporal within McMahan's country. They will yearly pay 100 good beoves, or in lieu of every beofe 20*s.* sterling, and rising-out as formerly.

(2.) In respect of the waste of the country by reason of these wars, he craves one year's allowance without rent ; and liberty of conscience for himself and the inhabitants of his country.

(3.) They desire they may be no longer charged or governed by seneschals, sheriffs, or garrisons, until their fear be lessened, but that commissioners may be appointed for all controversies.

Dated 28 January 1595. *Signed.*

Copy. Pp. 3.

Vol. 627, p. 247*a.*

2. Another copy.

Jan. 29. **224.** The COMMISSIONERS to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 627, p. 259.

By our last of the 25th, sent by Bremyngham the pursuivant, we signified that we had agreed to have another conference with the Earl and O'Donnell. Yesterday, as we were going to a further parley, we received yours of the 26th, in which you wished we had at the first imparted her Majesty's articles to them. We reserved her Majesty's articles until we might compass a new cessation, fearing they would seem to them too hard and not alterable, being sent from her Majesty ; but we imparted all the easiest of them as of ourselves. We have laboured, by conferences, letters, messengers, and other devices, to draw them first to a cessation, "and thereupon to impart her Majesty's demands and merciful disposition towards them, by granting unto them free pardon." We have obtained with difficulty a cessation for two months certain, and further for a third month, if it please your Lordship.

Perceiving O'Donnell would depart immediately after yesterday's conference, we devised certain articles and delivered

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them to him; for in the articles from England little is said touching O'Donnell. As he greatly disliked them, we advised him "to set down by way of postile or cotation his liking or disliking," as he might obtain some change of our demands from the Queen.

As the cessation had been obtained and we could without danger offer to the Earl such articles as came from her Majesty, with some few additions of our own, we sent them to him this morning, requiring him to signify how many he does not assent to.

O'Donnell continues as arrogant and insolent as formerly. The Earl uses "terms submiss," but still persists he cannot conclude without the consent of the rest, according to his oath. "The Earl yesternight did press us for his departure this morning, by want, as he said, of provision; but in the end, at our earnest motion, he said he would stay until Friday, if he might find meat so long to relieve his company." If he depart, we shall return homeward.

Dondalk, 29 January 1595.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Jan. 29. 225. The COMMISSIONERS to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.
Vol. 627, p. 252.

By our letter to you of this present, we have signified with what difficulty we concluded a cessation for two months certain, and for one month longer, if you think fit, under "sparing conditions." We have received the demands of the Earl and O'Donnell, not much altered from the former, except that, instead of demanding liberty of conscience for all men, they do so only for the inhabitants of their countries, meaning that McMahowne, O'Rowrk, McGwyre, and the rebels in Connaught shall demand the like. "We have postiled their demands, to some with utter dislike, to others with some likelihood her Majesty will unto them assent." McMahowne, Magwire, and O'Rowrk have not yet sent in their demands, but we fear they will not much vary from their former. We have sent to the Earl such articles as were signified from England, with some additions; and to O'Donnell such demands as we thought most convenient, for touching him and his country little is noted in her Majesty's memorials. O'Donnell said he would depart this morning.

We conceive they will dislike of most or all of our proposals, "considering the arrogant insolency of O'Donnell and most of the rest, except the Earl, who giveth mild speeches, but concludeth he will do to the liking of the rest, for to that he saith he hath sworn." Had we not considered our weakness and our want of victuals and other necessities, we would have broken off our treaty rather than endured their insolency; and most likely her Majesty will dislike this prolonging of the cessation, considering her great expenses, unless you mention these reasons.

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"Because of our intention of return to begin on Saturday next for causes in our other letters signified, we do now spare to send unto your Lordship what more hath happened in this time of remain here."

29 January, 8 o'clock *a.m.*

Copy. Pp. 2.

Jan. 29. **226.** The EARL OF TYRONE and O'DONNELL to the COMMISSIONERS.
Vol. 627, p. 257.

"Forasmuch as we have now exhibited the causes of our griefs in writing unto you, as also the causes of the most of the rest in Ulster now in disloyalty, we have thought it very necessary to let you understand (in regard of the oath passed between us and the rest of our faction) that unless Feaughe McHugh, McWilliam, Ran McWilliam, Brien Oge O'Rowrk, the sept of O'Connor Don, and all others in Connaught in action, as also O'Rely and all those of the Breny, may (for their lives, lands, goods, and followers, in such sort as their ancestors held or enjoyed the same) be received into her Majesty's most gracious pardon upon their several submissions, we cannot or may not be tied, for the reasons before mentioned, to perform anything that is now to be agreed upon, saving only the cessation."

29 January 1595.

Addressed: To our very loving friends Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Robert Gardener, knights, her Majesty's Commissioners at Dondalke.

Copy. P. 1.

Vol. 617, p. 303.

2. Abstract from the preceding.

Jan. 29. **227.** The EARL OF TYRONE to the COMMISSIONERS.
Vol. 627, p. 257a.

Praying them to grant respite to Richard Weston in the performance of a bond into which he entered (at the Earl's request) for the Prior McGirr, to whom Owen Woods Dean [of Armagh], now attendant on the Earl of Essex, sold the priory of Ardmaghe, as that living has been wasted by the garrison now in the town.

29 January 1595.

Copy. P. 1.

Jan. 29. **228.** SPOILS during the CESSATION of ARMS.
Vol. 627, p. 261.

Commission from the Queen's Commissioners and the Earl of Tyrone to Ryse ApHugh, Garrett Moore, and John Morgyn (chosen by the Commissioners), Arte O'Hagan, Shane O'Donnell, and William Robert (chosen by the Earl), to examine what spoils and harms have been done on either part in and about the Newry and borders thereof, and in all places northward, since the first cessation of arms agreed on between

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the Lord General (Norris) and the Earl of Tyrone; and to see restitution indifferently made.

Dundalk, 29 January 1595.

Signed : H. Wallop, Ro. Gardener Hugh Tyrone.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Vol. 617, p. 303.

2. Another copy.

Jan. 28-30. 229.

Vol. 627, p. 250a.

ARTICLES propounded by the COMMISSIONERS to HUGH O'DONNELL.

(1.) That upon obtaining pardon he shall disperse all his forces, and return into their countries all Scottish men of war and other strangers; neither shall he hereafter entertain any Scottish men of war without licence.

(2.) Tireconnell to be made shire ground, and to have a sheriff and officers; to which course the Earl of Tyrone formerly assented for Tyrone.

(3.) Restitution of the value of the spoils made by him and his followers, "so far forth as there hath not been recovery had by such of her Majesty's good soldiers and subjects as have been spoiled."

(4.) He shall acknowledge his grievous offence in destroying the castle of Sligo, persuading her Majesty's subjects in Connaught to fall from their obedience, and in making roads and journeys into that province.

(5.) He shall not assist O'Rowrke, Magwyre, or others in their disloyalties, or receive any disloyal persons.

(6.) He shall deliver to her Majesty's use all such munition and artillery as he found in Sligo, Inneskillen, or elsewhere.

(7.) He shall re-edify the castle of Sligo and such other castles as he defaced in Connaught.

(8.) He shall pay such rents and duties as his ancestors covenanted to pay, and such further rents and reservations as her Highness shall think reasonable.

(9.) "He shall upon oath confess and declare how far he, or any by his advice, knowledge, or consent, have proceeded in any request or action with any foreign prince or potentate, and specially with the King of Spain; and shall by like oath and writing under his hand renounce all superiority and aid of foreign powers, and chiefly the Spaniard."

(10.) That he permit Sir John O'Doughertye to enjoy his country and lands, according to his letters patents.

(11.) That he cause a gaol to be built.

(12.) To deliver pledges.

Dated 28 January 1595.

II. ANSWER of O'DONNELL to the ARTICLES of the COMMISSIONERS.

(1.) He agrees.

(2.) "He standeth to the tenor of the article in his petition now exhibited touching that cause."

3.

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(3.) The damage which he has sustained by her Highness's soldiers and subjects surmounts any harm done by him.

(4.) As he claims Sligo and the county thereof, the loss redoundeth to himself. He was compelled to do what he did.

(5.) He agrees.

(6.) He was not at the spoiling of those places.

(7.) He is not able, and the loss of Sligo is his own.

(8.) "He will yield to give her Majesty whatsoever hath been reserved unto her Highness upon Tireconnell before the time of his father, who haply (through extremity) consented to give more than he was able to perform, which is more than this O'Donnell is acquainted withal."

(9.) When he receives his pardon he will renounce foreign aid, and declare how far he has dealt in matters of that nature.

(10.) "O'Doghertye hath no lands but what O'Donnell doth give him in Tireconnell, neither had his predecessors any lands there but such as they held of O'Donnell's ancestors."

(11.) When he receives a sheriff into Tireconnell he will help to build a gaol.

(12.) He agrees, so as the pledges be reasonable.

Dated 30 January 1595. *Signed.*

Copy. Pp. 4.

Vol. 617, p. 291.

2. Another copy.

Jan. [28]-30. 230.

Vol. 627, p. 253.

ARTICLES propounded by the COMMISSIONERS to HUGH EARL OF TYRONE.

(1.) He shall wholly disperse his forces, relinquish aiding Magwire, McMahowne, O'Rowrke, the rebels in Connaught, or any other bordering rebels upon Tyrone, and discharge all Scots and other strangers out of his entertainment.

(2.) He shall re-edify the fort and bridge at Blackwater, and suffer her Majesty's garrison to live there in security.

(3.) Likewise her garrison at Ardmaghe.

(4.) As Monaghan has been surprised during this cessation, he shall restore the same, and suffer a garrison to be placed there. He shall also permit the seneschal, sheriff, and other officers to exercise their offices, and suffer such persons only to inhabit the lands in co. Monaghan as are appointed to be her Majesty's tenants. Neither shall he give comfort or relief in this country to any of the McMahownes.

(5.) The Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of Ardmaghe to enjoy all their livings and jurisdictions.

(6.) Restitution of the goods or value of all spoils made by him or his followers.

(7.) The son of Shane O'Neale to be delivered up to justice.

(8.) He shall not detain Sir Arthur O'Neyle, son to Sir Tirelaughe Lenaghe, from his liberty, or from possession of the lands of his father.

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(9.) He shall not intermeddle with any of the uriahtes, with any of the Clandeboyas, or the countries on the east side of the Lough Eaghe, *alias* Lough Sidney, and the Bann, but leave them to her Majesty's government.

(10.) The counties of Ardmagh and Tyrone to continue two several counties, or to be made one, at her Majesty's pleasure. Her Majesty yearly to make sheriffs of the same. At his own and the country's charges he is to make gaols for the keeping of prisoners, and he shall assist the justices and other officers.

(11.) When her Majesty shall appoint a president and council in Ulster, his tenants and followers shall yield contributions, compositions, rents, and services for their maintenance.

(12.) The country called the Fues to be annexed to the English Pale, as the Breny has been.

(13.) Whereas he has confessed his fault in taking upon him, since the death of Turlagh Lenaghe, the title of O'Neyle, he shall in writing "confess the same his act to have been directly against an Act of Parliament making the same to be very penal;" and he shall take a corporal oath never to make pretence to that title, and withstand any other making pretence thereto.

(14.) He shall declare how far he has "proceeded in any requests or actions with any foreign prince," and especially with the King of Spain, and renounce all superiority and aid of foreign powers, and chiefly of the Spaniards.

(15.) He shall perform the articles and conditions agreed to by him in England in 1590.

(16.) He shall not receive any disloyal persons.

(17.) Considering her Majesty's charges, a tax or fine shall be imposed upon him, his tenants, kinsfolk, and followers within Tyrone, to support the garrisons at Ardmagh, Monaghan, Blackwater, and the Newrie.

(18.) To procure his sons' and brethren's assent to these articles; and deliver such pledges of his kin and blood as the Lord Deputy and Council shall name, to be redeemed every three months.

The Commissioners advise your Lordship "to have your eldest son brought up in England, and if hereafter you shall dispose yourself to marriage, to marry in some noble house there."

If your Lordship use any good course of conformity in answering these articles, you shall receive her Majesty's pardon for yourself and your neighbours; for so we are authorized to assure both you and O'Donnell.

*Undated.**

* The date was probably 28th January; see the preceding propositions to O'Donnell.

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II. ANSWER of HUGH EARL OF TYRONE to the ARTICLES
of the COMMISSIONERS.

(1.) After he and his adherents in Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster shall be pardoned, he will perform the same.

(2.) Then he will be willing to yield so much towards the re-edifying of the castle and bridge of Blackwater as indifferent commissioners shall think convenient.

(3.) "He humbly craveth that no garrison be continued in Ardmaghe, in respect that the indirect and false informations heretofore issued from the garrisons of Blackwater and Monaghan unto the Marshal (Sir Henry Bagnall) and others against the Earl, hath bred the most occasion of these wars, and that the country will not yield unto it."

(4.) "The same was not subscribed by his consent or privy, neither was Patrick McArte Moyle then upon the Earl's truce;" and as for the rest of that article, if the Mc Mahownes assent thereto, he will not be against it.

(5.) He will do therein as the rest of his neighbours in Ulster in the like cases will do.

(6.) It is impossible to value the hurts and spoils done.

(7.) He cannot deliver them.

(8.) "Sir Arthur O'Neyle shall hold his lands from him as the rest of the gentlemen in Tyrone doth, and they will not disagree between themselves."

(9.) "He agreeth not to intermeddle with the government of the places in the article mentioned, saving that it may be lawful for him and his to enjoy any lands or leases he or they have in any of those countries."

(10.) He agrees that Armagh and Tyrone shall be made one county. As to a sheriff, he will not disagree to have one of the country itself placed in that office. As for the building of a gaol, he will be conformable to the direction of the Lord Deputy. He will assist such justices of assizes and other officers as shall come thither.

(11.) He will not yield that any other shall be over him, excepting her Majesty or her Deputy.

(12.) "The Fues is parcel of Tyrone and so found by office, and is likewise comprehended in his patent."

(13.) He will renounce the name of O'Neyle by writing, but desires not to be pressed with any oath.

(14.) He will perform the same, upon his pardon.

(15.) He will not yield to more of the articles agreed upon by him in England than are comprehended in these articles, as they were wrested from him by Sir John Perrott's means.

(16.) When pardoned he will perform the same.

(17.) He must obtain the consent of his followers and kinsfolk.

(18.) He agrees, so as the pledges may be reasonable.

"He would, ere this, have delivered his son unto the Lord Deputy, but his kinsfolk and friends would not permit the same; whose consents if he may hereafter procure, he will be

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most willing to have him well brought up in England. And how he shall dispose of himself in marriage he knoweth not at this present."

Dated 30 January 1595. *Signed.*

Copy. Pp. 8.

Vol. 617, p. 293.

2. Another copy.

Jan. 30. 231.
Vol. 627, p. 260.

The COMMISSIONERS, WALLOP and GARDNER, to the
LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

According to the intention mentioned in our last, sent by Stanley, we have made known to the Earl and O'Donnell her Majesty's articles, which we feared to do before. We advised them to consider of the same, and return answer in writing, with their demands and offers, which we said we trusted would be more dutiful and reasonable than before; which on Wednesday last they performed. O'Donnell's demands did not much vary from the former, and he refused to perform the articles propounded on her Majesty's behalf. The next morning he departed homeward, with McMahonne, Ewer McCollo, Sir John O'Doghertie, McGwyre, and the rest, except the Earl, his brother Cormock, and their followers, who intend to depart this evening; Philip O'Realie having departed already. McMahonne and McGwyre, upon going away, sent us their demands with offers, in substance not differing from their first. The Earl and O'Donnell also sent us a letter dated the 29th, "because, as we conjectured, they would not be mistaken in what they had done." (*Here follows an extract from it.*)

We intend to-morrow to depart homeward. Most of the Earl's adherents have already departed. We hear that O'Donnell has returned to Connaught, and that McMahonne has gone into the Breny to establish Sir John captain and himself tawnist, which is likely to be true, as Philip demanded the same before his departure; so that there is little hope of their conformity. Your pacquets of the 27th and 29th, sent by Noland and Breminham, we received yesterday, but we had the day before signed the cessation, and many had departed. We forbear now to acquaint them either with her Majesty's letters or your Lordship's, "in fear of recalling our cessation."

30 January 1595.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Jan. 30. 232.
Vol. 612, p. 56.

WARRANT by the LORD GENERAL, SIR JOHN NORRIS, to the SHERIFF of Co. DUBLIN.

As divers persons have made forcible resistance against the under-sheriff in the placing of horses, and not only refused the receiving of them but turned them loose abroad, besides the evil entreaty of the grooms and boys, I have thought good to

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send 50 soldiers with their leader, to assist him in executing his commission, and to be placed by you where you think fittest.

Dublin, 30 January 1595. *Signed*: Jo. Norris.

Copy. P. 1.

March 9. 233.
Vol. 612, p. 67.

The QUEEN to SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL, Lord Deputy,
and the COUNCIL.

In your letters of the 9th of last month there is nothing to our contentation. You signify that, upon the return of the Commissioners sent to treat with Tyrone and O'Donnell, you do find "the traitorous intent of the traitors to continue in their rebellion and in their barbarous demands, though, as yourselves confess, they did in the beginning stand simply upon our mercy without condition, and made offers to give largely for the redemption of their faults; which if you had at the beginning accepted, and not passed over the time so many months in fond device by learned counsel to form their pardons, this that hath followed so contrary to their submission had not now happened."

You have sent Sir Robert Gardner, one of the Commissioners, to inform us particularly of all the proceedings with the said rebels, "yet you have at length in writing described the particular disorders almost in every part of the realm, an advertisement very uncomfortable from you, who hath had the authority otherwise to govern the realm, than, for lack of regard in times convenient, now to present unto us so broken an estate of so great a part of our realm, as to have all Ulster wholly, saving two or three places, and all Connaught, saving as few places, wholly possessed with rebels, and likewise some of the counties next our English Pale in like danger." You propose remedies which rest altogether upon great preparations of forces and treasure, without offering any reformation of the government there.

To obviate "the inconveniences likely to appear by the simple and gross treaty of the Commissioners with the rebels," we have caused answers to be made to the presumptuous demands of the rebels, such as shall be fit for rebels to receive; "and otherwise also we have yielded to such answers as are meet for offenders to receive, acknowledging their offences and suing for pardon." Instructions, signed by our Council, are now sent thither, to be used by such commissioners as now you shall authorize to meet with the said rebels for a full answering of their demands. John Norris is to be commissioned with our secretary Fenton, to meet with the said rebels before the cessation [terminate], and "to proceed with them to some final end, either according to their submissions to yield them pardons, with such conditions as are contained in the said instructions, or if they shall refuse the reasonable

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offers therein contained, or seek former delays, to leave any further treaty with them."

As we conceive that the misgovernment there of late years has given cause and scope to these rebels to revolt thus generally in divers parts, "we have caused a collection to be made in writing of certain manifest errors and defaults there committed of late years in that government, whereof some are past all remedy, and some by better regard had may be in time coming amended."

Under the Signet, Richmond, 9 March 1595, 38 Eliz.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Vol. 617, p. 243.

Another copy.

March 11. 234. TYRONE and O'DONELL.

Vol. 612, p. 68.

Instructions for such of her Majesty's Council in Ireland as shall be deputed by the Lord Deputy and Council there to meet with the two rebels Tyrone and O'Donell.

At Richmond, the 11th of March 1595.

Her Majesty has been largely informed by Chief Justice Sir Robert Gardner of the submissions, complaints, petitions, and answers of the rebels to the Commissioners' demands, "whereof for some part she findeth so great cause of mislike as she hath been offended with her Commissioners that would receive or give ear to any such presumptuous and disloyal petitions and answers." These articles following are now to be proposed to the rebellious Earl, to O'Donell, McGwire, McMahon, and Brian McShane.

I. ANSWERS to the rebellious EARL OF TYRONE.

Whereas he requires free liberty of conscience for all the inhabitants of Tyrone, this request was disloyal, and thereof at the time of his submission no word had been made. "He may be sharply told that this hath been a later disloyal compact made betwixt him and other the rebels without any reasonable ground or cause to move them thereunto, especially considering there hath been no proceeding against any of them to move so unreasonable and disloyal a request as to have liberty to break laws, which her Majesty will never grant to any subject of any degree."

Whereas it is required to have no garrison, sheriff, or other officer placed in Tyrone for a time, if he and the inhabitants will hereafter live peaceably, then the placing of a garrison may be forborne until her Majesty finds it profitable and necessary to have a sheriff or some like officer.

As the Earl agrees that Armagh and Tyrone may be made one county, one sheriff shall therefore be appointed for both counties, "who shall be chosen to be one of the country, if any such may be found sufficient for such an office."

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The Earl and O'Donell have, by their letter at their departure, written to the Commissioners that, unless Feogh McHugh, McWilliam, Ran McWilliam, O'Rrork, O'Conner Dun, and others in Connaught in action, the O'Reilies, and those of the Breiny, may receive pardon upon their submission, they cannot perform their articles and offers saving only for cessation. Her Majesty will not be prescribed proudly where to bestow her mercy, which she will never grant but upon their own penitent petition, not allowing that one rebel to obtain pardon for another. The Earl and O'Donell have greatly increased in disloyalty, and drawn to them as many subjects as they could induce to become disloyal. At the beginning of their rebellion, and at the first making of their submissions, a great number of those who are now offenders in Connaught were quiet subjects; and so were also, until a late time, O'Reily and others in the Breiny. Feogh McHugh has obediently submitted, and craved pardon, which her Majesty will sooner grant to him for his own sake than for any intercession of the Earl or O'Donell.

"Where he agreeth that he will suffer the Bishop and Dean of Armagh to enjoy their livings and jurisdictions, as the rest of his neighbours in Ulster will do, she thinketh this both undutifully and uncertainly answered; for whatsoever his neighbours will do or not do, there is no reason for him to deny the said Bishop and church of Armagh that which belongeth to them of right, and whereof the Queen's Majesty only is the founder and patron, as belonging unseparably to her Crown."

He says he cannot deliver Shane O'Neale's sons for many respects. Had he expressed those respects she might have allowed or disallowed of his answer; but no good subject should keep another as a prisoner.

The rest of his answers are not disallowed.

II. The QUEEN'S ANSWERS to O'DONELL'S PETITIONS.

As his demand for liberty of conscience has been made by compact between the Earl and him and others of the rebels, her Majesty makes the same answer to him as is made to the Earl.

His request that the castle and lands in Sligo may remain in his hands, and be given by him to Donnogh McCale Og O'Conner, under such services as O'Conner's ancestors have yielded to O'Donell's ancestors, is strange. It was taken out of the Queen's possession by treason and shameful murder, and he alleges a title thereto by a tenure whereof neither O'Conner himself nor any man else has ever heard any report; "neither is [it] yet known whether this Hugh O'Donnell have any right to be O'Donnell by his father's sufferance during his life, the interest to be O'Donnell after his father's life being due to another." But her Majesty will

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be pleased that O'Connor may receive the possession of the house and lands, and, if there be any good proof made of O'Donnell's claim to be lawful, O'Connor shall yield to O'Donnell such services as are due.

Whereas he requires that no garrison or officer be placed in Tireconnell or in Sligo for a time, but commissioners to be appointed for all controversies there, she consents so far as regards Tireconnell; but with regard to Sligo, she will, as she finds cause for the profit of the country, appoint or not appoint officers.

Answers upon the Articles of the Commissioners.—"Where he will yield to her Majesty whatsoever hath been reserved out of Tireconnell before his father's time, there is no just cause why he should not yield the like as his father hath done," who was always a good subject. But if the duties reserved by his father's grant were extorted above reason, they shall be qualified. The rest of his answers to the Commissioners' articles are allowable. If he will promise dutifully to perform them, her Majesty will grant him pardon upon her own mere grace, without respect of any mediator.

III. ANSWERS to MCGWIRE'S PETITIONS.

The request for liberty of conscience savours of a compact with others. Her Majesty never means to grant that liberty to any subject, though heretofore she has acted mercifully.

Whereas he requires to have no garrison nor officers placed in his country, but to be governed as McMahon's country shall be, she will take care for the good government of both their countries.

Whereas he protests that his disloyalty was occasioned by his hard usage, she never heard that he has been misused. If complaint had been made to her, she would have seen speedy redress. But as he acknowledges his fault, she will grant him his pardon, and cause his complaints to be examined.

"Where he maketh request to have restitution of the lands both spiritual and temporal in his country upon a rent, her Majesty thinketh it strange that either he or any other of the offenders at this time should have a conceipt to demand spiritual lands, wherein never any of his ancestors had interest. And yet nevertheless the state of the spiritual lands shall be considered, and such of them as shall be thought meet to be granted to the inhabitants of the country, being obedient subjects, they shall have the preferment thereof."

IV. ANSWERS to BRIAN MCMAHON'S PETITIONS.

"Where he protesteth that, by sundry hard usages, and by the unjust execution of Hugh Roe McMahon, and the distribution of the substance of the country by Sir William Fitz-Williams, Sir Henry Bagnall, and eight or nine more

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Englishmen, all strangers to the country, to the disherison of the people of the country, he and the rest of the McMahanes have been occasioned to enter into this disloyalty, and yet now do acknowledge their transgressions," for which he seeks "pardon for himself, and the lands of his country spiritual and temporal, for the which he offereth the yearly rent of 100*l*." her Majesty having never heard of any such misusage, is moved the rather to grant him mercy.

As to the spiritual lands, it is strange that he or any other of the offenders should require restitution of any other lands than of lands temporal. "Yet such of the English as have grants of such spiritual lands as are called Termond lands shall be treated withal to surrender their patents, whereupon the inhabitants of every barony may have the same Termond lands distributed amongst them, upon reservations of the former rents." Otherwise he shall have restitution of all such lands as of right belong to him, at the usual rents. But whereas he offers 100*l*. a year, she understands not for how much land, "for, upon the division of the whole lands in Monahan about five years past, there was allotted unto him and five others of his name lands rented at 500*l*. and more, besides a yearly rent unto the chief lord upon the freeholders' lands, the sum of 446*l*.; so as, out of one of the baronies granted to him by the name of Brian McHugh Oge McMahan, he had granted unto him and his heirs males of his body lands to the yearly value of 108*l*., to be paid to her Majesty; besides that he had of the freeholders of that barony, being 88 in number, the yearly rent of 105*l*." Her Majesty wishes that the parties to whom the said baronies were allotted may still enjoy the same.

V. ANSWER to BRIAN MCSHANE'S DEMANDS.

His request for liberty of conscience is devised by compact with others. If he lives as a good subject, his country shall not be troubled with a garrison or officers until it shall be found profitable.

"And whereas in the answer to the Earl and others his adherents a strict course is prescribed, yet rather than the purpose of pacification should fail upon some of their private demands, not being dishonorable nor much disprofitable unto her Majesty, it shall be lawful to such as shall be employed in this service to yield thereunto." Rather than the treaty should break off, you shall give them their pardon, though they refuse to come in personally to the State after its receipt; providing for their continuance as loyal subjects, and for the dispersion of their forces.

Signed: Jo. Puckeringe, W. Burghley, Essex, H. Cobham, T. Buckehurst, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescue.

Copy. Pp. 7.

1596.
March 12.
Vol. 612, p. 62.

235. CASTLE of CLOGHAN O'MADDEN.

"The names of such chief men as were killed in the castle of Cloghan O'Madden at the winning thereof," 12th of March 1595.*

Eleven names are given. Two gentlemen of O'Rorcke's country (names not known) were also killed.

II. "The names of the chief men killed in the conflict the day before the winning of the castle."

The names of eight are given.

"The rest were shot, bowmen and kearne. The whole number killed and drowned (besides those in the castle) were seven score and upwards, besides some hurt, which escaped, being unarmed, and fled away in great amazement."

Copy. P. 1.

March 20.
Vol. 612, p. 65a.

236. HENRY HOVENDEN to the EARL OF TYRONE.

"Upon receipt of a letter from O'Donnell importing somewhat touching the cause of this business unto your Lp., I conferred with him. He told me that the case wherein you and O'Donnell are is sufficiently known beyond seas, though not by any means which yourselves sent. He told me also that through cross fortune he was constrained to shift away his letters, reserving only a bare copy of them in a broken paper. Whereupon I said unto him, that albeit his speeches might carry a great possibility of truth in that behalf, yet it behoved him, coming to men of such calling as your Honour and O'Donnell are of, to be of such calling himself and place of credit as might bring with it cause of believing his errand; and therefore I demanded what he was, in which demand he hath satisfied me, and so he will your Lp. He passeth in his journey for a man of Galway, and so I pray you let him be accompted there; otherwise, in his return to the place from whence he came, it may be he will be intercepted, as the rest were that your Lp. despatched from thence. After you have seen what is required of you and O'Donnell, you may determine what course to handle. If England fear no foreign invasion it is the likelier to go hard with you; and also if your stay depend on the assistance of those that you cannot convoy a letter unto, the same yieldeth no show of present help unto you. And if you agree to the articles which Henry Warren moved to you, whereof I have sent you a copy, I do not see how such a peace can stand with your good. Neither is the lingering and delay of the State intended any way to serve your turn. Therefore I wish your Lp. to procure a thorough peace, or else to labour that help betimes, which at length

* See Russell's Diary under that date.

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you must be driven to if the wars endure. If it please your Lp., O'Donnell would meet you at Strabane, to perfect what you will touching this cause. If old O'Cahan's son do solicit your Lp. for the fine which Tierlogh O'Quine's sons have, you may not assent to him, for that your fines here are my gain so long as I am toiled with supplying your Lp's room."

20 March 1596.*

Copy. P. 1.

[March.] 237. The EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 632, p. 141.

The effect of her Majesty's pleasure directed to the Lord General (Norris) and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, to be signified to the Earl of Tyrone, with the Earl's answers.

(1.) Her Majesty is highly offended with your petition for liberty of conscience, and her pleasure is that you desist from it.—*He agrees.*

(2.) Touching garrisons, sheriffs, and other officers to be placed in Tyrone, her Majesty will not be prescribed what to do; but if you and the inhabitants will live peaceably, she will have no other garrisons there than shall be profitable for the country. As for sheriffs, or any such officers, choice shall be made of some of that country, if any be found fit. She consents to the making of Tyrone and Ardmaghe one county.—*The Earl may not gainsay her Majesty for placing her garrison, but during its continuance he cannot conform to the rest of the article.*

(3.) "Touching a motion made by you and O'Donnell, in a letter to the late Commissioners, after the closing up of the treaty, concerning the receiving to favour of O'Reyley and others that then had not made their particular submissions, her Majesty misliketh that any of you shall presume to capitulate or prescribe to whom or in what manner she is to bestow her mercy," yet she will pardon so many of these offenders as make their submissions, upon such conditions as she may think meet.—*"He saith that O'Reyley is [to] put in his submission, and to crave pardon and grace of her Majesty for himself and country."*

(4.) Your answer respecting the right and jurisdiction of the Bishop and Dean of Ardmaghe was very undutiful and uncertain. Her Majesty is resolved to maintain them in their estates and jurisdictions.—*"He saith that, when it shall be her Majesty's pleasure to remove her garrison, he will do right to the Bishop and Church; and in the meantime doth not meddle withal."*

(5.) You have said you cannot deliver Shane O'Nelle's sons for certain respects, and yet these respects are not expressed.

* "*Stilo novo*," according to Carew.

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Her Majesty does not allow any subject to keep another as prisoner.—*They are of his own country, and he craves licence to keep them.*

(6.) You shall forbear to give aid to those who transgress against her Majesty.—*“He agreeth, after his pardon had.”*

(7.) You shall not meddle with any of her Majesty’s uriahts, with the government of the Clandeboyas, or of the countries on the east side of the Lough Eaw, *alias* Lough Sydney, and the Ban, according to the articles agreed to by you in England; but you and yours may enjoy any lease or lands that you have in any of these countries.—*He agrees.*

(8.) Ardmaghe and Tyrone shall be made one country, and a sheriff appointed therein, of the country itself; and at your and the country’s charge you shall build a gaol at the Lord Deputy’s direction. You shall also assist the justices of assize and other officers.—*He cannot answer this during the abode of a garrison in Ardmaghe.*

(9.) According to your own offer, you shall renounce the name and title of O’Nelle.—*He agrees.*

(10.) You shall declare how far you, or any by your advice or consent, have proceeded in any action with any foreign prince or potentate, especially with the King of Spain; and renounce all superiority and aid of foreign power, and chiefly of the Spaniards. And after your pardon you shall make your humble submission, confessing therein your disloyal actions.—*He will declare how far he hath dealt with any foreigner, and will renounce their aid. He has in his submission already acknowledged his disloyalty.*

(11.) You shall not receive into your country any disloyal persons, but, upon notice being given you, send them to the Governor.—*“He agreeth, save only that he will not apprehend any spiritual man that cometh into the country for his conscience’s sake.”*

Dated by Carew, “1595” (i.e., 1595–6).

Copy. Pp. 6.

April 9.

The EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 607, p. 139. **238.** “The Earl of Tyrone’s Answer to the several Instructions delivered to Captain William Warren, 9th of April 1596.”

(1.) “To the first, he saith his only desire is to be received into her Majesty’s favour, and so to continue.” He is ready to perform any agreement made between him and the Lord General (Sir John Norris).

(2.) To the second, that at the Lord General’s last being at Dondalke his only request was that a final end might be made then, but the Lord General deferred it until 1st March,

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when he did not come.* He is falsely charged with not having kept his fair promises. He is ready to accomplish whatever has been agreed upon, "so as the like touch be kept with him."

(3.) To the third, that he has received maintenance and favour at her Majesty's hands, for which he is most bound to her, and he is most sorrowful for his faults; therefore he desires her mercy rather than to be pursued with her forces, which he is unable to resist.

(4.) To the fourth, that he cannot present himself before her Commissioners at Dondalke until he has conferred with his brothers and friends.

(5.) To the fifth, that whereas her Majesty has given power to the Lord General and the rest to make a final end for his good, this is his only desire; "so as in the meantime promise be performed unto him for the exchanging of his brother's sons, and the first pledges restored to him."

(6.) To the sixth, as the Commissioners have appointed 2nd April to meet at Dondalke, he will be there. He desires that all who have taken his part may upon their submissions be received to mercy, according to the promise between him and them.

Pp. 2. Endorsed.

Vol. 632, p. 144.

2. Copy of the same.

April 18. 239.

EXTORTIONS of the SOLDIERS.

Vol. 612, p. 63.

Orders to be observed in the English Pale against the abuses and extortions of the soldiers, made by Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy, and the Council at the Castle of Dublin, 18 April 1596.†

All soldiers shall, in their travel through the country, march above 10 miles by the day, and not lie above one night in one place, each taking of his host meat and drink, without exacting money or committing any other extortion, upon pain of death, but paying ready money or giving his captain's or officer's ticket after the rate of 5*d.* ster. *per diem*.

No two soldiers shall have above one boy attending upon them, and a band of 100 foot shall have but six women for laundresses, such as shall be married wives to some of the said soldiers; the said women and boys to be in no way chargeable to the country or towns. Any women or boys found above the said number to be committed to gaol by the sheriff, justice, or high constable, till order be taken to

* *Note in the margin [by Sir John Norris]:* "I could not at that time make any full conclusion with him, being expressly forbidden to do it by the Lord Deputy and Council."

† *Note:* "To these orders Sir John Norryes hath refused to put his hand."

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execute them by course of martial law. The captains, officers, and soldiers shall assist in apprehending them, on pain of being discharged and punished.

No band of foot or horse shall, upon pain of death, charge the country with more than the just number allowed by her Majesty in pay and entered in the cheque rolls; and no soldier or officer shall exact or take money by the name and under colour of dead pays, or shall take any more meat than his supper and breakfast, and that without exacting any kind of meat called "Capury encreasone" or "Capure ne hairke." Any persons doing the contrary to be committed to gaol and executed by martial law.

Every two soldiers shall have a boy allowed them, to be found by the country, and pay after the rate of 5*d.* ster. "le piece" for their diet *per diem*.

"The soldiers shall not at their will (as heretofore they have done) be their own carvers in killing of the subjects' lambs, hens, geese, and such like, or in demanding of wine and *aqua vite* to their meat, but shall take such competent meat and drink as the country is able to afford, without beating or abusing the poor people, or committing of other disorders in taking money or distresses for the same."

Neither the soldiers nor their captains shall take up the subjects' garrons for their carriage, or for the carriage of their wives and laundresses, without special warrant from us, and in such cases to pay for hire of the garrons according to her Majesty's usual rates, upon the pain and peril aforesaid.

Soldiers shall not range up and down the country or depart from their garrisons without special licence, which obtained, they are to pay for anything they take in the country to the owners' contentment.

Pain of imprisonment to such as shall not make complaint of any extortion.

The soldiers in marching through the country shall be placed by the mayor, sheriff, portreeve, sovereign, bailiff, collector, high constable, or the gentleman adjoining, according to the ability of the poor people; and the captains and soldiers are not to please themselves as heretofore, whereby many poor people were utterly undone and driven to forsake their dwellings.

Pain of death for ravishing any woman against her will, and for taking any moveable goods.

Signed: Ad. Dublin., Canc., Tho. Midensis, Henry Waloppe, Robert Gardner, Anthony St. Leger, George Bouchier, Robert Dillon, Geoffrey Fenton.

Copy. Pp. 2.

April 20. 240. PROCLAMATION by the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 612, p. 62a.

That upon sundry complaints to us exhibited, as likewise to the Justices of Assize in their circuits, by the inhabitants

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of the English Pale and the countries adjoining, greatly impoverished through the extortions of the soldiers, we have agreed upon certain orders for the reformation of the said abuses; commanding all captains, lieutenants, ensigns, sergeants, and soldiers to observe the same.

Given at Dublin, 20 April 1596.

Copy. P. 1.

May 25. 241. The QUEEN to LORD DEPUTY RUSSELL and the COUNCIL.
Vol. 612, p. 74.

We command you (without faction or partiality amongst you) to unite yourselves in council, and to provide for the cure of the present diseases. Notwithstanding our infinite charges for the prosecution of those rebels, no sound remedies have followed, but still we see new erections of companies, new devices of charges, loose musters, and slack and cross counsels.

In Ulster we do see, since the journey and discreet dealings of our President of Munster and our Secretary,* a general submission of the rebels. Complete that work for our honour, "with such conditions as we may find to be derived only from public respect and not for particular end." Considering the monstrous accusations brought against our ministers that have lived amongst these people, we cannot turn our face from their complaints. We have determined on a course of pacification, and shall hold it a weakness in you (the Deputy) if you require to be daily directed in all particulars, especially as your advices are bare and barren.

To begin with Connaught, it troubles us to find such slackness in the trial of the enormities complained of in Bingham's government, for the people must needs think our heart alienated from doing them justice; and you have not given us thorough information. Select fit commissioners to be sent to Connaught, and let it be known to them that only their fleeing from justice to disorder, and not coming in to make complaint to our ministers, was the cause of this protraction. If Bingham appear guilty, he shall be removed, but we must not condemn a governor unheard and without good proof.

"For the particulars suggested in settling hard rates at the composition, we doubt not but, if it shall well be ordered, the people will continue the composition, for we never heard that they repined thereat, but that besides their rents for the composition they were burdened with cesses both for victuals and soldiers, contrary to the true meaning of the composition."

Though the composition of Connaught has been greater than that of Munster or any other province, yet no direct profit has been given to us, for the governor erected so many

* Sir John Norris and Geoffrey Fenton.

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bands of horse and foot that the whole revenue of the composition is expended.

Diminish our intolerable charges by rebating some of our forces, especially the newly-erected companies. When Gardner was with us, he had conference with our Council of many things respecting Connaught. Our President of Munster and our Secretary "have gotten by their dealings with Tyrone and O'Donnell further light what would be the state of their demands; so as we will have these two employed as fit instruments in the same."

We have seen shrewd informations, taken before you our Deputy, of underhand plottings by the ministers of Bingham to disturb this intended course. To assure the people that we will do them right, he is to tarry at Dublin or remain at Athlone, from whence he may be called to Galleway before such of you as shall be in commission. The commissioners now appointed are to get information of his practices. We hear also that many officers and captains under Bingham do pick quarrels to disturb this beginning. They are not to be left unpunished.

Use with Norris and Fenton the service of Dillon our Chief Justice, of our Justice in Connaught, and our Attorney, to hear and examine all these things. The Earls of Clanrycard and Thomonde, who have served us faithfully in this broken time, are to be present, not as commissioners, but as witnesses, to the people's comfort that they shall have equal measure in the examination.

Tyrone and O'Donnell, with the rest, may receive their pardon according to that which Norris and Fenton have accorded to them, and are to be enjoined to come in to our State there after their pardon.

"For the coming of the Spaniards we know not what to say, because your bruits are so uncertain; only this, we expect to hear the particularities as well by your own intelligences as from Tyrone and O'Donnell, who dutifully advertised our President of Munster of their arrival, and their refusal to accept them. We do also wish you our Deputy, to whom the message was sent, to confer with Norris and Fenton about the fine offered, wherein we know no cause why, by such an evasion, he should save that ransom, being much too little a redemption for his grievous disloyalties. Others likewise have agreed to yield fines, which we would have you consider how to draw from them towards the expiation of their offences."

As to O'Donnell's request for lessening the composition which his father was rated at, he may be relieved in that rate and the rent reduced. Such matters we leave to your discretions. Seldom or never you direct commissioners, but waste time in sending hither to and fro needlessly.

"And for you our Treasurer, of all other, we see nothing but great sums expended, and no good nor timely certificates how they are issued, but in generalities, with accompts of

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idle and particular charges, wherein we find large allowances made to yourselves by yourselves in all things. And for the musters (of which let Ralph Lane be sharply warned) either we have none, or such as we assure you it is ridiculous to the world to hear what an army we pay, and yet what an army we have."

Under our signet at our manor of Greenwich, 25 May 1596, 38 Eliz.

Copy. Pp. 5.

Vol. 617, p. 253.

2. Another copy.

June 22. 242. EXPEDITION to CADIZ.

Vol. 612, p. 89.

On the 3rd of June 1596 the Earl of Essex and the Admiral sailed with 144 vessels from Plymouth. Lord Thomas Howard, the Admiral, was in *The Flaner de la Merr*, Sir Walter Raleigh in *The Warspright*, Sir Robert Southwell in *The Lyon*, and Sir George Carewe in *The Mary Rose*, &c.

On the 19th they fell in with a bark of Waterford, and learned there were about 60 great ships in Cales (Cadiz), many of which were laden with merchandise for the Indies. They arrived before Cales on Sunday [the 20th], and made an attack on the Spanish fleet. Fifty-seven great ships were taken or burned, and the port of Pontale was captured. An attack was then made on the town by the Earl of Essex, the General, assisted by the Lord Marshal, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir George Carewe. The castle surrendered on the 22nd.

Copy. Pp. 4.

II. "The names of those knighted on Monday the 22nd of June 1596, the day Cales was taken."

Copy. Pp. 5.

June 27. 243. HENRY HOVENDEN to the EARL OF TYRONE

Vol. 612, p. 76a.

"All the delays that could possibly be used for prolonging the causes here have not been omitted, and your own advice to O'Donnell to have the variance between the Commissioners and him to be made known to your Lp., and also to take hold of Captain Warren's dealing touching the retaining of your Lp.'s pledges at Dublin, hath been likewise treated of by O'Donnell; but all will not serve, for the Lord General pretendeth to war because O'Donnell will not put in his pledge, which you know he will not do. And as yet no harm is done of any side to testify a new war, though my chiefest opinion is, it will not be so immediately. And the Commissioners find no reason to refer these causes to your hearing, in that you have signified your mind unto them in writing in this behalf, together with the copies of such letters as you wrote to O'Donnell, McWilliam, and the rest, wherein in my

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opinion you used more haste than was convenient. I can say no more to your Lp. by way of advice but what I have already written to you, to be provided for the wars. You shall know more as the causes here fall out"

27 June 1596.

Copy. P. 1.

July 6. **244.** TYRONE'S REBELLION.

Vol. 612, p. 80.

"The translation of a letter in Irish, signed by the Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, Brian O'Rourk, and McWilliam, sent by the Clanshies into Munster to stir up rebellion there."

"This writing doth manifest, in the behalf of O'Neile, O'Donnell, and McWilliam, that they have given oath and vow that whosoever of the Irishry, especially of the gentlemen of Munster, or whosoever else, as if we did particularly name them, from the highest to the lowest, shall assist Christ's Catholic religion, and join in confederacy and make war with us, let them, as our true messengers and agents, give firm credit to the Clanshies, and to this our warrant that we send with them, that we will remain and be unto them a back or stay, warrant or surety, for their so aiding of God's just cause; and, by our said oath and vow, never to conclude peace or war with the English for ourselves or any of us during our life, but that the like shall be concluded for you that shall so join in confederacy with us; and, if you should be driven to extremity, to relieve and enable you as ourselves in the cause thus intended. And again, give credit to these our trusty messengers that we send you.

"At Strabane, the 6th of July 1596."

Signed: H. O'Neile, H. O'Donnell, B. O'Rourke, Theobald Bourke.

Copy. P. 1.

Vol. 617, p. 258.

2. Another copy.

July 10. **245.** SIR ROBERT CECYLL to the LORD DEPUTY (RUSSELL).

Vol. 612, p. 81.

By divers packets you have represented the confused state of that kingdom, and that her Majesty should provide for the worst. "When it shall appear that this merciful course of hers taketh no place," she will use other means. Connaught should be well compounded, and so Ulster thereby more assured. It is better to temporize than to be driven to the charge of new armies, the victualling of which is very difficult. Otherwise it were a paradox to believe that the army (being 6,000 or 7,000) should not have suppressed the rebellion. Her Majesty attends the issue of this great army in Spain.

As for the cessation of arms, and treaties of peace, which you note to be prejudicial, her Majesty adopted that course

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upon your own advertisements, that you could not suppress the rebels. You and the Council represented that Ireland might be settled by pacification. "I think it had been a counsel well followed." You wrote that plain necessity, after your forces were harassed in a journey into Ulster, moved you to agree to a cessation. Had you written in mislike of the cessation, and undertaken the ending of the war, with any reasonable propositions, I assure you "that both her Majesty and her Council were most greedy of that honorable course by force to have reduced them;" but she notes that you are only advertisers, and not advisers. She requires you to restrain this coming over of Irish servitors and suitors, whereby her person and her Council are pestered, as they might be despatched by yourself in that kingdom.

"There is another matter wherein her Majesty is contented your Lp. use your own wisdom; not as seeming to have any authority from her. One Captain Thomas Ley doth pretend he could do much to cure these needless jealousies in the Earl of Tyrone, which keep him from repairing to the State, and that he would sue for leave to come into England; a thing which the Queen hath no reason to refuse, although it is not fit that she should desire it."

All this is in answer to your last packet of 29 June, with divers others. I have noted by a postscript in a letter of yours to your noble sister, that you retain an opinion of my constant poor goodwill towards you. "I shall never be found so gross or injurious as in any kind to raise the reputation of any other, whom you think I do also affect, to the least prejudice of your Lp.'s reputation, or darkening of that superiority which her Majesty hath given you without exception over any subject or servant of hers in that kingdom." I refer you to my Lord my father's writing concerning matters of money. We are so far from advising any diminution of forces, "as order is taken to send over that remain of horse of the Clergie unsent over."

From the Court, 10 July 1596.

Received the 24th, by Marviliack.

Copy. Pp. 4.

July 19. 246. The EARL OF TYRONE.
Vol. 617, p. 325.

"A Note of the several Clauses, collected [as well] out of our Commission as out of the Instructions.

"To treat with McCartan. To treat with the Captain of Kilwaine. To treat with the Captain of Kilultagh. To deal with the several sorts of the woodmen.—*To all these the Earl hath given us his word, upon his return out of Connaught, to bring them before us, and to make their submission, putting in their (?) pledges.*

"To end a controversy between Neille McHughe and Shane McBrene and Neille McBrene Fertaghe.—*The Earl saith that*

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while they were under him he took an end between them, but sith that he and they are now Queen's subjects, he will bring them before us upon his return, to take what end we may in equity."

"To end the controversy between Art McBaron and Neille McArt touching Neille his lands and goods.—*The Earl saith he will receive Neille to possess both his lands and goods, so as the Earl's people may be restored to such goods as were taken by Neille since the cessation.*

"To end a cause between McQuelin and James McSauerly touching the Rout.—*To write a letter to the Lord Deputy and Council, whereby they may command James to appear before us at our next coming down.*

"To end a matter between Glassine Aghelie and McGennes.—*The Earl hath promised to bring Glassine before us upon his return, who otherwise will not come.*

"To take order for Phelimye O'Hanlon, his lands, goods, and followers.—*The Earl saith he shall have all his lands and goods, so as redress be made of the spoils done by them since the cessation; and then his son to be enlarged; and for restitution the Earl will challenge the Lord General's word.*

"To see restitution to be made to the Ulster rebels of all spoils and preys done and made since the cessation, viz., the 9th of October 1595; and the rebels to give the like measure.—*The Earl promiseth by his honour that all things done by his people or followers shall be restored; or he to deliver the parties or their pledges presently. And for the restitution to be made unto his people, being ordered, he will stand only to the Lord General's word.*

"To receive pledges of the woodmen and others.

"(Signed) Louithe, Ed. More, Jo. Elyot."

Dated 19 July 1596.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Aug. 8. 247. The PRIVY COUNCIL in ENGLAND to the LORD DEPUTY
Vol. 612, p. 83. and COUNCIL of IRELAND.

You have received her Majesty's pleasure in what sort you should proceed with Feagh McHugh, referring the conditions to such memorials as should be brought over by Sir Henry Harrington; but as he is not going over with sufficient expedition, we send you a memorial of some things honorable for the Queen and not over-hard for him (Feagh).

(1.) He is to be received to mercy together with his wife, sons, and followers, and restored to his house and livings by letters patent, yielding some service. (2.) He must promise to banish all strangers. (3.) Any persons appertaining to him on committing stealths or outrages shall be by him sent to abide the trial of law. (4.) He shall answer at assizes and sessions. (5.) He is to deliver a sufficient pledge, to be exchanged every three months.

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If he insist on his demand to be restored to Balinocore, and will not be reduced without that, let him have it, and hold it of the Queen, who is at great charges to keep it.

From the Court at Greenwich, 8 August 1596.

Signed: Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, W. Burghley, W. Cobham, T. Buckehurst, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescue.

II. Postscript of a letter from the Council, dated 16 July.—Here is a solicitor of Feagh McHugh's, who desires to be received into her Majesty's mercy. She is resolved to give him his pardon. Upon Sir Henry Harrington's coming to you give him pardon for his life and lands, as is used in such cases, without further troubling her Majesty.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Vol. 617, p. 259.

2. Another copy.

Aug. 17. 248. FEAGH MCHUGH to the EARL OF TYRONE.

Vol. 612, p. 84.

I have received your letters, and do now crave your advice. I am still bearing myself as I have done with such as take my part in Leinster, but I am bidden oftentimes by these Englishmen to do for myself, and not to trust to you. If it be your will that we shall trouble them well, cause O'Donell to send me out of Connaught a company of good shot for the guard of my body. I shall observe and fulfil whatsoever you require me.

From the Ranelagh, 17 August 1596.

Intercepted by Captain Lea.

Copy. P. 1.

Sept. 3. 249. LORD DEPUTY RUSSELL to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 612, p. 85.

Yesterday I received your two letters, the one to the whole [Council] table, and the other to myself. As you have been informed, Peirse Butler has been sent for, and so has his brother James, both sons to Sir Edmond, but yet neither of them comes; James pretending that he has been long sick, and Peirse fearing arrest, as he owes money to some about Dublin. Both have bound themselves by oath with the O'Moores to enter into action. As they are of your name and near kindred, endeavour to bring them in to the State. "I have written letters both to the Lord of Mountgarret and Sir Peirse his father-in-law and Sir Edmond Butler, his father, without delay or excuse to apprehend him and deliver him at Kilkenny to your Lordship."

Killmainham, 3 September 1596.

Postscript.—"Write a sharp letter to my Lord Mountgarrett, that presently he send Peirse Butler to you. And for that the matter may be kept the more secret, I have thought good to send my letters both to my Lord and Sir Edmond Butler to your Lp., desiring you to be very earnest with them both for

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to have Peirse and James delivered unto your Lp.'s hands; for this will be made a great matter in England by some that doth not love you."

Copy. P. 1.

Sept. 3. 250.
Vol. 612, p. 85a.

LORD DEPUTY RUSSELL to LORD MOUNTGARRETT.

"Where commandment both from ourself and the rest of the Council hath been of late given to Peirse Butler, your son-in-law, for his present repair hither to confer with us about special services for her Majesty, and yet that he hath refused, or at least neglected to come to us;" these are now straightly to charge and command your Lordship, "to whom he hath often access, and therefore you [can] conveniently do it," forthwith to apprehend him and deliver him to his uncle, the Earl of Ormond.

Kilmanham, 3 September 1596.

Copy. P. 1.

Sept. 3. 251.
Vol. 612, p. 86.

LORD DEPUTY RUSSELL to SIR EDMOND BUTLER.

"Where by our letters from the Council table your son, Peirse Butler, hath received a commandment to come unto us, and yet he hath either obstinately refused or at least neglected to do so, these are therefore to will and command you to apprehend him and deliver him to his uncle, the Earl of Ormond."

Kilmanham, 3 September 1596.

Copy. P. 1.

Sept. 15. 252.
Vol. 612, p. 86a.

SIR JOHN NORRIS, LORD PRESIDENT [of MUNSTER], to the LORD DEPUTY.

By our joint letter and by the report of Captain Warren you will understand our proceedings, and into what terms we have drawn these rebels. "As this matter hath happened touching Ballenacor, whereby it is like that some stirrs will follow in these parts," such companies as you had determined to send hither should be now stayed, and likewise the risings-out that are appointed. I have sent you with all expedition Sir John Dowdall's and Captain Marshall's companies, because your pleasure is to have the said fort built up again. If you require any more companies from hence, I will send you such as shall be fittest for that service.

Athlone, 15 September 1596.

Postscript.—I have received yours of the 12th. I cannot give any advice for the prosecution Feagh McHughe, as I know not upon what occasion he is grown to that extremity; but the people of his country will not be hasty to enter again into rebellion for anything that may be done to him, though many of their loose men may repair to him. I will hasten down towards you Captain Hugh Mostian's company and

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Captain Garret's, having already despatched Captain Higham ; and if I can get such kerne as we have here to go thither, I will send them. I would have sent some others of the companies here, but that they would have left the greater part of their numbers behind sick and weak, and that I think those light men are fittest for that service. The horsemen are all of them returned to their accustomed garrisons, except my own company, which is in Mollengar, and Captain Russell's at Athenrye. As for the general hosting you may dispose of it as you see fit, for here we shall have no need of it ; only I wish there should be a reservation of some garrones to serve monthly for her Majesty's carriage, if need should require. The biscuit and beef provided for this place may be employed where you think fit, and we will provide the companies here with such as we can procure out of Munster.

Copy. Pp. 2.

[Oct.?] 253. PETITION of SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL, LORD DEPUTY, to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 612, p. 87a.

"That whereas, from time to time, for the space of a year and more, he hath by his letters made known unto your Lordships the dangerous state of this distressed kingdom, committed to his charge and government, as well through the great force, strength, and means of the rebels themselves, as through their continual practice to draw in foreign assistance, if the same were not prevented by a timely and round prosecution ; and yet, to his great grief and discomfort, could not in his devices be credited, but others suffered and authorized to proceed in a course of pacification which, in the opinion of the said Deputy and the most part of the Council, his assistants, did tend directly to her Majesty's disadvantage, and the gaining of time to the said rebels, the better to bring to pass their purposes. Forasmuch, therefore, as it hath appeared by the report of divers come lately out of Spain, that a fleet of Spanish ships, set out to sea to have come thither, by this time had arrived here if they had not been dispersed and wrecked by tempest about Cape Finister, as also that the remain of the said fleet and army, to the number of 2,000, are said to have direction to come on, and thought now to be at sea again ; when the Earl of Tyrone, with all his forces, save such as are left about Armagh to block up the fort there, are drawn up to the borders of the Pale, where he daily preyeth and spoileth, with purpose, as may be thought, to take all advantages by joining with the said Spaniards, or otherwise ; it is most humbly desired by the said Deputy, in discharge of his duty, for the good of her Majesty's service and the safety of her realm of Ireland, that your Lordships would be pleased to be a means unto her Majesty to revoke him, and place some other better countenanced and graced in Court, to the end, more credit being given to his advices, he may be better supplied of means

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than he findeth himself to be to withstand so imminent dangers."

Copy. Pp. 2.

Nov. 30. **254.** The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the EARL OF TYRONE.
Vol. 612, p. 100.

By advertisements sent to us from Mr. Stafford, and by a letter of your own of the 12th inst. to Mr. Marshal (Bagnall), we understand "that there is a restraint made of the relieving of Armaghe, as also that some of that garrison going for wood have been slain by your people." This dealing "being in no sort agreeable with the acceptation of your pardon and duty to her Majesty," we charge you to permit that garrison to be victualled and to fetch wood, according to your promise and such covenants as you have agreed upon with the Lord President (Norris) and Sir Geoffrey Fenton. We intend to send victuals thither by Mr. Stafford. If you fail herein we will take order for the execution of your pledges, and proceed against yourself by way of proclamation.

In your letter to Mr. Marshal, you allege that "promise is broken with you by the Lord General," because Feagh McHughe is prosecuted according his deserts. The Lord President and Sir Geoffrey Fenton have assured us that Feagh McHughe was never once named in their treaty with you; "which being true, as we have cause to believe it, remembering your own articles agreed upon, viz., that you should stand upon your own pardon without meddling with any other but of Tyrone; and in regard the said Feagh had surprised her Majesty's fort before anything was attempted against him, your Lordship hath no cause to be grieved."

Castle of Dublin, 30 November 1596.

Signed: W. Russell; Ad. Dublin., Canc.; Tho. Midensis; H. Wallop; Ro. Gardner; Anthony St. Leger; Ro. Dillon; George Bowrchier.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Dec. 2. **255.** The EARL OF TYRONE to FEAGH MCHUGH.
Vol. 612, p. 101a.

"I have formerly sent unto you touching all the proceedings betwixt us and the Lord Norris in Connaught, and that we did conclude a peace there for you as well as for ourselves, and did withal signify unto you that her Majesty is now merciful unto you in giving you pardon as well as the rest that entered into the war in these parts, and how upon that condition we had delivered in our pledges; but the Lord Deputy permitted not our men to pass therewith unto you. We are now to let you understand that the condition whereupon the best of the Irish have given their promise and oath, one to another, is not to make peace until every one in particular that entered into the war may have the like peace and their right and

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other meet things, or else whoso should not accept or take the same, presuming of his own pride or presumption, that then he should spend himself in his own quarrel. Therefore I wish you to make peace as becometh you, and to take your pardon, and to cause the Butlers also to do the like, and all other persons that have joined themselves with you in war. And herewith we have sent you our man; and, if you be licensed, send your man unto us about these causes, if you may get peace.

"From Loughnaseak, 2 December 1596.—Hugh Tirone."

Headed: "Translated out of Irish."

Copy. P. 1.

Dec. 4. **256.** The EARL OF TYRONE to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.
Vol. 612, p. 101.

"I received your Honours' letters, and as concerning the restraint for victualling the garrison of Ardmagh, I confess it to be true; and the occasion thereof is, that promise was not kept with us, and that I accomplished whatsoever I promised since I received her Majesty's gracious pardon. And albeit Feagh McHughe was not upon my peace, yet, notwithstanding, he was promised his pardon as well as the rest, and yet alway pursued by the Lord Deputy. And as for the pledges, they should have been released half a year ago, and notwithstanding kept in, contrary to our agreement; the which, as now we perceive it, was to no other purpose but only for their execution, in which your Honours may use your discretion. And as for my part, I did what I could in Connaught to bring all things to a good end. And now, lately, your Honours shall understand how Oyn McCollo was shamefully murdered by some of the garrison of Kells; and these and many other injuries caused us to stand in doubt until better order be taken, for I expected the Lord President's meeting these four months for the ending of all matters between us; and I doubt not, if he were in health, but that all things should be ended; and when it shall please your Honours to take order in the matter here, I am ready to attend."

Loughnaseak, 4 December 1596.

"Your Honours' very loving friend,—Hugh Tirone."

Copy. P. 1.

Dec. 9. **257.** The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the LORD PRESIDENT (SIR JOHN NORRIS).
Vol. 612, p. 99.

Your letter of 5 December was received yesterday, with the copy of another from the Earl of Tyrone to yourself. "Where you make mention of another letter received from Rice Ap Hugh, wherein he thinketh that Ardmaghe is lost, and that it is long since that you wrote unto the Marshal (Bagnall) and to us about it, grounding thereupon an opinion, as it seemeth, that if we had written but one good letter to the Earl it would

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have saved it, we know not what your Lordship may mean by this clause." At no time since the Earl took his pardon we have written to him in any displeasing manner, but have laboured to hold him in good terms. "But now that he hath given so many apparent proofs of his bad meaning to this State, and namely the public restraint he made of all victuals to be carried to Ardmagh; his quarrelling with the convoy, and cutting some of the soldiers that went with the victuals; his late attempt made to surprise the place, wherein were slain 35 of the garrison, himself countenancing the matter in person; the violent incursions into the Pale lately made by his kinsmen and followers with open force as far as the river of Boyne, and on this side his son-in-law, Henry Oge McShane, being there in person, and commanding the rest in his name; and, lastly, his late treacherous attempt to surprise her Majesty's castle of Carlingford, where, missing of his principal purpose, there was carried away as prisoners, in lamentable manner, two gentlewomen, daughters of Captain Henshaw, the one married and the other a maid, he being, by appointment, to follow with his forces of purpose to surprise the castle;" these were sufficient reasons not to write to him in so mild manner as you advise. Nevertheless, as you are better acquainted with his humours, we leave you to deal with him for the relief of Ardmagh, either by persuasion or by force. You shall not want all the help of horse and foot that is in the kingdom. The place is victualled yet for 30 days.

Dublin, 9 December 1596.

Signed: W. Russell; Ad. Dublin., Canc.; Tho. Midensis; Henry Wallop; Ro. Gardner; Anthony St. Leger; Ro. Dyllon; George Bowrchier; Geoffrey Fenton; Ralph Lane.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Dec. 22. **258.** LORD DEPUTY RUSSELL to the PROVOST MARSHAL.

Vol. 612, p. 84a.

Warrant to execute Hoyer and two other soldiers of Captain Hugh Mostian's, who have not only committed great extortion in co. Dublin, "but also sore wounded one of her Majesty's subjects, who is like to miscarry through the same."

Dublin, 22 December 1596.

Copy. P. 1.

Dec. 29. **259.** VICTUALLING of the ARMY.

Vol. 612, p. 86.

"A particular note (set down by the Lord Deputy and Council) of such proportion of victuals as is delivered to a soldier for the victualling of himself by the day, as such time as he is victualled out of her Majesty's store."

"The said soldier is victualled for seven days in the week, being four flesh days and three fish days, and hath given him, viz,—"

Flesh day.—Loaf bread, 1½ lb. Beer, one pottle. Beef,

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salt, 2 lb.; or, instead thereof, beef, fresh, 2½ lb.; the beef being without legs and necks.

Fish day.—Loaf bread, 1½ lb. Beer, one pottle. Butter, ½ lb.; or, instead thereof, cheese, 1 lb.; or, instead thereof, herrings, 8 *per diem*.

Mem.—That the horseman, in regard of his boy, is allowed half as much more as the footman.

This is the ordinary allowance that her Majesty makes to the soldiers, and they are not to exceed this rate.

Signed: Geff. Fenton; Rob. Newcomen.

Copy. P. 1.

THE ENGLISH PALE.

Vol. 600, p. 143. **260.** “A Perambulation of Leinster, Meath, and Louth, of which consist the English Pale. And first of the county of Dublin:”—*

The barony of Cowlock.—The Lord Howth, at Howth; Nicholas Hollywood, at Tartayne; William Warren, at Dromcourath; Robert Barnewall, of Donbro; George Taylor, at Swordes; John Bath, at Balgriffin; Chr. FitzSimone, at Grange; Chr. Plunket, at Dunsaghly; Thomas Hacket, at Sutton; Gerrot Plunket, at Grange; John Talbot, at Malahyde; George King, at Clantarff; Chr. Russell, at Seaton; Richard Russell, at Dryneham; John Caddle, at Mooreton; George Caddle, at Caddleston; George Blackney, of Rykenhore; Richard Fagan, merchant, at Feltrym.

The barony of Balroddry.—Sir Patrick Barnewall, at Turvy; John Barnewall, at Brymoore; Chr. Cruce, at the Naall; John Finglas, at Wespelston; Richard Nettervyle, at Corballies; Nicholas FitzWilliam, at Homepatrick; Peter Traverser, at Ballykey; Patrick Bellewe, at Weston; Thomas Belling, of Bellingston; James Stanyhurst, of Corduff; Philip Couran, of Wyarston; William Coran, of Curragh; Nicholas Bigg, of Borarston; William Sedgrave, of the same; Patrick Finglas, of Tobberton; Janico Golding, of Tobbirsowle.

The barony of Castleknock.—Thomas Luttrell, of Luttrellstowne; Henry Burnell, of Castleknock; John Cardif, of Dunsinke; Bartholomew Dillon, of Keppoke; Patrick Fitzgerald, of Damaston; James Dillon, of Huntstowne; Walter Sedgrave, of the W——, merchant; John Beling, of Kilcoskan.

The barony of Newcastle.—Sir William Sarsfeild, at Lucan; Marcus Barnewall, of Dromnagh; Gilbert Talbot, of Belgarde;

* Dated by Carew in the margin “1596.”

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Nathaniel Smith, of Dean-Rath; Patrick Browne, of Kissak, merchant; Stephen FitzWilliam, of Jobston; Martin Scurlock, of Rathcredant; Robert Pypho, of Hollywood.

The barony of Rathdowne.—The Archbishop of Dublin, at —, two miles from Dublin; the ward FitzWilliam, at Meriogne; Garret Aylmer, at Munkton; John Walshe, at Shanganagh; William Goodman, at Laghnanstowne; James Wolveston, at Stalorgan; Tibbot Walshe, at Killegarge; Peter Talbot, of Faghsaghare; Robert Talbot, at Tymolog; John Walshe, at Ballawlie; Peter Walshe, of Kilgobban; — Ashpoole, of Kenleston.

The distances of the above-mentioned places from the city of Dublin, and the boundaries of the county, are specified.

II. CO. WICKLOW.

“The Birns’ and Toolles’ country with the Glins, that lie by south and by east the county of Dublin, was by commission bounded out into a shire, to be named and called the county of Wicklowe, and was divided into baronies as followeth;” *sc.*, Nuecastell-Maghenegan, Inishboghim, Ballinacor, Talbot’s Town, Holywood, and Castlekevin.

The boundaries of the county, and of the six baronies into which it is divided, are described at length.

III. “A COMMISSION, bearing date 21 February 1578, was directed to the persons underwritten.”

William Gerrard, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Hugh Bishop of Meath, Peter Lord of Trimleston, the Baron of Donboyne, Hugh Baron of Dungannon, Sir Edward Fyton, Treasurer, Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Marshal, Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron, Mr. Garvy, Dean of Christ Church, Sir Thomas FitzWilliam, Sir Theobald Butler, Sir Cormock McTeig, Sir John Bellewe, Sir Hugh Magnisse, Robert Dillon, Thomas Dillon, Richard Shee, Nicholas Walshe, John Miagh, Edmund Butler, William Apsley, Francis Cosby, Harry Davells, Thomas Masterson, Patrick Goghe, alderman, Robert Harpoole, Robert Pypho, and William Hill.

“The same commission was returned, and subscribed with the hand of Sir William Drury, then Lord Justice, and making his journey that way.

“Sir Edward Fyton, Sir Lucas Dillon, Robert Pypho, Henry Davells, Thomas Masterson, commissioners.

“George Dormer, Bartholomew Russell, Aristotle Scurlock, Patrick Furlong, Richard Synot, consenters.

“This county or country hath, by west it, the county of Catherlagh; north-west, Kildare; flat north, Dublin; east, the main sea; and south, the county of Wexford.”

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IV. CO. WEXFORD.

Description of the county.

Arclo, the Earl of Ormond's manor and castle.

That part of the county north of the river Slane is possessed chiefly by the Irish called the Cavenaghes. "It hath on that north side also many English inhabitants;" *sc.*, Synot of Clelande, Roth of Roth, Synot of Ballynerah in the Murros (?), Masterson at Fernes Castle (where also the Bishop's see is), Peppard at Glascarrig.

The Irish on that side the Slane are these: Donell Mortagh, Edmund O'Morowe of the O'Morowes' country, and others, "ever bad neighbours and rebellious people, under the government of William Synot, by lease from her Majesty."

"Other Irish nations are by east them to the sea. The countries are called the Kinshelaghes, Kilconelin, Kilhobock, Farinhamon, inhabited by Art McDermot, McDa More, McVadock, Darby McMorish, all under the government of Mr. Masterson."

On the south-west of the Slane are four English baronies, called Fort, Barge, Shelberre, and Shelmalen, and an Irish barony called the Duffree. The principal men in the English are Browne of Malrancon (?), Devoureux of Balmagir, Chevers of Ballyhale, Forlong of Horton, FitzHarryes of Kilkevan, [the] Bishop of Fernes, Sir Thomas Colclough of Tyntern, Sir Dudley Losthowse of Kilcloghan. In the Duffrey dwell Sir Harry Wallop at Iniscorth, Piers Butler, the Viscount Mountgarret.

The boundaries of the county, and the distances of the above-mentioned places from the town of Wexford, are specified.

V. CO. KILKENNY.

In the town of Kilkenny the Earl of Ormond has a castle, "wherein he maketh his chief abode."

Mr. Den, at Grenan; Walshe, at Castle Hely; Mr. Justice Walshe, at Glomemore; Sweeteman, at Castlelyf; Lovell, at Ballymaka; Garret Comerford, at Inchiolegan; Baron of Burnchurch, Shortall, at Ballylorcan; "Ballyn, six miles north;" the Upper Court, Sir Richard Shee's house; Lord Mountgarret, at Beallagaret; Archdeacon, at Bawnemore; Mr. Peers Butler, at the Old Abbey; Richard Butler, now sheriff, at Polliston; "Blanchevelston, four miles east;" Shortall, at Clagh; Cantwell, at Cantwelston; Purcell, at Ballyfoyle.

Distances from Kilkenny and boundaries specified.

VI. CO. CARLO, *alias* CATHERLAGH.

"The Earl of Ormonde's chief manor there is Ravelly, and his territories reach along Clonmore and Fortanolan to Arclo."

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Sir Edmund Butler, at Cloghgrenan. Warham St. Leger, at Laghlin fort; it is the Queen's. "The barony of Idrone, the ancient inheritance of Sir George Carewe, and by him sold to Dudley Bagnall, St. Leger hath, as guardian to Dudley's son." William Wall. Garret McMurtagh Cavenagh. Morgan McBryan Cavenagh, at Poble Tymolin.

Boundaries and distances specified.

VII. CO. KILDARE.

The Earl of Kildare, at Maynowth, at Kilka, and at Rathangan; FitzGerald, at Lackagh; Sir William Sarsfield, at Tully; FitzGerald, at Castle Iskin; Captain Lea, at Castle Reban; Wesley, at the Norragh; FitzGerald, at Ballysonan; Ewstace, at Castlemartin; Sir Harry Harrington, at Golmoors-ton; FitzGerald, at Allon; John Alie, at Rathbryde; Ewstace, at Newlande; Ewstace, at Mallocashe; Beling, at Killussy; Herbert, at Collanstowne; Cowley, at Carbry Castle; FitzGerald, at Dunnocks; FitzGerald, at Osberston; Flatesbury, at Johnston; Sutton, at Tipper; Ewstace, at Cradockstowne; Brimingham, at Dunfert; Aylmer, at Clancurry; Aylmer, at Downada; Wogan, at Rathcoffy; Ewstace, at Clangloswoodd; Sarsfield, at Turning; Sir Harry Warren, at Castleton; Whyte, at Leyxlip; Allen, at St. Wolstan's; Aylmer, at Lyon; Aylmer, at Hartwell; Allen's son and heir, at Kylheede; Cheevers, at Rathmoore; Eustace, at Coffy.

Boundaries and distances specified.

VIII. The QUEEN'S COUNTY, *alias* LEYX.

Cosby (?), at Stradbally; Pigotts, at Dysart; Whitney, at Shyan; Hugh Boy Clandonell, at Tenekilleh; Tirenice O'Dempsey, at Ballybrittas; Harpoole, at Coolbaneghar; Earl of Kildare, at Moyrit; Cosby, at Castle Dirrhy; Sir Thomas Colclough, at Ballyknockan; Edward Brierton, at Laghtiog; John Barri[n]gton, at the Cowl niagh; Loftus, at Tymoghoe; the Earl of Kildare, at Tymog; Hethrington, at Tully; Bowen, at Bally-Adames; Edmund McDonell, at Rhahin; Piers Hov[e]ndon, at Tanckardes-Towne.

The baronies are but small. They are Mariborough, Stradbally, Bally-Adams, Slemargh, Cullynagh, and Origan, O'Doyn's country.

Of Catherlagh Castle Harpoole is constable.

Distances from Mariburgh, boundaries, extent, &c., specified.

IX. The KING'S COUNTY, *alias* OFFALY.

Sir George Colley, at Edinderie; Francis Herbert, at Monaster-Orys; Nicholas Sanky; Redmund Og FitzGerald,

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at Clownebolche; Barnaby Connor, at Dirrimollin; Tyrence Dempsey, at Clonegawny; William FitzGerald, at Geishell; Conell O'Moloy, at Ralyhen; John Macoghlan, of Coghlan; Hubbart Fox, at Lehinche; Sir Edward Herbert, at Dorrrown; Sir John Tirrell, at Blacklowne; Sir Thomas Moore, at Croghan; Sir Henry Warren, at Ballybrittan; Thomas Wakeley, at Ballyburley; Garrett FitzGerald, at Corbets-towne; John Raynalds, at Cloyduff.

Distances from Philipstowne and boundaries specified.

X. CO. WESTMEATH.

Barony of Fertullogh.—Inhabited by the Tirells, of whom Sir John Tirrell is chief. His house is called the Pace. Newcastle is held partly by Richard Nugent, and partly by William Tirrell FitzMorice.

Barony of Ferbilly.—Rathwire, the chief town, is the Earl of Kildare's. "The Darcies be possessioners there."

Barony of Delvin.—Delvin, the chief town, is possessed by the Lord of Delvin. His chief house is called Clonin. Other towns are: Dromkry, Teghmon, and Ballinemonoe. A great sept of the Nugents inhabit that barony.

The half barony of Fowre.—Chief town, Fowre. It is inhabited by the Nugents, and the chief gentleman is the owner or heir of Corolanston.

Barony of Corkry.—Multifernan, the chief town, is inhabited for the most part by the Nugents, of whom the best is Richard Nugent of Denewear.

Barony of Moyassell.—Possessed by the Nugents and Tutes "of which the principal is Chr. Nugent, at Dardeston, and Edward Tute, late slain in Connaught, at Killenan."

Barony of Maghery Dernan.—Inhabited by the Petits, Tutes, and some of the Nugents. The chief of the Petitts, called Thomas, at Irishetowne. "Tutestowne, the best Tute's; and Welchetowne, Edward Nugent's."

Barony of Moygoise.—Chief inhabitants, Tute, of the Sunnagh; Piers, of Triscornagh; Richard Nangle, of Ballycorky; and James FitzGerald, of the Laragh.

Barony of Moycassell.—Inhabited by the Magoghegans. Bryan, at Donewer; Hugh, now sheriff, at Castletowne; Art, at Balliconin; Con, at Syonan; the heir of Thomas, at Larath, and the heirs of Rosse Magoghegan, who hold Kiluber, Moycassell, Lysmoyne, Knockcosger, and the abbey of Kilbeggan.

Barony of Rathcoured, called the Daltons' country.—Chief town, Ballymore; Lough Swedy, Francis Shane's; at Dondonell,

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Henry Dalton; at Milton, the heirs of Richard Dalton; at Mollinmighan, Edmund Dalton; at Bisshopstowne, Peter Nangle; at Killare, Francis Shane.

Barony of Clonlannon, called O'Molaghlin's country.—Chief towns, Clonlannon, Newcastle, and Kilgarvan, possessed by the O'Molaghlin's. Calry, held by Magawle. "The chief is Balliloghlow." The Karne, held by William McGawle. Brawne-Oburny is annexed to Athloan.

Barony of Kilkenny, called Maghry-Cork, or Dillon's country.—Kilkenny-the-West, possessed by James Dillon, son and heir to the late Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron. The inhabitants for the most part are Dillons. Captain Tibbot Dillon dwelleth at Killenfaghney.

Boundaries of the county specified.

XI. CO. MEATH.

Barony of Dunboyne.—Sir Geoffrey Fenton, of Dunboyne; Patrick Phippes, of Roan; John Delahoyde, of Bellander; Richard Bremigham, of Pace; Simon Rowe, of Waringstone; Richard Sale, of Salestowne; Alexander Barnwall, of Luston; Christopher Hollywoode, of Herbertstowne.

Ratowthe.—Sir Patrick Barnewell, of Crickston; Baron Sedgrave, of Killeglan; Barnewall, of Kilbrue; Thomas Plunkett, of Loughgoure; FitzWilliams, of Dunamore; Richard Ball, of Feydorffe; John Birford, of Killrowe; James Lee, of Clonresse; Patrick Lee, of Licianstown; John Sparke, of Rathtowth; Gellouse, of Gelloustowne; Richard Fowleing, of Parsonstowne; Delahoyde, of Donshaghlin, "and many freeholders;" Richard Reade, of Rowstowne; Thomas Russell, of Cookestowne.

Skrine.—Baron of Killeene; Sir Robert Dillon; William Nugent, Baron of Skrine; Patrick Tankarde, of Castletowne; Patrick Brimigham, of Corballies; Richard Caddell, of Dowstowne; Richard Dillon, of Skrine; Edward Penteny, of the Cabbragh; Nicholas Cusake, of Ballimolchan; Walter Porter, of Kingstowne; Robert Cusake, of Gerradstowne; John Barnewall, of Mouncktone; Nicholas Dracot, of Oder; George Harvy, of Skrine; Walter Evers, of Tarraghe; Richard Cusake, of Lesmollen; John Barnwell, of Cookestowne; John Draycott, of —; Michael Barnwall, of Branestone; John Plunkett, of Clenardran; Robert Pentenie, of Jordans-towne; Ellen Plunkett, of Kilkarne.

Duleeke.—Lord of Gormanstowne; Lord of Trimletstowne; Justice Bath, of Athcarne; Richard Caddell, of the Nall; Robert Caddell, of Herberstowne; John Dracott, of Normanton; George Darcy, of Platten; Robert Preston, of Rogerstowne; Talbot, of Dardistowne; Richard Bellame, of Donakernie; Richard Stanley, of —; Edward Tallon,

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"of the same;" Richard Aylemer, of Dollardston; Robert Delafield, of Painstone; Lawrence Tafe, of Ardmolchan; John Chivers, of Mastostone; Christopher Bathe, of Rathfeigh; James Dillon, of Ballgeeth; John Cusake, of Cusingstone; Walter Gowlding, of Pierstone; Patrick Moore, of Duleeke; Richard Plunkett, of the Boles; Thomas Kent, of Dainstone; Thomas Hamling, of Smythstone; Patrick White, of Flemington; the Corporation of Dowleeke; Sir John Bellewe, of Bellewestowne; Sir Edward Moore; Birt, of Tullock.

Slane.—Baron of Slane; Newterville, of Dowthe; John Bath, of Cashiell; Patrick Barnewall, of Gernonstone; Patrick Fleming, of the same; Barnwall, of Rowthstowne; Garrett Fleming, of Loghbracan; Ivers, of Bingerstowne; Stookes, of Michellstone; Pierse Fleming, of Killarie; Richard Fleming, of Rath-Reynolds; the Lord of Lowth, of the Carricke; Walter Barnewall, of Calcestone; Robert Barnwall, of Staralan; Robert Mey, of Slane; George FitzJones, of the same; Edward Fleming, of Lobenstone; John Protfort, of Protfortstone.

Margallen.—William Fleming, of Stephenstone; John Newterville, of Castleton; William Veldon, of Raffin; Patrick White, of Clongell; Patrick Beg, of Fleshillstone; William Garvey, of Knightstone; Tallon, of Willkenstone; Richard Plunkett, of the same; Thomas Darcy, of Donmove; Thomas Plunket, of Possickstone; John Darcie, of Rathoode; John Waffer, of Kilboy; Henry Rooe, of the same; Thomas Veldon, of Rathcon; Edmund —, of the Corballies; James FitzJohn, of Plainstone; James FitzGarrett, of Drakestone.

Novan.—Bishop of Meath; Baron of the Novan; James Dillon, of Moymett; Robert Rochfort, of Kilbrid; Alexander Evers, of Rathtaine; Richard Bellewe, of Bellewestowne; John Wafer, of Gainston; James Warren, of Philpotstowne; James Hill, of Allenstone; John Ewstace, of Leskartan; Richard Misset, of the same; George Cusake, of Rathallrone; Chr. Netterville, of Black Castle; Stephen Blacknie, for Cowineallven; Waren, of Churchstowne; William FitzGarrett, of Onigestone; Patrick Manning, of Hatton; Robert Fleming, of Rathkennye; Thomas Teling, of Mullagha; Thomas Bath, of Ladin-Rath; Thomas Ashe, of Trim; Robert Hamon, of the same; James Cusake, of Tullegharde; Jasper Staples, of Holanstone; Chr. Birt of Curghtone; Darcie, of Balreske; Sir John Dillon, of Doramestowne; Melcher Moore, of Escherowean; Thomas Luttrell, of Tankardstone.

Kelles.—Barnewall, of Robertstone; Betaghe, of Moynealty; Henry Mape, of Mape-Rath; William Betaghe, of Walterston; Drake, of Drakerath; William Balf, of Ardloman; Plunket, of Ardmath; Plunket, of Tath-Rath; Prountford, of Mountstowne; Thomas FitzJohnes, of Franstone; Henry Garvey, of Ross-

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myne; Sir Patrick Barnwall, for Killineighnam and Mitchmoore; Alexander Plunket, of Gibston; James Erwarde, of Randallstone; Gerrett Plunket, of Prestone; Garrett Plunket, of Ireshton; Edward Plunket, of Ball-Rath; Forde, of Fordestone; Nicholas Gillagh, of Gillstone; Thomas Plunket, of Thistlekeran; Plunket, of Ballnegin; Balf, of Ballnegin; Plunket, of Robinstone; Plunket, of Bolton; Ledgwitch of Cookestone.

Dece.—James Hussey, of Galtrim; Walter Hussey, of Moylehussey; Robert Hussey, of Ballrodan; Hussey, of Muchardroms; Martin Hussey, of Cullmollen; Hussey, of Cullendragh; Boys, of the Gallgath; George Garland, of Agher; Patrick Barnwall, of Arrolstone; James Fleming, of Derpatrick; Allen and Wiell, of Knockmarke; Henry Waringe, of Waringston; Richard Delahoyde, of Moyglare; Baron Eliot, of Balreske; Thomas Widder, of Lumaraghstone; John Cusake, of Troneblie; Richard Crumpe, of Marshallstone; John Gilsten, of Collmollen; Richard Talbot, of Achar; Barnewall, of Killinessan and Athronan, "*cum multis aliis*;" Henry Usher, Lord Primate [Archbp. of Armagh], of Balstowne; Robert Barnewall, of Athshe; Walter Golding, of Ballendell.

Moyfenragh.—Richard Barnewell, of Newcastle; Garra Westie (Wesley?), of the Dengin; Patrick Lince, of the Knocke; Henry Dillon, of Little Frefan; Thomas Lynam, of Adamstowne; Richard Misset, of Bedlowestowne; Edward Kindellane, of Ballnekill; Peter Lynam, of Frefans; William McEvoy, of Balleneskeagh; Edmund Keeting, of Possickstowne; Chr. Leins, of Crobey; Edmund Darcy, of Clondaly; Richard Gifford, of Castle Jordan; Sir Edward FitzGerrald, of Teighcroghan; Gerrald FitzGerrald, of Moylaghe; Edward Aylmer, of the same; Patrick Cusake, of Clonmaghan; Henry Burnell, of Castle Richard; Edmund Darcy, of Jordanstowne; Henry Kinge, of Ardnemollen; Gregory Cole, of Clonard.

Lune.—Richard Plunket, of Rathmoore; Patrick Begge, of Moyagher; Martin Blake, James Dowdall, Melchior Moore, and Robert Misset, all of Athboy; Walter Scurlocke, of the Frame; Roger Dillon, of Ballenedramey; John Rochfort, of Kerranstone; Robert Rochfort, of Clonekevan; Walter Lince, of Donowre; Walter Nangle, of Kildalky.

Fowere.—Plunket, of Old-Castle; Plunket, of Newcaster; Plunket, of Loghrewe; Chr. Plunket, of Clonebreny; Plunket, of Ballinacaldde; Balf, of Collmoolestone; Robert Barnwall, of Moylaghoo; Tint (or Tuit?), of Baltraseney; James Dowdall, of Athboy, "for Oliver Plunkett's lands in Ballegray"; Dar disse, of Gleveckloan; Plunket, of Thomastowne; Plunket, of Drumsavrie.

The distances of the above-mentioned places from Dublin, and the boundaries of the county, are specified.

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XII. Co. LOUTH.

Chr. Tath, of Ballibragan; Robert Tath, of Cookestowne; Tath, of Stevinston; Tath, of Rathclare; Verdon, of Clonmore, "descended of Theobald Verdon, High Constable of Ireland;" Clinton, of Dromcasshell; Tath, of Clintonstowne; Rice Ap Hugh, provost marshal, at Ardye; Sir John Bellewe, at Castleton; Dromgole, of Dromgolstowne; Dowdall, of Newton; Dowdall, of Glasepestell; Lord of Lowth, a Plunket, at Talanston; Plunket, of the Nuehowse; Gernon or Jernon, of Gernonston; Gernon, of Donmoghlan; Babe, of Derver; Stanley, of Merlinston; Warren, of Warrenstowne; Hadzor, of Keppogh; Barnewall, of Rathesker; Garret Fleming, of Crowmerton; Talbot, of Castleryn; Sir Edward Moore, at Millefont; Lord Primate [Archbishop of Armagh], at Toromonseghan (?); "the marshal town of Carlingforde."

Distances from Drogheda and Dundalk, and boundaries, specified.

Pp. 20. In Morgan Colman's hand.

Endorsed by Carew: "1596. A perambulation of the counties of Dublin, Wexford, Kilkenny, Catherlogh, Kildare, Q. County, K. County, Westmeath, Meath, Louth."

261. "A DECLARATION" by the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 632, p. 146.

The way to suppress the Northern rebels is to prosecute them with a sharp war, and thereby either to draw them to honourable conditions, or else to extirpate those who are obstinate. For this purpose "a bulk or main force of horse and foot" should be established. 3,000 foot and 300 horse would serve to march through Tyrone to the Liffer, and further into Tireconnell if need be. 620 foot and 50 horse to be laid in garrison within Ulster, *sc.*, at the Newrie, Carlingford, Armaghe, Blackwater, and Dondalke; with wards at Dondromme, Strangford, and Argles. At Knockfergus a garrison of 100 foot and 50 horse, "to keep the peace and defend the prey of the town;" and after the war 600 foot and 100 horse to be laid there, which will "reduce and master both the Clandeboyas, the Glynnas, and the woodmen, who otherwise may give great annoyance to the service of Tyrone." The county of the Cavan, called the Bregnie (now revolted), and co. Longford must be defended by 200 foot, besides horse, which will also prevent incursions into the English Pale. Total of the forces for Ulster:—foot, 3,920; horse, 400; pioneers, 200; kearne, 400.

Connaught has revolted, except co. Clare in Thomond, part of co. Galway, the O'Kellies' country, and co. Roscommon, "which were lately taken in by us Sir John Norries and Sir Jeffrey Fenton." The rebels there, besides the aids they have from O'Donnell, Magwyre, and Tyrone, are about 2,000 in number. 3,000 foot and 300 horse should be prepared for

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the recovering of that province, wherein her Majesty has lost a great revenue, "and also to pierce into Tyreconnell, Fermanaugh, or any other bordering traitors, either to entangle O'Donnell in his own country and to take Ballyshannon, where a strong garrison of 600 foot and 50 horse must be laid, or at least to divert him and his forces from the aid of Tyrone." Out of these forces, garrisons are to be provided. Total of forces for Connaught:—foot, 3,000; horse, 300; kearne, 200; pioneers, 100.

A force of 1,000 foot and 100 horse should be sent out of England immediately. and landed in Lough Foyle, "to be laid in garrison either at Derry, the Lyffer, or such other places as shall be thought meet," in order to annoy both Tyrone and Tyre-Connell. "They are to bring with them all provision of victuals, munition, with some frames of houses for their stowage, and other necessities to serve as well for the inhabiting as for fortifying; to bring with them 200 pioneers, with all manner of tools for themselves, and an overplus to serve the soldiers that may be drawn to work upon occasion."

"If a force of 3,000 Scots, well chosen and governed by some honourable commander, known to be well affected to her Majesty's service, might be drawn into Ulster to serve upon the back of the Earl, and the same 3,000 Scots to be joined with the garrison of Lough Foyle, and to be commanded by such as shall have charge there, it would be to good purpose for the speedy achieving of this war; they being men fit for the service by reason of their hard breeding, and many other abilities above other nations. But how to have these Scots your Lordships* may know it better by means of her Majesty's ambassador with that King than we can; and therefore we humbly leave the managing thereof to your Lordships, only we are bold to note thus much to your Lordships, gathered out of some of our experiences touching the Scots, namely, that the McConnells have had always friendship with the O'Nelles, both by marriage, fostering, and bonnaught, and therefore not to be trusted to serve her Majesty in this weighty service; where, on the contrary, the McEllanes are opposed unto the Earl for sundry provocations, and specially for the hanging of Hugh Cayvoloughe, one of the sons of [the] late Shane O'Neyle's." I, the President of Munster, have set down my particular opinion thereof, which we send herewith.

Besides these forces, a special force of 1,200 foot must be prepared to serve for the following garrisons:—for Ardee and Kells, in the English Pale, each 100 foot; Ophaly, 200 foot; Leix, 200; Tully, 250; Rathdron, 250; Munster, 200.

Grand total:—foot, 9,120; horse, 800; kearne, 600; pioneers, 500; with 3,000 Scots; in all 14,020.

Towards making up these numbers there are in the realm (not accounting the wards and broken retinues) 4,510 foot

* The Privy Council in England.

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and 555 horse, fit for service. The Muster Master's book is sent to your Lordships herewith, so there must be sent out of England 4,610 foot and 245 horse, with 200 pioneers. The companies to serve in Tyrone are to be directed to Carlingford and the Newry, except those that are for the garrison of Lough Foyle; and the other forces for Connaught are to be directed to land at Dublin, from whence they may march to Athlone, "though it will be to the great burden of the English Pale in their throughfare."

For the victualling of all these forces we have caused the officer for the victuals here to set down a proportion of all kinds of victuals to be sent out of England. This proportion is sent to your Lordships herewith, "together with a note in the foot thereof for 500*l.* sterling to buy carrying horses to serve the use of the armies and the garrisons to be brought here; otherwise we assure ourselves, by the experience of the last year's defaults touching carrying garranes, the same hindrance will fall out to her Majesty's service now that did then."

Galway will be the meetest place to make a staple of victuals for Connaught and Ballishannon, and the victuals may come thither from the west parts of England. For Tyrone, Carlingford and the Newry, saving for the garrison of Lough Foyle, whose provisions are to be sent directly by sea. Victuals and provisions for Ulster to pass by sea from Chester water.

"Upon any certain or credible intelligence of the access of any foreign forces into this realm there are sundry port towns in Munster and Connaught—Gallwaye standing open upon Spain; and in Munster—Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Kinsale, and Youghall, all being walled towns and of good importance; for all which it is requisite that a force be prepared to be sent to every of them, and to be garrisoned there for the guard and defence thereof; which garrisons will be to good purpose to encourage and assure the inhabitants." Victuals, munition, and money must be sent them.

A special sum of money must be sent for fortifying, building, and making "garnells" and places of stowage. Two small pinnaces "to lie off and on the coasts between Scotland and Ulster, to serve to impeach the passage of the Scots." They must "be of less burthen and draw less water than the two last sent, otherwise they will do little good against the Scots' galleys."

"It is requisite that two post barks be erected here for carrying of intelligences and packets, for the which it may please your Lordships to give directions by your next letters to the Lord Deputy and Council. There were two barks used in the Lord Graye's government for that purpose, which were entertained at 10*l.* ster. *per mensem le pièce*.

"Lastly, where it may be thought that such as shall have the chief charge to execute this war are tied and prescribed within the rules of the plot, we wish (under your Lordships'

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favour) that her Majesty would be their disloyalty if they be discretion of such as shall have the in, and the chief ordering of the war, to protect these garrisons of thereof as they shall find occasion, notwithstanding, on both sides contained in the plot."

Copy. Pp. 12.

262. VICTUALLING of the ARMY.

Vol. 632, p. 145.

"A Proportion of Corn and Victuals to be provided for 6,000 men for six months, viz., 1,000 horsemen and 5,000 footmen, accompting 28 days to the month, viz., 20 flesh days and 8 fish days."

[*For the horsemen.*—] Wheat, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushel a man per mensem for himself and his boy, 1,125 qrs. Barley meal, ditto. Beef salted, for 120 days, at 3 lb. a man per diem for himself and his boy, 225 tons. Butter, at $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. for a man [and his boy] per diem, for 28 days, 75 barrels. Cheese, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per diem for a man and his boy, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$ ways (at 224 lbs. the way). Oats for their horses, at 2 gallons per diem for a horse, for 168 days, 3,259 qrs.

[*For the footmen.*—] Wheat, at 1 bushel a man per mensem for six months, 3,750 qrs. Barley meal, ditto. Beef salted, at 2 lb. a man per diem, for 120 days, 750 tons. Butter, at $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. a man per diem, for 24 days, 250 barrels. Cheese, at 1 lb. a man per diem, for 24 days, 560 ways.

Mem.—This proportion "is to be produced into * England Denmark, and Flanders," but the prices in those parts are unknown to me.†

These three years past her Majesty's service has been greatly hindered through the want of horses for the carriage of victuals with the army. It is now thought necessary by the Lord Deputy and Council that 500l. should be sent "to be bestowed in carriage horses."

Copy. Pp. 3.

263. REBELLION in ULSTER.

Vol. 632, p. 152.

"A brief Discourse, declaring how the service against the Northern rebels may be advanced, and the Connaught tumults in some sort repressed; delivered by Mr. Francis Shane."

The river of Lough Earne is convenient for transporting victuals, "as also for the service," and divides Connaught from Ulster. The passages of this river, at Bellashana[n]e and Bealicke, being garrisoned, will defend Connaught and

* Sic.

† The Victualler. See the preceding article.

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and 5th side of the Pale, and so annoy O'Donnell that he sent be forced to disunite himself for his own defence from the Earl. A strong garrison is to be planted on Lough Foyle, at the Derrye, which will dissipate the whole forces of the North, so that the Earl will not be able to relieve O'Donnell. This garrison, at their landing, should be invested with the possession of Innishe Owen, a country resembling an island. O'Dogherty, chief lord thereof, well inclined to the State, will no doubt become loyal. Hugh McHugh Duffe O'Donnell, a man of great valour, Neale Garrowe, son to Conn O'Donnell, and McSwine Banaghe will do the like. "These first three gentlemen, of no little accompt in their country, and inwardly hating the tyranny of O'Donnell, having deprived them of the possibility of the country which to them by right appertained, will seek all the means they can to pluck him down."

The garrison may sally at pleasure into any part of Tyrone, and return within 48 hours. "Bordering upon O'Cahan, the chief strength of horse that the Earl has, [it] will disarm him thereof, or else by daily incursions will so hurt him as in the end he must close with the garrison in many good purposes and beneficial capitulations."

"These recited garrisons do not want the benefit of well disposing such booties as they shall attain, neither the means to transport victuals and munition; the sea and Lough Earne yielding what is to be desired for that purpose.

"The garrison[s] of Ballishannoe and Bellick may turn into Connaught all such spoils as they shall win, either to be preserved for their further need, or by sale to furnish their present wants; or what they cannot dispose this way, they may turn into Inishmorrey, an island in the sea not far from Dundroise, between which and Bellishannoe there is, as it were, an island, containing every way five miles, wherein tillage with security may be planted, if the time serve. Hither also by sea many good means are offered to bring all manner of provision from Mounster and all parts of Connaught.

"The garrison of Lough Foyle hath Inishowen for place of disposing their booties also; yea, if they like, to have a colony of English for tillage; if not, they may by cherishing the natives of the soil effect the same, which will stand them to no small purpose. Hither must all things be transported; and it is certain that the English Scots of Urwin and Ayre, for money, will be glad to have a vent for their wine and oil, wherewith doubtless they will furnish this garrison plentifully. The fishing of the Bande will stand the garrison to good uses.

"By these garrisons before set down the haunt which the Spaniards have got, in furnishing the Earl and O'Donnell with munition and other habiliments of war fit for supporting them in these their treacherous attempts against her Majesty, may easily be cut off; which put in practice, what possibility

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hath these rebels to hold out in their disloyalty if they be defeated of their Spanish hopes?

"Magwyre shall not escape but that these garrisons of Bellishannoe and Bellick, and chiefly Beltirbert, on both sides of Lough Earne, shall play upon him with an equal harmony, to his utter confusion; which the sooner shall be brought to pass in that the now Magwyre hath deprived Connor Roe Magwire of the name of the lordship which to him in right did belong, either by English laws or Irish customs."

On the borders of Tyrowen the fittest places for garrisons are these:—the Blackwater, in regard of the commodities of Lough Eaghe, which affords means of transport to Cowlrayne from the sea; and "Knockfergus is within 12 miles of Lough Eaghe, *alias* Sydney (all champagne ground), upon the edge whereof standeth a ruined pile called Edendowcarrick (and not far off the abbey also of Masserine), which, being made wardable, will be fit to receive into store what provision shall be intended from Knockfergus, for the relief either of Blackwater [or] Cowlrayne, if by sea you cannot for tempestuous weather perform the last."

"By the garrison of Blackwater the whole country to the Newrye shall be conquered, and the Earl forced to keep below the Blackwater, where notwithstanding he shall take small rest, the garrison of Lough Foile playing upon him as a northern storm, and the garrison at Blackwater descending upon him as a southern tempest; to whose assistance may be called such forces as shall be resident at the Newrie."

The garrison at Monneghan may co-operate with that at Blackwater; as also may the forces at Beltirbert.

"If any of the four sons of Shaen O'Neale, now prisoners with the Earl, may be released any way, wherein money will much prevail amongst these covetous and barbarous people, besides their natural inclination to the offspring of Shaen O'Neale, what doubt is to be conceived that if one of them or all of them got liberty, but that their followers (being very many), now detained by the Earl's tyranny, will embrace their liberty, and cast off the yoke of such a tyrant, whom in heart not only they, but many of the best sort in the North, do inwardly detest; a testimony whereof we have of both his brethren—Art by father, and Turlaghe McHenry by mother—the first offering to revolt if he might be maintained against his brother's tyranny; the other was in person imprisoned by the Earl for a jealousy conceived of his return to obedience.

"It is to be hoped that Sir Art O'Neale, son to the late O'Neale, with many others, if these garrisons be placed in the bowels of their country, will renounce this ungrateful tyrant's government; which is the less to be doubted in that his suspicion conceived of many in the North doth increase in such measure, as he thinketh himself in no security of their truth, though he be possessed of their children manacled

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as prisoners, and their whole creaghts and cattle of what kind soever.

"An objection may be made that the charge hereof will exceed, which I grant, and yet not exceed the dishonour of the loss of a kingdom held these 430 years; neither will this excessive charge hold but for a time, and then in this manner may be defrayed.

"These garrisons must be broilded * guardable; to the broilding whereof the pay of 400 or 500 men may be spared out of such forces as is supposed fit for the finishing of this war; which ended, the greater forces cashiered, the forces thought fit for guarding these places and containing the subject in his loyalty may be maintained in form following.

"To the maintenance of Bellishannoe and Bellick may be added the composition of 800 beoves due in O'Donnell's country, together with a bonought of three galloglass, which O'Donnell imposeth to the use of the three McSwines, viz., Janad, Banagh, and McSwyne, whose entertainment amounteth at the least to 2,000 beoves *per annum*, all employed against the State. To which may be added all such spiritual and temporal lands as do belong unto the Crown, as an augmentation, together with a fine 'taxt' of land, called Moygwynnye, betwixt Boudrowishe and Bellishannoe, which may be used for tillage, as before is said.

"For the better strengthening of such as shall hereafter reside at Bellashannoe and Bellick, the rising-out of Connaught, consisting of near 1,000 horse and foot, may be adjoined yearly, serving their time by hundreds monthly for 40 days; whereby that garrison shall be corroborated at all times more by 100 than her Majesty shall give allowance for.

"The fortification at Lough Foile may be by the like means maintained, adding the composition of the next countries thereunto, as O'Cahan and other the borderers, who may, for further composition, [do] what of themselves willingly they have done to the Earl, for supporting his treacherous practices against her Majesty; which (under correction) in conscience may be exacted, as inflicting the same upon them as a chastisement for their disloyalty. Such Lpp.† beeves as the late O'Donnell and the now Earl doth yearly levy, as due to the name of O'Neale, upon Mugwyre, may be disposed to the defraying of the charge of this garrison."

As Belltirbert borders on the English Pale, its wants may be supplied easily. Bellicke and Bellashannoe in distressed times may be relieved by water. Beltirbert may be made a goodly seignory, by knitting thereto the abbey of Clonys, with all spiritual and attainted lands in cos. Longford and Cavan; and by this means her Majesty will be at little charge,

* Sic: qu. builded.

† Qu. mistake for "lxx."

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and the country planted with Englishmen. The compositions of cos. Cavan, Moneghan, and Magwyre, *alias* Farrymannagh, from which her Majesty of long time has reaped no benefit, will defray the charge of this garrison. Here also, in time of tranquillity, some of the old garrison bands may be resident to repress any sudden attempt of the Irish.

The Irishry, discerning that Lough Earne ministered good means to prevent their lewd purposes, destroyed Bellick, Bundrowishe, Inishkillen, Lisgowle Abbey, Moneghan, and Blackwater. Many of the Irish lords south of these garrisons will be brought to conformity.

"Little will I say, or can be said, of that part of the North lying by East Lough Eagh towards Knockfergus, in that the Newry forces, Knockfergus, Cowlerayne, and the Blackwater may, from time to time as occasion should serve, bend their strength, in part or the whole, against the same places." Boats and pinnaces must be provided.

Copy. Pp. 10.

264. MUNSTER.

Vol. 614, p. 99.

"The opinion of — of the disposition of the Gentlemen of Munster in the time when Sir John Norris was Lord President of that Province.*

Nations chiefly noted as procurers of mischief and supporters of evil-disposed persons in this province:—the MacSyhis, MacSwynes, and the Leries. In Kerry and Desmond:—the Clantey McGagh and the Stacks, saving Morrice Stack and his brothers. None of these septs to be deprived of protection, till others be reformed and assurance taken for their loyalties. They are closely allied one with another.

Teig McOwen's sons of Drissane are notorious malefactors, the elder Owen McTeig excepted. They are supported by Cormock McDermody, Lord of Muskrie; their mother one of the Swynes. O'Sulevaine More and O'Sulevaine Bere continue faithful subjects.

The Knight of Kerry, Thomas FitzMorris, and John O'Connor Kerry, "sworn one to the other, and intended to become subjects when they find opportunity."

Certain men sworn to continue in rebellion:—the Lord FitzMoris, Thomas Oge of Ardnagreagh, Edward Hussey of Balynahowe, Owen McMoriarta of the Skart, Cahir McBrien of Traly, Thomas FitzJohn of Balykely, heir of Balykely.

"The chief powers must shun the corruption of bribery." Bountifulness to be used, and men of desert not to be forgotten.

Cormock Oge is faithful to the State, and a meet instrument

* This heading is in Carew's hand.

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to be employed in service. Cahir O'Kallahane, *alias* Cahir Modurhte, dwelling by Moaloe, "to be maintained in his possession at the least till these rebellions be assuaged; an instrument meet to be employed."

"A principal course to subdue this province:—the Lord President to take his journey into Kerry with all forces, and there leave a garrison of 900 foot and 100 horse to be placed by the direction of Sir George Thorenton and Mr. FitzEdmunds, both well acquainted with that country.

"Meet instruments to be employed in Kerry that may be trusted:—Moris Stack and his brothers, John Rice, Donell Faries, Richard Rice. Those to be trusted in the co. of Cork, and have already served voluntarily:—Cormock Oge and his brother Teig, Miles Roch, James Nagle and his kinsmen, William Malafont, Patrick Miagh of Kynsale, Thomas Flemyng of Belguolan, Cormock Daly, Moris Roch, Cahir McDonogho."

Dated by Carew, "1596."

Pp. 3. Endorsed.

265. "HER MAJESTY'S private INSTRUCTIONS for one to be sent into IRELAND."

Vol. 632, p. 135.

"Where we have required them to insist upon his [the Earl of Tyrone's] personal submission, and in case of utter refusal, then to send his son, yet we are content that you shall know privately, if it appears that our army's weakness gives him opportunity to do mischief, and his pertinacity be so obdurate as not to yield to that demand, then we are contented that our cousin of Ormonde, rather than to conclude nothing, and so drive all things to confusion, shall be contented to conclude with him without that.

"Secondly, if you do find no manner of likelihood of his submission at all in terms of honour or safety, but that it must be a cessation still, or an open breach again, then shall you move our cousin to advise well of the good and of the evil which we have by the cessation, and according as you find that, either to dissolve it or continue it till we take further order.

"Many other particulars we expect to understand by you; as with what great entertainments we are charged by unnecessary titles, in which you shall have letters to the Treasurer to put to his helping hand to abate them, seeing the form is altered.

"You shall also let the Secretary [Fenton] know that we expect from him to have good information of all things without fear or flattery.

"You shall also remember to deliver the likelihood of a peace between Spain and us; and by our Secretary you shall be instructed.

"You shall also know that when our cousin of Ormond shall send to speak with him, we mean he shall carry the Secretary

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for one, and yourself for another, as Commissioners to assist him.

"If it be so that our cousin shall not speak with him at first himself, we would have him employ you and the Secretary with some other, such as will not be unacceptable to him, to deal with him.

"You shall also let Warren know that we do look from him for his best endeavours to draw Tyrone to such conditions as may be honorable for us; wherein, if we shall receive by you a good report, it shall increase our good opinion."

Copy. Pp. 2.

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MUNSTER.

Vol. 614, p. 281.

"Advertisements and Petitions [by Justice Saxey]* for the furtherance of Justice and Reformation of the government of the Province of Munster;" addressed to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.

Your regard to the advancement of justice emboldens me "to discover unto your Lordship as well heinous and dangerous treasons and unlawful courses taken to the interruption of justice, as also to unfold my grieved mind concerning the abused government of this province." All the English are ready to forsake the country. John FitzEdmund of Clone, co. Cork, a Geraldine, by her Majesty's favour has become a man of great authority in his country, "not only commissioner of the peace and *quorum*, but also trusted and employed in causes of State." He has 1,000*l.* yearly revenue. For many years he has made show of religion and loyalty, and affection to the English, but of late he has been discovered to be an hypocrite and traitor. "About three years past certain freeholders, to the number of seven, examined before Sir Tho. Noreis and James Goold, the Second Justice of this province, concerning certain treasons whereof John FitzEdmund was then charged, did upon their oaths make plain and direct proof thereof." These depositions were concealed for one whole year after, when Noreis handed them to me on my arrival in this kingdom. We wrote to Sir Robert Gardner, requesting him to confer with the rest of the judges, but received no answer. Then, in regard of the troubles in the North, I did not awake the cause; "but when as her Highness' mercy had dissolved the rebellious rage of the northern [traitors], I did think fit, in that small time of peace, to take the speediest course for further trial of offences so capital." As I knew he would endeavour *prece vel pretio* to stifle the cause, I acquainted no one with

* This document is described by Carew as "a Discourse for the Reformation of the Province of Munster, by Justice Sax."

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my courses until he was indicted for high treason, "and then by myself in open court committed and pronounced by me not bailable in the hearing and presence of Sir Tho. Noreis and the Second Justice; but presently upon my departure he was by them enlarged." He carries as "rebellious and hateful heart toward her Majesty and the English as any Desmond or Tyrone." "In regard of my service myself [was] sent for to Dublin, in which journey (besides the danger of the time) I spent 20*l.*, and was threatened to be fined for a supposed contempt for not certifying the indictment;" and when the Council at Dublin, in the absence of the Lord Deputy, awarded a special commission for his trial, I was left out for my supposed malice, and the concealers were made commissioners. Both the principal offender and the concealers must be brought to trial in England. This "will be a good stop of some rebellion of the Geraldines in Mounster which is justly feared, so long as one, before this time charged of high treason in the Parliament House, and now indicted for no less, can procure unto himself unlawful liberty, and authority and credit as him listeth, and hasten his own trial in time of a sheriff that is at his own devotion."

When required by Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Robert Gardner and the other commissioners for the Undertakers to travel in the province and to inquire of the defects of the Undertakers, I spent "32 days at mine own charge of 20*l.* and above." If they themselves had gone, it would have cost above 100*l.*

"We have had within these three years since my coming hither about 13 or 14 sittings or meetings of the Council for hearing of causes between party and party. I, as at the first, so have continued a motioner to the Vice-President, that of all the time of every sitting or meeting, which commonly endured the term of five or six days, there might be one half day allowed for consultation on the causes of the state of this province. I could never yet draw him unto it, but, rejecting conference, ruleth by authority without law and against law, and wilfully violateth the instructions delivered for better government at the first erection of this State."

As the governor is "skillless" in matters of justice, he should "follow the precedents and examples of greater governments, as the Lord Deputy, the Lord President of the Marches of Wales, and the North in England, and such like, who leave the administration of law to the judges, who by their profession can best skill to deal therein; so have all governors before him in this self state of this province." The following are some of the imperfections in the government.

"The subjects complainants within Monster, by reason no certain times of hearing of causes are set down, are enforced to travel to Dublin for justice; or, when there are times appointed, they are fain to come far from their homes." The

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justices should keep their circuits thrice every year in all the counties within the province. At present, "causes depend long undetermined."

"Where it hath pleased her Majesty to erect a state and government within this province, authorising the same to hear and determine all causes civil and criminal arising within the said province; so it is, that when the parties are at issue, and the cause ready to be heard, the defendant, only for delay, without just cause, procureth writs of *habeas corpus* or *certiorari* or such like from some of the courts at Dublin, and thereby doth remove the said causes." No "writ of privilege or remover" should be allowed but upon affidavit before the Governor and Council of this province.

"The idle youth within and of this province doth daily increase in great numbers, who are like to follow the lewd steps of their elders in treasons, murders, and all other misdemeanours, except they often see and taste of the severity of justice." The justices should keep their sessions of gaol delivery thrice yearly, whereby the malefactor should receive his desert "before escape, and without hope of pardon or protection."

"For the more speedy suppression of idle men and malefactors, that the justices of gaol delivery in every county appoint four, six, or eight Irish of good credit and loyalty, inhabiting in that county, to make survey and search of all idle and suspect persons, allotting to every of the said searchers a several part or limit."

The justices of gaol delivery are not furnished with sufficient power and company either for the execution of justice or their own safety. As great suits are made for sheriffs' offices, instead of pursuing their own gain, they should attend on the said justices with 20 persons, "English apparelled, well horsed and appointed for defence."

"The gaols are taken from the sheriffs, and there is one of no value appointed gaoler of all the gaols" in this province; whence arise escapes. Every sheriff should "have the charge and benefit of the common gaols." The present "marshal and general gaoler," by the escape of Morough Oge, that dangerous rebel, has forfeited his office.

"The Irish put in trust with government and authority do oppress the subjects for two special causes. The one, to enrich themselves, as when a warrant is sent to one of them to levy 40*l.* for some service to be done, he by colour thereof extorteth 200*l.*; the overplus he putteth into his own purse, or divideth as him listeth. The other, that when the Irish do grieve at this intolerable oppression, he, with a mind to withdraw their hearts from her Majesty and the law, whereby they are governed, dareth to persuade with them that it is the Queen's pleasure they should be so used, and the injustice of the law whereby they are governed doth command it. It will never be better so long as the Irish have any trust or authority com-

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mitted unto them. It were more fit they were, as the Gibeonites were among the Hebrews, hewers of wood and drawers of water, than to ascend higher among the people of God." They should not be allowed to possess any weapons or armour. This would stay such outrages as "have been lately performed by John FitzEdmund and his followers, to the number of 200 or 300, encountering and disgracing her Majesty's garrison, wounding and almost murdering the lieutenant of the same. Fair and kind usage will not draw them to due obedience, for the best part in them is to show trust where they mean treason." All the murders and spoils are done upon the English.

"The cities and towns are insolent and like to fall away. It were fit they were kept under some English governor of every town, in whose custody the keys of their gates, and their artillery, armour, weapon, and munition, may remain."*

"The churl and Irish peasant, by whom the lord and chief gentleman doth live, is apt to follow his lord in all rebellion and mischief; and the reason is that the Irish tenants have their estates but from year to year, or at most for three years, in regard of which short and weak states, they have not any care to make any strong or defensible buildings or houses, to plant, or to enclose; in want whereof they lie open to spoil, and themselves more apt to rebellion, when they possess nothing which they may not with ease carry or drive away, or convert into money; and hereof it cometh that one rascal rebel will in one night burn all the towns in a country.

"And therefore it were most necessary that the Irish lords of lands and tenements should be ordered to make no less states than for 21 years or three lives, in which all rents and services agreed upon should be reserved and mentioned, and thereby all other unreasonable exactions, now imposed upon them, should be cut off." The composition for cesse, which is a great loss to her Majesty, should be abolished, and the soldiers cessed among the Irish, who would thus be prevented from making "their rebellious conventicles."

"And where divers Englishmen have been lately murdered and spoiled, by reason they have so singled their dwellings that they lie open to the malefactor without ability of defence or mutual succour, . . . all English inhabitants should be drawn into a near neighbourhood of 20 households at the least, . . . and none not inhabiting in a castle to be suffered to dwell out of such neighbourhood; and that the same neighbourhood so inhabiting together shall, within a certain time to them prefixed, enclose all their dwellings with a great deep trench and quickset, if may be, only leaving two places of ingress and egress, where shall be strong gates, to be shut

* In support of these propositions, the examples of Charlemagne, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar are cited in the margin.

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every night, whereby themselves and their cattle shall be in better safety from the thief and wolf.

"None are by the law to be sworn in juries, except he can spend 40s. yearly for life; and by reason that the Undertakers have few tenants for life, but for years, the cause of the English concerning his goods, lands, or life is subject to the trial of the Irish."

"Either the Undertakers must presently people their seignories and [be] ordered to turn the states for years into lives, or else tenants for years must be enabled to be jurors by authority" from the Council in England to the Deputy and Council here. "An act of Council, here termed *concordatum*, may establish as well this as all other the precedent remedies, as a binding law to all the province."

The Vice-President "hath lately, by most base and slanderous terms, abused the Chief Justice of this province, being then of equal authority with himself," upon this occasion. "One Donough Rewgh O'Kelly, of the county of Gallwey, . . . about the 12th of September last came to Youghull, where the Chief Justice dwelt, with a horse, two mares, and a colt, and was very ready to offer the same to sale at Youghull, where no one man knew him. Upon information thereof, the Chief Justice examined him, who said that he was going to the Earl of Ormond to give him land. He could show no passport or testimonial, and himself had never a good rag about him." The Chief Justice committed him, but the Vice-President enlarged him. As this fellow then threatened the constable who first presented him to me, I committed him "for the peace;" but he was again enlarged by the Vice-President. Afterwards we had occasion to meet at a general session of gaol delivery at Corck, where the Vice-President reviled and abused me for "my courses." I desired leave to depart. He answered, "Go and be hanged; who sent for you?" By his misgovernment "all the English are ready to forsake the country, and being debarred from the administration of justice, I shall be enforced to keep them company."

The clerk and receiver of the fines growing before the Lord President and Council "usurpeth the receipt of all other fines and forfeitures made before justices of assize, *nisi prius*, gaol delivery, and justices of the peace within this province, which by law ought to be levied and accounted for by the sheriff in the Exchequer, and thereby many great fines and forfeitures are concealed from her Majesty."

A continual household was ordered to be kept in the province, "in which house the Chief Justice should be allowed three servants," and the Lord President and Council 10*l.* ster. by the week; one half year's allowance being payable beforehand. That allowance, being 520*l.* yearly, is "altogether converted and employed to the private benefit of the Vice-President, his wife, and children; for the Council have not resided there above 14 weeks, in all accounted, these three years; within

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which time the Chief Justice hath had his bare diet, without any allowance of horse-meat or horse-room, and hath been forced to lodge some of his men at an alehouse." He must either "live from his wife, or lose the benefit of her Highness' allowance." The fewer meetings of the Council, the greater gain to the Governor.

"In respect of the absence of the Chief Justice when there was no cause of his presence," the Lord Presidents before this time have allowed him 1*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. ster. weekly towards his diet elsewhere. Your orator prays that for the arrearages already due, being above 120*l*., and the annual profit of 40*l*. from henceforth, direction may be sent to the Lord Deputy to order the Vice-President to make satisfaction.

No steward or clerk has been appointed, as ordered, to write and sum the charge of the household.

The Vice-President, in his needless journeys, oppresses the subjects with horses and horseboys, contrary to the law.

The Lord President and Council are instructed to compound for all forfeitures by penal statutes, obligations, and recognisances, and to assess reasonable fines, and to enter the sums received in a book. "No part of this article is performed, but between the Vice-President and the clerk all is disposed of and concealed from the Council."

The Lord President and Council are ordered not hinder the course of the common laws; yet the Vice-President bails dangerous persons, and takes from the subject the benefit of the law.

The Chief Justice ought to be paid his fee quarterly, but the Vice-President detains it for half a year after the day. Your orator prays "that some rents of seignory lands may be assigned for the payment of this fee."

The Lord President and Council are charged upon oath to reveal anything prejudicial to her Highness to the Council in Ireland; yet the Vice-President and the Irish Justice have taken examinations of high treason, which was proved, and have for a whole year after concealed the same.

The presidency in this province is a needless charge to her Majesty, because the administration of justice must be left to those who have skill to deal therein. The Governor, being unskilful in law, is a hindrance to justice.

Five thieves, who had been proved to have stolen the cows of one Norreis, were examined before the Lord President and Vice-President, and acquitted. The Vice-President, moreover, acts in contravention of justice.

"Licences to transport commodities prohibited, which the Vice-President doth take upon him to grant, are not grantable by any subject but by the Lord Deputy."

The Vice-President is a burden to the country, as he never rides with less than 20 or 30 horse. He is unnecessary at sessions, his presence making all things scant and dear. "There is no want of him when he is away; for he hath been

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divers times out of the province seven or eight weeks together."

He is "injurious to the Council," as he does not acquaint them with all causes. "It is not known by what warrant protections are granted, specially in such order and so commonly as now they are; . . . 140 were contained in one protection granted by the Vice-President in January last. The Chief Justice was then there, and never made privy to it. It may be gainful to the granter, but it is most grievous to the country."

The Chief Justice could never see the commission to the Lord President, and doubts whether he may make a Vice-President, and by what warrant the Council are chosen.

Presidency in a martial man is unnecessary, in all respects. It is a needless charge of 1,000*l.* by the year.

"It is here credibly reported that they of Connaught desire that this Vice-President might be their governor; it is also known that himself doth well affect that place. If he should by her Majesty be bestowed there or elsewhere, I hope of no better reformation by any martial man."

Some Englishman should be appointed as Second Justice, because the now Second Justice (James Goold) is disabled from holding that office by the Statute of 8 Ric. II., which ordains "that no man of law shall be justice of assize or gaol delivery in his own country." Though forbidden by the late Lord Deputy, he has "sworn and taken upon him to be Recorder of Limerick." He has offended in misprision of treason by concealment of the cause of John FitzEdmund, and stands indicted seven times of several high treasons, "which for divers years have been smothered, but lately to me revealed by Hugh Cuffe, Esquire."

"As for this nation, whose religion is choked in idolatry and superstition, whose hearts are treacherous and outward conversation savage, cruel, and uncivil, 'I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than dwell in the tents of the ungodly,' and my hope (the rather through your honorable favour) is, that after a while I may be called home into England; and I shall be most joyful to leave the place of a chief justice of as great a circuit as the third part of England, and end the residue of my aged years in that service that may please her Majesty to allot me."

If the presidency is to continue, I wish it may be as before, when Francis Agard was appointed governor for martial causes, and Nicholas Walshe joined with him to have the whole administration of justice.

30 horsemen and 20 footmen are allowed for the honour and safety of the State of this province. When travelling in her Highness' service, I am often in great danger and laid wait for. "In January last, one Redmond FitzGerrott, a Geraldine, a bloody man, and a notable malefactor, and receiver and reliever of rebels, was at Corcke arraigned for high treason.

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He, by your suppliant's lawful courses, without the knowledge or privity of the Vice-President or any other, was attainted and executed, who otherwise had escaped free from conviction, had the evidence been never so plain; for which your suppliant was secretly threatened, and within a fortnight after, at Limerick sessions, his horses, being five in number, of the value of 40*l*., were maliciously burnt and consumed with the house they stood in." Moreover, since the indictment of John FitzEdmund, a Bastard Geraldine, without the Vice-President's knowledge, in May last, your suppliant "scant dareth to travel."

"About Michaelmas last your said suppliant, being then at Waterford for the delivery of the gaol there, was certified by letters from the portreeve of Cashill of a school of thievery of horses and cows kept in that country, and that the master and usher, with seven or eight their scholars, some out of every county of this province, and some the bastard sons of the best of the country, who had lately before committed divers and sundry stealths, were apprehended, and there in gaol, and had the night before offered a dangerous escape, assured of rescue and relief of kerne without the town, combined with them, upon the escape, to burn all that country; and therefore most earnestly prayed the delivery of them by due course of law with all speed. Whereupon your suppliant within two days after (not without some hazard of his own life) rode thither, and finding the information true, held sessions, wherein the said master and usher and seven of their scholars were attainted and executed, without the knowledge or privity of the Vice-President."

As the said 30 horsemen and 20 footmen are no defence to any of the State, but a private gain to the Governor, your suppliant prays for ten of the said horsemen; otherwise he will be enforced "to refrain those dangers which the duty of his place draweth him unto."

Note.—"These at my being in England in January 1596 were severally delivered by me to my Lord of Cant[erbury], my Lord Keeper, and my Lord of Essex; but there was one then living that yielded no favorable hearing of the cause, and so it lay asleep until this present rebellion in Munster did awake the memory thereof. By occasion whereof it hath pleased my Lord Keeper, in the presence of all the Lords of the Council, to say divers times, that if ear had been given to such a one at his last being here, two years gone, this rebellion had not been. One time, among the rest, his Lordship spake in the Exchequer Chamber the day of the pricking of sheriffs, whereof my Lord Chief Baron did give me knowledge, and told me that I was greatly bound to my Lord Keeper."

Pp. 27.

* This note is apparently in Saxey's own hand. There are a number of additions and corrections in the same hand.

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April 18. 267.
Vol. 601, p. 136.

LORD BOROUGH'S INSTRUCTIONS.

Instructions by the Queen to Thomas Lord Burghe, K.G., Governor of Briell in Holland, appointed Deputy in Ireland, 18 April 1597.

(1.) At your arrival deliver our letters to our former Deputy and Council. Receive the sword "with observation of all due honour," and take your oath.

(2.) Require the Council to inform you of the general state of that realm, and especially of the army. "Discreetly and quietly inquire of the state of religion, how it is there observed, whereof we are informed there hath been notorious negligence, in that the orders of religion are in few parts of our realm there observed; and that which is to be lamented, even in our very English Pale multitudes of parishes [are] destitute of incumbents and teachers, and in the very great towns of assembly numbers not only known to forbear to come to the church or divine service, but even willingly winked at to use all manner of Popish ceremonies. For this cause, although we know it is hard, specially at this time, to have things so well observed as in time of quietness, when it was also much abused by negligent looking into, you shall earnestly require the bishops which be of our Council there to show you some cause of this general defection, especially in our towns. And likewise you shall inform yourself whether there be not a Commission Ecclesiastical, and of such as be in commission you shall require to understand upon what occasions the said Commissioners have not discharged their duties to withstand these pitiful disorders. And of their answers you shall make good observation, which we would have to be delivered by them to you in writing, and thereof to advertise us with some opinion, by advice of the better sort of our Council there, how this general defection might be reformed in some convenient sort, and not thus carelessly suffered, as though we had granted a toleration of Popery, that being one of the chiefest points at which in all demands the rebels have so greedily aimed."

(3.) For the administration of civil justice, we have of late years "appointed certain learned men in the laws of our realm to occupy the places of the Chief Justices of our Benches, the Master of the Rolls, and Chief Baron, which in former time have been occupied by men native of that country, not indifferent." Give them your assistance in the execution of justice.

(4.) Command the Muster Master (Lane) to deliver to you rolls of all who receive pay of us, certifying where they serve, "how many of them are checked in their pays for their absence," and how many pretend to be free from checks. Make no warrant to the Treasurer (Wallop) for pay to such as be absent from the musters. As many captains in remote parts "have untruly informed the Muster Master of their full numbers," consult with such of our Council as have no interest in

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such abuses, and appoint commissioners to take monthly musters in all remote places. This will be a hard matter, "considering the great corruption of late used therein." View any bands that may conveniently come to your presence. The men to be able of person and furnished with fit armour and weapons.

(5). In former times, upon discharging of our armies, certain captains, officers, and private soldiers in bands were allowed pensions, with intention that upon the renewing of any such army they should be called to the like places of service, and their pensions cease. This good order has been very negligently observed. Require the Muster Master and the Treasurer to have a roll made of the names of all pensioners now continuing in pay, and the Treasurer to make certificate how long they have been pensioners. Lose no opportunity to place the said pensioners in like rooms as they formerly held; and though at present they are no rooms of captains void, because the forces of late sent out of England were "directed under captains from hence," yet if any of them shall die or depart out of that country, you shall prefer some of the pensioners to those rooms, if not impotent or unserviceable. If any pensioners come from thence, the Treasurer is to forbear to pay their wages. "Have care in bestowing pensions when they fall without our knowledge and privity, for we do find that matter much abused, and some preferred that least deserve it, besides many needless wards continued, which when their rooms are void, we do require you to advertise whether they may be spared or not, before you seek to prefer any to them."

(6.) Require the late Deputy and Council to acquaint you with such of our letters and commandments as have not yet been executed.

(7.) "Upon colorable suits made to us here to recover lands concealed from us in that realm, sundry suitors have fraudulently combined with certain being deputies to the Escheators and Surveyors there, and have by their means entered upon sundry our ancient lands, of our revenue, and have falsely rated the same under their ancient values, and gotten colorable estates thereof very falsely and not warrantable by law, whereof complaints have been made by our ancient tenants, wronged thereby, to our Deputy and Council and our Court of Exchequer, but by reason the said [deputies] to the head officers depend upon some of our Council there, the complaints are not indifferently heard, but our revenue decayed greatly. Of which matter you shall require to be informed duly both of our Treasurer and our Justices of either Bench and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, whom you shall authorize to examine the said complaints, and in whom they shall find the frauds and abuses, to cause the same to be publicly and severely punished, and our ancient tenants restored and our revenues revived. Of which kind of causes you shall understand that our Treasurer and the

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Chief Justice of the Common Pleas have very earnestly written to our Council in a case of one John Rawson, wherein so great abuses have been by colour of inferior officers, as they do require to have some special authority to inflict some notable punishment upon the offenders."

(8.) A commission is to be directed to you and five others to make leases of our lands for terms of 21 years or less, and to make bargains for the wardships, marriages, and lands of our wards, excepting persons of the degree of Barons and above. Be more wary for our profits than previous Deputies have been. By another commission you and the same five are authorized to call to account all persons indebted to us, and compel them to make payment. You are not to execute these commissions by yourself alone without the privity and assent of the other Commissioners, as some of our Deputies have done, especially in demising our lands and granting wardships.

(9.) Whereas our former Deputies have made warrants called concordatums to the Treasurer to pay extraordinary sums for special services, we charge you to grant no such concordatums without the assent of the Council, and to make books of them every quarter.

(10.) When we appointed a Governor, Justice, Attorney, and other ministers to govern Connaught, we allowed them yearly stipends out of the composition made with the country in lieu of all other taxes and cesses. The composition, amounting to nearly 4,000*l.* a year, was received by Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner, and out of it 2,313*l.* Irish were paid to our ministers. The rest was commonly spent by the Chief Commissioner in "pretended extraordinary charges arising by the troubles of the country." But now, owing to the rebellion in that country of late years, little of the composition money has been answered; yet the Commissioners, though not residing within the province, have demanded their stipends out of the treasure sent for our army. This is not to be allowed, but you are to consider how that province may be reduced to quietness, and the composition answered. As, however, the Chief Commissioner is to be in the province for ordering martial affairs there, if the composition money will not stretch so far, he is to be allowed his entertainment out of the treasure sent from England.

(11.) You are not to "give the order of knighthood to any but such as shall be, both of blood and livelihood, sufficient to maintain that calling, except at some notable day of service to bestow it for reward upon some such as in the field have extraordinarily deserved it." Former Deputies have dishonoured us in this respect.

(12.) Inquire what has been done since the death of the Earl of Clancare for the rule of the country of Desmond. As he has left no lawful issue male, all his lands ought to revert to our Crown. Inquire how Florence McCartney, who married

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the Earl's daughter, behaves himself, and whether he attempts to meddle with the Earl's possessions. If he use any force, "overrule him with forces in our name." Maintain Donnell McCartey, the base son of the said Earl, "a gentleman of good value, and by his wife and his mother of good parentage, with whom also may be joined to assist him O'Sullivan Beare, his kinsman." Nicholas Browne, a son of Sir Valentine Browne's, an undertaker in that country, "and greatly friended by the alliance of his wife, daughter of the said O'Sullivan," can give you information, and is able to serve us against any attempt made by the said Florence.

Copy. Pp. 12.

[April] 268. STATE OF IRELAND.
Vol. 632, p. 158.

"A Summary Collection made of the State of the Realm, as it standeth at this present in the several Provinces thereof, considered in Council, and a double thereof delivered to the Lord Burgh, subscribed with the hands of the Lord Deputy and Council."

Ulster.—Universally revolted; no part of it is free from hostility against her Majesty, and adherence to the capital traitors of Tyrone. The only places left her beyond Dundalk are the Newry, Knockefergus, Carlingford, the Green Castle, Armagh, Dondeom, and Oldrifleete. At the Earl's first entrance into rebellion, there were several countries in Ulster which held for her Majesty, and some of the lords thereof paid rents, composition, and risings-out; namely, O'Hanlon and a great part of Longford, the O'Reyllies in co. Cavan, some of the O'Neales in both the Clandeboyes, and other petty lords, "besides the abbey of Monoughan, which nevertheless was kept by her Majesty at about 1,400*l. per annum*, besides the allowance of Seneschal." Now they are all in confederacy with the Earl. "And further, by a late intelligence understanding that Agnus McConnell hath slain James McSarley, the Earl is more drawn to those parts, as is said, with his forces, of purpose to establish McWyllie in the Rowte, whereby he may engross also into his hands to rule that country; for McWillye, being but a simple man, shall bear but the name, and the Earl shall command in it."

Connaught.—Not one of the six shires (Clare, Gallway, Mayo, Roscomon, Slego, and Leytrym) is free from revolt, but each has its particular disturbers. Sir Conyers Clyfford, Chief Commissioner there, with 21 companies of foot and a half, besides horse, was not strong enough to reduce the rebels to obedience, for his companies were weak, and O'Donnell "tyrannizeth over most of these people at his pleasure, having drawn to his side the whole country of Leytrym, whereof the O'Rourkes have usurped rule, and are at his devotion; and in effect the whole country of Mayo, where he hath set up a supposed McWilliam, who is the most notorious traitor in

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Connaught, and altogether at his commandment only. We understand from Sir Conyers Clifford that he is in hand to draw certain chief septs * of the Rourkes from McWilliam; namely, Tybbott ne Longe, who being a Rourke better descended than McWilliam, and near as strong as he in the followers of the country, it will be to good purpose for her Majesty's service if he might be separated from McWilliam; for that, by his practice and example to leave him, it is like that sundry other septs would fall from him." In Roscomon the Clandermodes and O'Connors are the "disturburs;" in Gallway, a strong sept of the O'Flarties and Joyes, besides Feagh McHughe and the O'Kellyes, who follow him. In co. Sligo the O'Harryes, the O'Hartes, and divers others are overawed by O'Donnell, and combined with McWilliam. Co. Clare is in better condition, the Earl of Thomond having a band of 150 foot in her Majesty's pay for the defence of that province; but lately we received from the Earl "an accusation wherein one of his own brethren is charged to practise to go to the King of Spain to pray aid of him to make a stir and alteration in that country."

Munster.—"There hath been not long since an intelligence between the rebels of Connaught and some of the McShees and other ill-affected people of Mounster, of whom, after they had committed several murders of some of the English Undertakers there, and done many other outrages, the greater number have been at sundry times cut off, some of the White Knight and others of the country, some by her Majesty's forces, and some by justice, insomuch as there standeth up none that we know, any man of name, against her Majesty in that province, except two chief persons of the McShees, and two base sons of the Viscount Roche, which being followed by a rabble of loose people, stand out still, though both we and the Vice-President have often dealt with the Viscount Roche for the suppression of his base sons, or to deliver them into justice."

Leinster.—By the late cutting off of the ancient traitor Feoghe McHughe, Leinster "will grow to better terms of settling and conformity," but many of his followers remain, such as the O'Moores, "who infest the Queen's County, and, joining with some of the Connors, they vex also the King's County." "There are also some of the Butlers (though James, the chief man of action, be cut off), who ranging up and down the borders of Kilkenny and Carlowe, having of their adherency some of the Connaughts (*sic*); and there are also sundry of the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, and specially two sons of Feogh McHughe and Feoghe's uncle, who, being all traitors with Feoghe, hold the same course they did in his time, though

* "Steppes" in MS.

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they make show, as we are advertised, that they will be glad to come in to make their personal submissions and deliver pledges for their loyalties;" a matter which we leave to the consideration of the Lord Burghe, with the further advice of the Council. Sundry persons in this province do not openly declare themselves, but are suspicious and doubtful. They should be assured by good pledges or other security.

"Touching the five shires of the English Pale, though many of them have showed more backwardness to answer the service and their own defence than were meet, which, we think, groweth more upon their poor estate and waste of their countries than of any wilfulness or corrupt mind towards her Majesty; yet in many of the meaner sort, upon the borders both towards the North and the co. of Kildare, some of the Bastard Garraldines, and especially two base brothers of the now Earl of Kildare, are in open rebellion with two of the Eustaces; and in Westmeath some of the Nugents, Bryan Reogh O'Moore, and one Tirrell, called Captain Tirrell, now in the pay of the Earl of Tyrone, are in action, besides some of the Magoughegans, the O'Mallaughlins, O'Malloyes, O'Coffies, and other[s], are apparently suspicious, who, holding correspondence with open traitors, are thought to be instruments to set out sometimes the goods of their neighbours, and to be guides to the rebels in their invasions into the Pale, as hath been at sundry times informed by the better sort of the English Pale."

As for the state of the armies, the Muster Master thinks that since March last they have been diminished about a third, partly by sickness; and a "collection" made by him is delivered to the Lord Burghe.

Of the munition issued by warrant or remaining in the store since the supply in March, the Master of the Ordnance has made a certificate. The like is done by the Victualler. These certificates are delivered to Lord Burghe, and doubles of these are sent to your Lordships, together with one from Mr. Treasurer of the money remaining in his hands.

Of the pledges and prisoners in the Castle of Dublin, the constable has made a catalogue, and the constable of Knockfergus has done the like. Of such as are in Connaught, Mounster, and elsewhere, the governors of those places shall make certificates.

P.S.—Sir John Norries has returned from the borders with a letter from Tyrone to himself, on the 12th of this month, "wherein Tyrone desired to prefix him a reasonable time for the gathering together of his confederates, to bring them to the borders." Norries found Tyrone almost desperate of any conclusion now to be made with him, "considering the access of these forces lately sent over, and other reasons, contrived by himself to serve his own turn." After the production of this letter, Lord Burghe demanded of the Council "their advice what course were meet for him to hold with Tyrone." We,

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the Lord Deputy and Council, having deliberated, resolved that it could not prejudice her Majesty's service to yield him a respite of time. It was agreed that Norries should write to him that "the State was contented to prefix unto him the 20th day of the next month, not making mention of any cessations."

"In this respite of time, as it is like that it will be seen what will become of the Spaniards, so we shall have commodities thereby to strengthen the borders, and be fit not only to defend and resist their incursions into the Pale, but also to invade and offend the enemies of Leinster as occasion shall offer. And yet the forces, being thus laid upon the borders, may be always ready to make present head against the Spaniard, if he shall attempt to march toward Dublin or the English Pale, as is doubted by your Lordships, if he make his descent at Waterford or thereabouts."

Dated "1597," by Carew.

Copy. Pp. 10.

May 20. 269.
Vol. 601, p. 141a.

The QUEEN to the LORD BURGHE, Lord Deputy.

Besides the great charge of our army in Ireland, "there are many things omitted by loose and negligent handling, which, straighter looked into, might cut off many superfluous and needless charges, as well for unnecessary wards as superfluous offices." In such matters use the advice of our Chief Justice Gardener and our Treasurer Wallope. The former has a commission to inquire into disorders of this nature.

"We find that our Chief Baron and the rest of the Barons in Ireland do grant at their discretion divers good sums of money in nature of *mandamus*." Give direction to our Treasurer to pay no more of them, except they be allowed by three or four of our Council, including either Gardener or Wallope.

We send you two commissions, little varying from those which you had with you, for letting our lands and wards. Some experienced persons are to be of the *Quorum* with you.

"There have been many foul abuses by selling of offices, by making of sheriffs imperpetuities, whose lewdness hath been caused of many revolts in regard of their oppressions."

We are informed now that most of our forces in Ireland have never paid the country for their diet. Inquisition to be made. Many debts claimed of us by captains may be disproved.

O'Donnell escaped "by practice of money bestowed on somebody." Call to you the Chancellor, Chief Justice Gardener, and the Treasurer, and inquire "who they are that have been touched with it."

"As these things are very fit to be inquired of by such as have best means to know it and will most clearly examine it, our pleasure is that you do appoint specially for this

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inquisition (as Commissioners) some of the lords of the country, amongst the which none are fitter in regard of their late employment than the Earl of Thomonde and the Baron of Delvyn, with any other, such as you our Deputy shall think meet. And as for the matter of O'Donnell's escape, none is fitter than the Lord of Delvyn to be used, who is able to say much in the matter."

Greenwich, 20 May 1597.

P.S.—The Chancellor is omitted from these commissions [respecting Crown lands and wards], but not "for lack of trust."

Copy. Pp. 2.

May 27. 270. JOURNAL of SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL, Lord Deputy.

Vol. 612.

(From 24 June 1594 to 27 May 1597.)

June 24th, 1594.—My Lady [Russell] took her journey from Chiswick to St. Alban's.

25th.—My Lord went with the Queen from Tiballs, the Lord Treasurer's house, to Mr. Wrothe's, at Enfeilde, where her Majesty dined. In the afternoon my Lord took leave and went to Donstable.

26th.—My Lord went to Stonystratford, and met my Lady, with the Earl of Bedford.*

27th.—Went to Coventry, to the sign of the Pannier.

28th.—To Lichefeilde.

29th.—To Stone.

30th, Sunday.—To Nantwich. "My Lord's chaplain preached in the forenoon."

July 1st, 1594.—To Westchester.

2nd.—Visited by several gentlemen, who sent him venison.

5th.—My Lord and Lady dined at the Mayor of Chester's.

8th.—Dined at Serjeant Warborton's, vice-chamberlain of Chester. Visited the Bishop, Dr. Chaterton, who lay sick.

9th.—A packet despatched to my Lord Treasurer [Burleigh].

11th.—From Westchester to Hillbrye. Waited for a wind until Sunday 14th. Then put to sea, and went down the river to Gayton.

15th.—"We went to hunt at the Earl of Derby's, at Nestow Lodge."

17th.—"My Lord wrote to Mr. Maynarde about explanation of that point in the Queen's letter concerning his entertainment;" and to Lady Warwick and Mr. Oldiswoorth about the same.

18th.—My Lord and Lady went aboard the Queen's ship.

19th.—The wind continuing contrary, they landed again on the Welsh side.

* The names of the lords and gentlemen who met or entertained Lord Russell in his journey are specified.

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20th.—To Glothaithe.

21st.—At Mr. Mostian's.

22nd.—Letters to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Essex, and Lady Warwick, enclosed to Smithe.

23rd.—Over Abraconwaye passage and Penmen Mawre to Bea Morris (Sir Richard Burklye's).

24th.—To Hollyheade. Waited for a wind until the 31st, when we took shipping in the morning, and arrived that night at the Head of Hothe. My Lord lay that night at my Lord of Hothe's.

August 1st, 1594.—To Dublin. Were met by the Council, captains, mayor, and other gentlemen, to the number of 500 horse. "My Lord lighted at one Mr. Bise's, a new house near the Castle."

2nd.—My Lord met the Council, and desired before receiving the sword to learn the state of the country. Appointed officers of his household.

3rd.—"My Lord's concordatum about land carriage was signed and allowed."

4th.—His arrival notified to the Council [in England].

5th.—Warrant for the repair of the Castle against my Lord's entrance.

6th.—Sir Richard Bingham went to the relief of Eliskellin (Enniskillen) Castle.

7th.—My Lord dined at Kilmainham; my Lady went to the Castle [of Dublin] to prepare it.

8th.—My Lord of Ormonde came to visit my Lord.

9th.—The Bishop of Fernes, the Earl of Thomond, and others came to visit my Lord.

10th.—Sir Thomas Norries came to visit my Lord. Sir Richard Bingham returned upon news that our people had received an overthrow at Eliskellin, under Sir Edward Harbert and Sir Henry Duke, and lost men, horses, and an ensign. My Lord first dined in the Castle.

Sunday, 11th.—My Lord received the sword with great solemnity. Sir William FitzWilliams dined with my Lord; Sir Stephen Thornar knighted.

12th.—The Council engaged in preparing warrants and orders for general hostings.

13th.—News that 2,500 Scots had landed and preyed Kerifergus (Carrickfergus).

14th.—"News came of the Earl's (of Tyrone) coming to do his duty to my Lord, a thing unexpected of all men generally." Sir William FitzWilliams took his leave.

15th.—The Earl of Tyrone came in to my Lord and the Council, and delivered his submission in writing.

16th.—"My Lord took a view of all the men that were to go out of Dublin to attend Sir Richard Bingham, and he refused them, and gave Captain Streete licence to find voluntary men for that service."

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17th.—“My Lord's company of gentlemen, being holberders, musketeers, and callivers, set forward towards Elliskellin Castle, under Collier.”

18th, Sunday.—My Lord went to the church for the first time as Deputy; Dr. Hanmer* preached.

19th.—My Lord prepared my† despatch for England to the Court, with letters to her Majesty and the Council. My Lord began his journey to Elliskellin. The wind proved contrary, and I could not go till the next day. My Lord lodged at Trim, at Mr. Ashe's, his own man's house. He was accompanied by Sir Robert Gardiner, Sir George Bowrcher, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Thomas Norreis, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and others.

20th.—My Lord went to Mullingar (Mr. Hope's).

21st.—To Athlone Castle (Sir Richard Bingham's).

22nd.—Stayed there for the munition.

23rd.—To Roscommon (Mr. Malbie's).

24th.—To the abbey of Boyle (Sir George Bingham's).

25th.—Stayed at Boyle for the companies appointed to meet there.

26th.—Over the Curlewes to Dromdona, with the companies.

27th.—To the hill of Killargan, *alias* Mallaghenenuragh.

28th.—To Ballaghnerlaghe; passed the bogs with very great danger.

29th.—To Glacknemaucha. “My Lord went in person to see the cashes made towards the pass near the river Ellis; but it could not that night be performed sufficiently.”

30th.—It was resolved that some companies should beat the pass, and work a passage over the river, “grown great by fall of much rain.” About 400 or 500 men were passed over the ford by 2 o'clock, with whom my Lord marched towards the Castle, and entered it without any let. Letters came from the constable that the enemies were fled. The Earl of Tyrone sent letters to my Lord.

31st.—The rest of the army reached the Castle. Some men and garrons were lost at the river.

September 1st, 1594, Sunday.—After the sermon by Mr. Richardson, my Lord's chaplain, Sir William Clarke and Sir Robert Needham were knighted. Sir Richard Bingham was sent on before to pass the river Erne.

2nd.—My Lord with the rest of the army passed the Erne in a great boat; some essaying to ride over were drowned, among them Mr. Cicil, a pensioner. Encamped at Aghnerina.

3rd.—Ballaghleina, between two great and foul passes, where the enemy had encamped before.

* “Hammon” in the margin in Carew's hand.

† “F. Michell” in the margin.

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4th.—To Agrioghe in Dortrye, where Sir John Orreille and the rest of that name met my Lord.

5th.—To the Cavan. "The bands were mustered, and order taken for their discharge, or repair to places of garrison."

6th.—To Logchrine (Mr. Plunkett's).

7th.—To Abrechan (my Lord of Meath's), and stayed there all Sunday the 8th.

9th.—"They returned all to Dublin Castle."

10th to 14th.—My Lord reposed himself.

15th.—Letters to England; but the wind contrary:

16th.—"I (Michell?) landed with my letters from her Majesty, from the Lords of the Council, and my Lord's private friends, and news of 8,000*l.* treasure."

17th.—The Earl of Kildare and the Baron of Dunkellin returned from the Court and visited my Lord.

18th to 23rd.—"O."

24th.—"My Lord passed Rocester's ward."

25th.—"My Lord sent away letters by Sir Edward Yorke, who went post to the Court. And divers of my Lord's people were then put to their pension to live at 8*d.* and 12*d.* the day, or else to return home with letters to their friends." Letters sent by Mr. Collier. The packet of the 14th sent to Westchester. Sir Robert Needham departed into England.

26th.—"Sir Edward Moore went away, about dealing with the Earl of Tyrone, to Mellifante."

27th.—"My Lord went to take the air." Sir William Weston, Chief Justice, died, and was buried on the 28th.

29th.—"The old mayor [of Dublin] feasted my Lord and Lady at his house."

30th.—"The old mayor came and yielded up the sword to my Lord. The Recorder made a speech of the charters of the city. My Lord made choice of Garret to be mayor, and delivered him the sword and the staff, and made a speech."

October 1st, 1594.—Letters from Sir Edward Moore about a month's truce with the Earl of Tyrone; and a ship brought the Earl's steward.

2nd.—Moore's letters answered.

3rd.—7,000*l.* brought by one Crosse from the Lord Treasurer.

4th and 5th.—A ship came upon the Bar; suspected to be a pirate, or to have prohibited goods. My Lord sent to make search and confiscate.

6th.—Mr. Francis [Russell], my Lord's son, sick.

7th.—Two prisoners that made resistance in the ship committed by my Lord.

8th.—Packet from Sir Robert Cicill.

9th.—"Sir Robert Gardiner was stayed by my Lord of his journey into England."

12th and 13th.—Moore returned from the truce with Tyrone. "Sir William Clerke returned from the journey of bringing the Lady Wallop home to Eneskorfen."

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16th.—My Lord sent a packet to the Court by my man. Letters from Knockfergus of spoils done thereabout.

21st.—“My Lord granted a commission to search in Wexford, Rosse, and Waterford for prohibited wares to pass for France; Mr. Brisket was a commissioner.” He signed Hartpole's *fiant* for Carlowe Castle. Wrote to the Lord Treasurer and Sir Henry Wallop by Crosse.

22nd.—Letters from Sir E. Moore about “more time of truce” with Tyrone.

23rd.—“News came of the death of Dowde, and wardship of his son; slain by Crofton.”

24th.—“Letters were made ready for England, to be sent by Crosse, Sir H. Wallop's man, to Smith, concerning serving (?) the fishing with cash (?)”

25th.—Commission to search at Galway for prohibited commodities. Letter to Sir R. Bingham.

26th.—“Letters from the Lord Admiral about one Trevor to make trial of beef and bacon” for the shipping. My Lord granted him a letter to Sir Thomas Norreis.

27th, Sunday.—The Bishop of Limerick preached. “Thorneboroughe, Crofte, and Higham were in the field.”

28th.—My Lord granted the Bishop of Limerick leave to go to England. Letters to Cragfergus, by Mr. Egerton, constable there. “News came that Jones was killed at Chester by Goldwell (Colonel ?) Rogers.”

29th October to November 3rd, 1594.—“Little done, save some letters written to Feagh McHughe for some truce, upon his desire of going or sending into England.”

4th and 5th.—“The judges sat about the choosing of sheriffs for the whole realm.”

6th.—The first day of full term. “The Lords came to visit my Lord; and all the judges strangers.” Warrants of full pay to the Clerk of the Cheque.

12th.—Warrants for Brian FitzWilliam's patent of 10s. the day, and for 10 horsemen for Sir William Clerke, my Lord's uncle.

13th.—“My Lord sent the warrant to the Queen's Council after the Serjeant had signed it, but the Solicitor would not, and Mr. Attorney did, but scraped out his name, and it passed with one counsellor's hand.”

14th.—Letter to England about the former matter.

15th.—My Lord sat the first time in the Star Chamber.

16th.—Patent for Sir W. Clerke's pension. “One was executed for treason.”

17th, Sunday, the Queen's [accession] day.—“My Lord was wonderfully attended on with five bishops, the councillors and divers earls and lords. This day my Lord pricked the sheriffs privately by himself, a roll being delivered and their warrants.”

18th.—“There were divers made shows, and my Lord Kildare on the one side and Warham St. Leger on the other side

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ran at ring, and Mr. Malby and Mr. Norton; and after went to tourney in armour."

19th.—Letters from England, by a messenger of the [Queen's] Chamber.

20th.—Other letters from England.

21st.—"A great consultation by my Lord with all the lord-borderers, to stand upon their defence with their own powers."

27th.—Mittou concluded with my Lord about the "great grant."

28th.—The term ended.

December 17th, 1594.—Packet [for England] by Tashe, who had long waited for a wind. The two Duttons, Wentworth, and Manchester departed. Caverlie and Beeston mustered the 200 men brought by them out of Lancashire and Cheshire. Sir William Clarke and Mr. Brisket went to Enyscorthy to the Lady Wallopp's, for Christmas.*

January 16th, 1594[-5].—"My Lord took a hunting journey to Ballenecar, and drove Feogh McHugh out of his house into the Glinnes, and placed a garrison there of Captain Street's company."

17th.—"Feogh McHugh, Risse his wife, Walter Reogh, and all their sons and followers were proclaimed traitors." My Lord came to Newcastle (Sir H. Harrington's).

18th.—My Lord returned to Dublin.

19th, Sunday.—Captain Street sent in five of the traitors' heads.

21st.—Captain Chichester sent to Ballenecor with powder and shot.

22nd.—"More provision sent by water to Arcklo for the garrison at Ballenecor."

24th.—"Captain Chichester returned, and brought in Feogh's brother, who came in voluntarily and submitted himself. Mr. Michell† sent into England with a packet of letters. The mayor and sheriffs of Dublin rescued a ward of the Queen's, whom my Lord had sent the Queen's sergeant for. The ward was one widow Doughill's son. This night, in the watch within the city, a spy was taken which came from Feogh McHugh, who was committed to the Castle."

25th.—"The spy which was committed was examined. The mayor sent in the ward, and came and submitted himself to my Lord on his knee, craving pardon for that he had done. My Lord appointed him to be at the Council Chamber in the afternoon. My Lord and the Council met this afternoon in Council."

26th.—Felimy Toole's son taken by the sheriff of co. Dublin, and committed to the Castle. The Earl of Ormond visited my Lord. Feogh's porter taken.

* After this date the journal is written by a different hand.

† Qu. the writer of the first portion of this journal. See note on p. 222.

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27th.—“Hugh Duffe came in, certifying my Lord he had taken certain of the traitors' heads.” My Lord and the Council sat.

28th.—Lords Ormond and Delvin dined with my Lord.

29th.—My Lord and the Council sat; and on the 30th.

30th.—This night Garrald FitzGarrald (W. Reogh's brother), with 80 followers, burned Crumlin. “My Lord went out into St. Thomas' Street, and caused the gates to be opened, and sent horsemen thither.”

31st.—“My Lord and the Council sat in the Exchequer Star Chamber in the forenoon, and in the Council in the afternoon.”

“MY LORD'S JOURNEY to BALLENECOR, being accompanied with Sir George Bouchier, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Sir Harry Harrington, lieutenant, Sir Ralph Lane, Sir William Clarke, knights, with many other gentlemen: beginning the 1st of February 1594[-5]. Captain Chichester, sergeant-major; Mr. Bowen, marshal. Corporals of the field:—Captain Prise, Captain Kellie, Mr. North, Mr. Beeston.”

February 1st.—To Newcastle (Sir H. Harrington's).

2nd, Sunday.—Divers of Feogh McHugh's followers received in upon protection.

3rd.—Encamped at Killnomanagh.

4th.—Encamped near Ballenecor. A messenger from Feogh McHugh and Walter Reagh desiring to parley with Sir Harry Harrington.

5th.—My Lord began the fortification [of Ballenecor]. Captains Streete and Wyllis sent forth on service. Licence to Harrington to parley with Feogh and Walter. He met them, accompanied by horse and foot, between two great hills two miles from the camp. They desired mercy and pardon.

6th.—“The camp continued fortifying at Ballenecor” till the 22nd.

7th.—Streete and Wyllis's companies returned, bringing in a girl who had warned six kerne to escape by her cries. “The foragers took a prisoner in a house, wherein they found a bag of bullets newly molten for the enemy.” He was executed.

8th.—My Lord marched five miles into the Glinnes with Streete and Wyllis's companies. Letters from England.

9th, Sunday.—The camp continued near Ballenecor. Mr. Wheeler preached in the forenoon. Letter from the Earl of Ormond. Streete and Wyllis's companies sent forth. My Lord was certified that James FitzGarrald, Walter Reogh's brother, was taken prisoner by Dermond McMorris [Kavanagh].

10th.—The Earl of Ormond came to the camp.

11th.—100 churls came out of the O'Birnes' country, to work at the fort.

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12th.—Street and Wyllis's companies brought in a follower of W. Reagh. Letters from England. Victuals sent for to Dublin.

13th.—My Lord went to see a pass cut near the camp. The prisoner executed. The foragers brought in the head of a follower of Feogh McHugh. Certain soldiers, having strayed from their companies, were benighted, and took a house and barn to defend themselves. Before Captain Chichester, sergeant-major, could relieve them, the enemy had fired the house and killed three of our soldiers and two boys. The sergeant-major met some of Ormond's company, and not knowing one another they skirmished; but little harm was done.

14th.—Victuals came from Dublin.

15th.—Sir William Clarke with horsemen rode to Arcklo, and brought James FitzGarrald to the camp as prisoner.

16th, Sunday.—Mr. Wheeler preached. Proclamation to bring in all the goods and chattels of the traitors, "whomsoever had received the same."

17th.—"My Lord rode up to Dromkitt, the pass being cut as his Lordship passed, the strength of the place being reported to be such as one man might resist ten; but my Lord found it otherwise."

18th.—My Lord rode to Killcomen to see the pass cut there. Ormond met him.

20th.—Letters from Ormond.

21st.—News from Streete and Wyllis that they had driven Walter Reagh from his house at Ballenehorne, and that Garrald McMorris, Reagh's brother, Daniel Reerton, one of their chief shot, and another were slain, their heads being brought in. Some of Ormond's company assisted them. The Earl of Ormond dined with my Lord; "after which they rode to Ballenecor to view the fort."

23rd, Sunday.—Mr. Wheeler preached. The camp rose and marched towards Dublin, as far as the New Town. Letters from the North, from Captain Greemes, certifying the overthrow of the enemy there. "Morris, Hugh Duff's son, brought in on (one?) Redman Ogg his head, and a prisoner whose name was Daniell Birne, a kinsman of Feogh's."

24th.—The camp broke up. My Lord returned to Dublin. The Lord Chancellor (Archbishop Loftus) with the rest of the Council met my Lord; likewise the Earl of Kildare, the Lord of Howth, and others; in all, 200 horse.

25th–27th.—My Lord and the Council sat; and almost daily till 10 April.

27th.—Mr. Ashe sent into England with letters. "A prisoner condemned in the Castle broke his fetters, and by the help of other prisoners got over the wall at the grate, and escaped."

28th.—News that about the Navan the enemy was 700 strong. "This night two drunkards, falling out within the suburbs of Dublin, raised the cry, which put many presently

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in readiness with armour and weapon." News that Arcklo was burned.

March 1st, 1594[-5].—Mr. Chester came to Dublin.

2nd.—The Primate* died this day.

5th.—"The Primate was buried, at whose funeral my Lord and the Council was present, Mr. Richardson preaching the funeral sermon at Christ Church." Walter Reagh's father committed, upon suspicion of relieving his son.

7th.—Letters from England.

9th.—Sir Richard Bingham came to Dublin.

10th.—Mr. Chester took leave for England.

11th.—Sir R. Bingham departed.

13th.—Letters to England by Mr. Linche.

15th.—Letters and 8,000*l.* received from England. Sir Ed. Yorke arrived. Mr. Phifould's servants brought in the head of Edmond Leonard, a follower of Feogh, and took a prisoner. Mr. Ashe arrived with letters from England.

18th.—Sir Harry Norris certifies the arrival of British soldiers at Waterford.

19th.—The Lords of Slany and Delvin came to visit my Lord.

24th.—Letters out of England from Mr. Michell.

25th.—The heads of Shaan McDermond Ogge, Dermond Dore, and John Kellie, followers of Feogh, were brought in.

29th.—Plot of prisoners in the Castle dungeon to escape by undermining the wall.

April 1st, 1595.—Captain Russell mustered his 50 horsemen on the Green.

2nd.—Sir Harry Norris came to Dublin.

5th.—Two heads of Feogh's followers brought in. "The Britten soldiers came into Dublin." My Lord and Sir H. Harrington laid a plot for the taking of Walter Reogh.

7th.—The Britten soldiers were mustered at the Green. James FitzGarrauld and another executed. Mr. Mountague brought word of the taking of Walter Reogh in a cave by Sir H. Harrington.

8th.—Walter Reogh brought into the Castle.

9th.—W. Reogh examined before the Lord Deputy and Council, and sentenced to be hanged in chains. Letters to England by Mr. Bostock and Mr. Talbott.

10th.—W. Reogh hanged in chains.

"MY LORD'S JOURNEY into COSHAN and SHEELELA, being accompanied with the Lord of Howth, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Sir Edward Yorke, Sir William Clarke, knights, and with divers other captains and gentlemen: beginning the 11th of April 1595. Sir Harry Harrington, lieutenant-general; Captain Chichester, sergeant-major; Mr. Bowen, mar-

* John Garvey, Archbishop of Armagh.

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shal. Captain Prise, Captain Kellie, Mr. North, [and] Mr. Higham, corporals of the field."

April 11th, 1595.—From Dublin to Castle Dermon (Mr. Noble's).

12th.—Stayed for the companies. Garrald McShaan Begg's head sent in by Doulin McBrian.

13th.—To Kilknock. Letters from the Lord Chancellor and Council at Dublin.

14th.—Two prisoners, Edmond McMorris, gent., and Turlagh O'Nolane, kerne, brought in by Captain Willis, and executed.

15th.—Sir Harry Norris visited my Lord at Kilknock. Lieut. Greemes brought in one Hall, a seminary priest, taken at the Lady Colie's house. He was examined before my Lord and the Council, and committed close prisoner to Dublin Castle.

16th.—To Newston, at Mr. Peirse Butler's castle. Letters from the Lord Chancellor and Council.

17th.—Word brought by Captain Mince that the enemy had left the woods.

18th.—To Monies. Word brought that Captain Street's lieutenant was slain in rescuing cows at Ballenecor from the enemy; at which time Garrald Reogh, one of the enemy's chief shot, was slain. An unsuccessful assault was made by Feogh's sons and followers on the fort there.

19th.—Letters from Captain Willis "that he had the day before the enemy in chase from Ballenecor through the Glinnes, but night falling could not overtake them, yet forced them by their speed to leave their mantles, swords, and targets in the way behind."

20th, Easter Sunday.—The camp still at Money. "Mr. Wheeler preached; after which my Lord knighted Sir Edward Munings."

21st.—"My Lord rode abroad hunting stud." Heads of Morrough O'Birne Mulchonery and Torne Roe, two kernes, brought in. Mr. Mountague, Lieutenant Greemes, and Donnio Spannio "sent abroad upon service several ways." Morrough McEdmond examined, and committed to the Marshal.

22nd.—My Lord rode to Mr. Masterson's castle at Fernes, where he passed the night.

23rd.—My Lord returned to the camp at Moneys. Mr. James FitzGarrald sent in three traitors' heads, whose names were Mortough O'Eowter, Morrow Boy O'Birne, and Edmond McGarrett.

24th.—Mr. St. Lawrance and Hugh Duffe sent on service with the Lord of Howth's company. Mr. Mountague and Lieutenant Greemes returned to the camp.

25th.—"My Lord rode to view Ballenchorne, Walter Reogh's late habitation." Mr. James Butler brought in the heads of Turlagh McCahire, O'Toole Sollis, Richard Balligh, Shaan McCasheene Farrill, Towhill McKeagho, Roorie McKeagho, and Edmond Reogh. Three of Feogh's shot came in and craved pardon. Victuals from Dublin.

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26th.—My Lord rode to Eniscorffie, to Sir Harry Wallop's.
27th.—Mr. Masterson brought in two prisoners and a woman.

28th.—My Lord returned to the camp at Money. Letters from Sir H. Harrington, that Rise Feogh's wife and a sister of hers were taken prisoners. Two traitors' heads brought in.

29th.—Sir H. Harrington brought in Rise Feogh's wife and her sister, who were examined before the Council. The two men whom Mr. Masterson brought in were executed.

30th.—Sir Geoffrey Fenton, being unwell, took his journey towards Dublin. Captain Mince brought in the head of Feogh's piper. Captain Willis brought in two traitors' heads.

May 1st, 1595.—Captain Streete brought in the head of Patrick McShaan Bribb.

2nd.—My Lord surveyed the country.

3rd.—Captain Streete sent upon service.

4th, Sunday.—Mr. Wheeler preached. Mr. St. Lawrence and Hugh Duffe returned, bringing in two prisoners.

5th.—My Lord went a hunting.

6th.—Letters from England. Fire in the camp; 10 houses burned. News of Sir John Norris's landing at Waterford.

7th.—Captain Street returned, bringing in three prisoners.

8th.—The prisoners examined before my Lord and the Council.

9th.—The camp marched from Money to Rossebaune.

10th.—My Lord went a fishing. Letters received from England, and from the Lord Chancellor and Council at Dublin.

11th.—Mr. Wheeler preached. "This night, after the watch set, by the noise of a great tree which fell, the cry was raised throughout the camp, and every one ready expecting th' alarum."

12th.—Letters from the Council in England by Mr. Cuffe.

13th.—"The camp (at Rossebaune) broke up, and the companies appointed to places of garrison." My Lord rode to Baltinglas, where he lay at the abbey (Sir Harry Harrington's). Sir H. Harrington took two of the Toolis, brothers, who were examined before the Council, and condemned by martial law. Mr. Masterson brought in Donnio Reogh prisoner.

14th.—My Lord went to St. Oltan's (Mr. Allen's). The two Toolis were executed at Baltinglas.

15th.—My Lord returned to Dublin. The Lord Chancellor and Council, with many knights and gentlemen, met him in the way. He sat in Council immediately; and did so almost daily till the end of June.

18th.—My Lord was certified by Captain Merrimans that the Earl of Tyrone's forces were spoiling the Queen's subjects in co. Longford. Order taken for the relieving of Monohon.

20th.—Despatches to England.

21st.—"Sir Edward Yorke and Sir Wm. Clarke took their journey towards the Newrie, to Sir Henry Bagnall, who was sent Lieutenant-General over 1,500 soldiers for the relieving

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of Monohon." Captain Trever landed at Dublin with his company.

22nd.—Letters from Sir John Norris.

23rd.—My Lord and the Council sat in the Star Chamber. Mr. Phillipps, the Lord of Buckhurst's secretary, sent into England with letters. "Donnio Reogh was arraigned for receiving Redman McFeogh, who was a proclaimed traitor, and suffered him to depart without apprehending; for which he was tried by a jury and found guilty of treason, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered." Captain Belinge brought in Donnio McDallio prisoner, who was a reliever of Feogh McHugh and his sons.

24th.—Three prisoners condemned for felony were executed.

26th.—Rise Toole, Feogh McHugh's wife, arraigned, and by a jury found guilty of treason.

27th.—Feogh's wife sentenced to be burned. A Britten soldier for murder condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

28th.—Donnio Reogh and Donnio Dallio hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason. One executed with them for helping a prisoner to escape from the Castle. This day my Lady "found" to Sir Henry Harrington's son, who was named Russell Harrington.

30th.—Sir Edward Moore certified receipt of intelligence that the Marshal had relieved Monohon, and was returned to the Newrie, between which and Dundalk Tyrone lay with his forces to stop our army's passage. Captain Streete certified that some of his company had met with Feogh McHugh, and one of our soldiers wounded Feogh with a "skayne" in flying, and brought away his sword, target, and head-piece. Two of Feogh's company, named Thomas McHugh McOwen and Dermond McHugh McOwen, were slain, and their heads brought in. Sir John Norries came to Dublin, and visited my Lord.

June 1st, 1595, Sunday.—Lieut. Tucher came to Dublin, with the report of the relieving of Monohon, from Sir Henry Bagnall and the rest of the commanders.*

2nd.—"Sir John Norris, Sir Henry and Sir Thomas, with other captains and gentlemen, dined with my Lord, where they were honorably feasted."

3rd.—Mr. John Clarke arrived with letters from the Marshal at the Newrie.

4th.—One of the O'Reilies sent in the heads of McMahon's brother and two others. Mr. Michell arrived with letters from England.

5th.—Letters sent into England by Captain Dearing.

6th.—"My Lord sat in the Council of wars. Letters from Sir Richard Bingham certifying "the betraying and murder-

* This "report" is copied into the journal. It is calendared on pp. 109-110.

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ing of Captain George Bingham at Sligo Castle by one of the Bourks (Ulick Bowrke), his ensign, who took the castle the same time for the enemy, and slew all the English of the ward."

7th.—Sir Edward Yorke, Sir William Clarke, and the rest returned to Dublin from the Newrie, "and disposed of the companies to their places of garrison."

9th.—Mr. Baptist sent into England with letters.

13th.—Sir John Norris dined with my Lord, and departed for the Newrie. The Lord of Delvine sent in, out of the Breny, six traitors' heads.

15th.—The Earl of Thomond came to Dublin, and visited my Lord.

18th.—My Lord began his journey into the North, accompanied by Sir John Norris, Lord President of Munster, Sir George Bourcher, Sir H. Bagnall, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Mr. William Brabson (councillors), Sir H. Norris, Sir Ralph Lane, Sir Edward Yorke, Sir John Dowdall, Sir Robert Salisburie, Sir William Clarke, and other gentlemen. "From Dublin to Mellivant, 23 miles, at Sir Edward More's."

19th.—To Dondalke. The Lord President met my Lord, and brought him into the town.

20th.—Stayed at Dondalke for the companies of the risings-out. Sir H. Bagnall certified that the pass between the Newrie and Dondalke was clear, the enemy lying about the Blackwater.

21st.—Letters from Sir Richard Bingham.

22nd, Sunday.—After the sermon my Lord and the Council sat, and then rode to Sir John Bedlowe's, at Castleton, where they dined.

23rd.—"Tyrone, O'Donell, O'Rorcke, McGwire, McMahon, with the rest were proclaimed traitors at Dondalke by the Queen's Sergeant-at-Arms, the Provost Marshal, her Majesty's Pursuivant, and the bailiffs of Dondalke, with other officers; delivered by one — both in English and Irish."

24th.—To Roskragh. Hugh O'Moloy carried the Queen's standard before my Lord.

25th.—The camp moved to Carrickbaune, but my Lord, the Lord President, and the Council lay at the Newrie. Letters to them from Tyrone brought by a priest whom Sir H. Bagnall employed; "but he being already proclaimed, my Lord and the Council utterly refused to receive them." O'Hanlon carried the Queen's standard before my Lord.

26th.—My Lord and the Council rode to the camp, to see the risings-out mustered. Tyrone and the rest were again proclaimed traitors at the Newrie.

28th.—The camp marched towards Armagh, and encamped near the Ten Mile Church. Captain Merriman despatched with letters to Sir Turlaugh O'Neill. The enemy first showed themselves, to the number of 60 horse. Letters from Sir H. Duke by a messenger who had been taken by the enemy, and

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committed to the custody of a gallowglas, who falling asleep, the messenger escaped, bringing away the head of the gallowglas with him. Letters sent to England.

29th.—The camp marched a mile beyond Armagh, where the enemy again showed themselves. The Council sat at Armagh, and concluded to fortify it, and leave a garrison there.

30th.—The camp marched some miles, for better provision of horse meat. My Lord appointed the pioneers to begin the fortification at Armagh. "Between 12 and 1 of the clock this night, the enemy came near the skirts of our camp, and gave us a volley of shot, by which means th' alarum had like to have been taken, but my Lord being abroad at that instant stayed the same. About an hour after they came again to another side of our camp, and gave us another volley." No harm done.

July 1st, 1595.—Intelligence by a spy that O'Donell, McSwyne, and others with their forces had joined Tirone.

2nd.—The pioneers continued fortifying Armagh. Sir Edward Yorke was sent in pursuit of some of the enemy's horse, but they escaped. Patrick Poyney, one of their chief shot, slain, and his head brought in.

3rd.—The camp marched towards the Newrie, nine miles, leaving a garrison at Armagh.

4th.—A supply of victuals for relieving Monohon sent for to the Newrie, and brought to the camp. 400 of the enemy's horse showed themselves on a hill near us, but fled on our horse drawing towards them. My Lord and the Council sat. Letters sent to England by Captain Trever's brother.

5th.—The camp marched eight miles, and encamped near Armagh. The enemy in sight, but attempted nothing. The Council sat.

7th.—Marched towards Monohon, six miles. The enemy showed themselves.

8th.—Marched to —, six miles. My Lord, the Lord President, and the Council then rode to Monohon and victualled it.

9th.—Marched to Knockfarren *alias* Raynie Hill, towards the Newrie.

10th.—Fords impassable.

11th.—Camp marched to Balleglise, near the Newrie.

12th.—Scouts reported that the enemy were passing towards the pass of the Moyrie. My Lord and the Lord President commanded all the horse to be in readiness, and appointed as many shot on horseback as horses could be provided for. We had the enemy in chase some five miles, "very ill way and full of bogs," but at a main bog 500 of their shot made a stand whilst their horse escaped. O'Hanlon, my Lord's chiefest guide and standard-bearer, was hurt. We killed four of the enemy's men, one of whom was foster brother to Córmoche McBaron, Tyrone's brother, named Donneell; and another was a Scot, brought to the camp and beheaded. They left

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behind many "horses, swords, horsemen's staves, and mantles, with divers other baggages, provision of butter, cheese, and other things." My Lord and the Council sat.

13th.—My Lord and the Council rode to the Newrie, to Sir H. Bagnall's, where they took order for appointing the companies to places of garrison.

14th.—The camp marched eight miles, and encamped near Dondalke, by the church on the hill. We passed through the pass of the Moyrie without hindrance, the enemy having been lately dispersed. My Lord ordered the pioneers to cut the said pass.

15th.—Letters received from England by Mr. Baptist.

16th.—The camp broke up. My Lord rode to Tredaugh. The Council sat.

17th.—My Lord and the Council dined with the Mayor of Tredaugh.

18th.—Returned to Dublin. Turlaugh McFeogh executed under the Castle wall.

22nd.—"James Rea went into England, and carried a packet of letters to Chester, at which time Mr. Percie went over to procure his company."

August 3rd, 1595.*—"Mr. Peirce went with divers letters into England from my Lord and Lady. Martin went with hawks,—a cast to Sir Robert Cicill, a cast to the Countess of Warwick, a cast to the Lord Thomas Hayarde, one goshawk to Fulke Grivill, a cast of marlians (merlins) to the young Lord Essex, and a cast of marlians to the young Mr. Morrison, and a goshawk to the Countess of Essex; in all 12."

4th.—"News came of the landing of the Scots at Copland Island, and of their overthrow by the Queen's shipping, *The Moon*, *The Poppingye*, and one that Captain Riggs had charge of."

5th.—Marviliacke went with despatches to England.

6th.—"Divers passengers landed at night, the wind having been contrary seven weeks before."

7th.—Two packets from the Lord Treasurer. "Divers came with letters, as suitors for captains' places of the men that then were to come over."

9th.—"Some landed of the men, and Captain Tutchter came with them."

10th.—"Some others landed of the horse companies."

11th.—Sir J. Norreis took his journey for the North. Divers of the companies mustered upon the Green.

12th.—Captains Piercey, Chichester, and Noell had companies delivered them. The Council sat almost daily till 8 Sept.

14th.—Sir Richard Bingham came to the town for forces.

16th.—Captain Piggott had a company delivered him. Sir Henry Norreis went to England. A packet for England sent

* From this date to 21 October the journal is resumed by F. Michell.

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to the post of Chester. Letters came out of the North from the Scots. Captains Tutchet and Pigott went to Connaught with their companies.

17th, Sunday.—“The Council met about serious occasions of Connaught matters.”

18th.—“The Council discharged Captain Harecourte, his company being but 16 English left, the rest being ran away.” Sir Henry Duke, Mr. Martin, Mr. Malby, and Tibbot Dillon “had 50 horse put in pay the piece.”

19th.—Mr. Manneringe went with a packet into England. News came that all the cows of the Newry were preyed.

20th.—My Lady [Russell] extremely sick.

21st and 22nd.—Letters from Sir John Norreis.

23rd.—Francis Shane's matter debated in Council; “and he had leave to go into England, to complain of the ill-dealing of Fox, Crowe, Capstock, and Boyle in taking his land.”

24th, Sunday.—Sir Edward Brabzone and Sir William Walgrave, son to Sir William Walgrave, knighted in Christ's Church. Doctor Hanmer preached a very bitter sermon.

25th.—The Council sat.

26th to 29th.—“Nothing done, but receiving of letters out of England, and 1,000 foot, 100 horse—Captain Deringe, Captain Mountague.”

30th.—General muster upon the Green. Sir William Walgrave went to England.

September 1st, 1595.—News of Mr. Warren's capture by the enemy.

2nd.—Sir Robert Napper returned from the circuit.

3rd.—Captain Parsons and Captain Minshewe's companies went to Connaught.

6th.—Letters received from England.

9th.—My Lord took his journey towards Kells, “a place thought most fit to answer the service either in the North or in Connaught.” In his company went the Earl of Thomonde, Sir George Bourcher, and Sir Jeffrey Fenton. He lay that night at Lessmullin (Mr. Cusack's). Thither came Captain Francis Stafforde with letters from the camp from Sir John Norreis, describing a skirmish with the Earl's forces, in which Sir John was hurt, and Sir Thomas Norreis and divers horses lost; “but the Earl driven to retreat, by reason of a stand made at a ford by our forces.” Captain Harvy, High Sheriff of Westmeath, met my Lord. My Lord sent Eustace, a man of his own, to collect beefs and garrons for Sir John Norreis.

10th.—My Lord went towards Kells. The Earl of Kildare and Mr. Plunket, with horsemen and foot companies, met my Lord. The Bishop of Meath met us at his house called Arbrachen. My Lord was attended by Captain Montague and Captain Dearing's horse, and by Captain Stanton, Captain Parker, and the Earl of Thomond's foot companies.

11th.—The day being so wet my Lord could not take the musters. He lodged in Kells, at a poor thatched house of one

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Betaghe, and dined with the Earl of Kildare. "The Earl of Thomond's man, and some other letters brought over from Westchester by James Rea, and were sent to my Lord."

12th.—"My Lord sent letters to Sir John Norreis, &c., and a packet to Dublin, to the Council there."

13th.—"The Earl of Thomond's 50 were mustered, and entered into the country pay."

14th, Sunday.—Mr. Graves preached in the church of Kells. Sir Rafe Lane directed letters about the cheques of the companies. "Sir Henry Bagenoll and Sir Henry Duke certified of the death of old O'Neile, and that Tyrone had created himself O'Neile."

15th.—Sir George Boucher and Mr. Newterville mustered the horsemen.

16th.—My Lord went to Nobber, passing Karne hills. He sent two companies and a company of horse into the Fewes' country, "the draft for a prey being laid by an Irishman of the Geraldines." Lord Slane mustered 50 horse.

17th.—The forces sent forward the day before met us at the hill called —, but without the prey, "in respect that the cry was up, and warning was given before." My Lord returned to Kells. Marviliacke returned with a packet out of England.

19th.—The Earl of Ormonde came to Kells, but left his company at Arbrachen. William Warren delivered out of prison, and came to Kells from the Earl of Tyrone.

20th.—Sir Jeffrey Fenton went from Kells "about the defence of Munster from invasion of Spaniards."

21st.—Captains Dearing and Montague, with 50 horse each, Lord Dunsany with 12 horse, and Captains Stanton, Parker, Garret, and Brett, with their foot companies, were sent to Dondalke to the relief of Sir John Norris.

22nd.—My Lord marched to Ardyne with the Earl of Ormonde. The rebels had preyed the country thereabout.

23rd.—The Baron of Slane, Lord Louth, and others came thither. The camp marched to Tredaghe, where my Lord lodged at the Primate's house. "My Lord left with my Lord of Ormonde my Lord of Thomond's 100 and his Lordship's own 100 horse."

26th.—My Lord dined at Mellifount, at Sir Edward Moore's, and there he hunted a tame stag.

27th.—The Lord of Slane sent in the heads of two rebels. Joan O'Neile, with 12 others, her servants and tenants, were protected at my Lord of Louth's suit. Philip O'Reylly's wife, Maguire's sister, brought by my Lord of Slane to my Lord. The Earl of Ormonde visited my Lord.

28th.—My Lord dined with the Mayor of Tredaghe. A seminary priest, named Piers Cullen, was apprehended. My Lord had a sermon preached by the Primate. Mr. Mannering came with letters from England.

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29th.—My Lord went to Dublin. He was met by Lord Gormaston, Mr. FitzWilliams of Meriom, Sir H. Wallope, Sir Robert Napper, and Sir Anthony St. Leger. New Mayor of Dublin sworn.

October 2nd, 1595.—“Sir Henry Harrington complained of Captain Lea, about the murdering of one of the Tooles, protected by the Council.” My Lord dined at the new Mayor's. Richardson the chaplain was buried, and Mr. Graves, another of his Lordship's chaplains, had the “chantership” given him.

3rd.—Letters from Sir John Norreis of his departure for the relief of Monaghan. Captain Smith came to Tredagh extremely sick, and Sir Edward Yorke came to Dublin sick.

4th.—“The Council sat. Mannering passing the office of searchership,” &c.

5th.—“Mr. Henry Browne, my Lord's servant, went with the packet for England; and Dudley Norton and Spackman and others that passage. Letters came from Sir John Norreis of his return from Monaghan, and sent therewith certain offers of the Earl's.”

6th.—“Letters came from Sir Jeffrey Fenton, that all was well in Munster concerning matter of invasion by Spaniards. The Council sat. Order went for the discharge of all the officers of the field both to Sir John Norreis and Sir Rafe Lane.”

7th.—Letters from the General and Captain Russell.

8th.—Letters sent to England by the post of Chester. “Letters written to Captain Lea, upon Sir Henry Harrington's complaint, that he should bring the body of Dermot O'Toole, and not make his own house a prison.”

9th.—“The men of Tredagh complained of laying garrison with them.”

10th.—News of the killing of Captains Foule and Mince, and one Mr. Terote (or Tewte?), and of much other loss in Connaught done by the Bourks.

11th.—The Earl of Ormonde, Sir John Norreis, Lord Thomonde, &c. came home to Dublin. A prisoner, Dermot O'Toole, sent in by Captain Lea, with many soldiers. “Captain Moyle was with the Queen's ship discharged.” Letters written to Egerton “to set the pledges of Scots at liberty, for that they had kept their word to go out of Ireland without doing hurt.”

12th.—“Sir J. Norreis and the Earl of Ormonde came to dinner to my Lord. They sat in Council after dinner.”

13th.—The Earl of Ormonde departed. Samuel Norton came home with letters from England. Munition landed. A horseman of Captain Mountague's executed for running away.

15th.—News that Rory Oge had burned in the county of Leax. Garrisons planted.

16th.—The matter betwixt Sir Henry Harrington and Thomas Lea, “about killing of O'Toole being protected,” was debated in Council.

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17th.—“News came of some of the Baron of Dalvin's men that were gone, and some stir in Meath. The Council sat, and sundry of the gentlemen of Meath were assembled.”

18th.—The Council sat about the quarrel between the Earl of Thomonde and Darcy, who were both bound. The term adjourned to *Crastina Animarum*. Packet to England. Henry Willins and Mr. Thorpe went that passage.

19th, Sunday.—“They went to the church before and after dinner.”

20th.—“Some letters came that Sir Fra. Drake had taken Cales” (Cadiz).

21st.—The Council sat “about despatch of suitors.”

24th.—Sir Geoffrey Fenton returned from Munster. Mr. Pratt came with letters from Connaught.

26th.—Mr. William and Francis Clarke set to sea for England.

28th.—The Earl of Kildare came to Dublin.

29th.—Captains St. Leger and Warren returned from parleying with the Earl of Tyrone.

30th.—Mr. Henry Browne returned from England with letters.

November 2nd, 1595, Sunday.—The Bishop of Limerick preached.

7th.—Sir H. Harrington brought Feogh McHugh in upon my Lord's protection.

8th.—Feogh McHugh submitted himself upon his knees before the Council, and craved pardon.

9th.—My Lord knighted Captain Richard Winckfield in Christ Church after the sermon.

10th.—My Lord began his journey towards Galway, being accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the Earl of Kildare, Sir Dudley Loftus, Sir W. Clarke, and others. He went as far as Mr. Ashe's house at Trim.

11th.—To Mollingar (Mrs. Hope's).

12th.—The Sheriff of Meath presented his letter* with Sir John Tirrell and many others of that county.

13th.—To Ballemore (Lady Straunge's).

14th.—To Athlone Castle (Sir Richard Bingham's).

15th.—To Ballenaslow (Mr. Brabson's), where Mr. Malbie and Tibbott Dillon came to my Lord.

16th.—To Lough Reogh (the Earl of Clanricard's).

17th.—To Galway, where my Lord lay at Mr. Dominick Lynche's. “As soon as my Lord entered the city, four great pieces of ordnance were discharged on the outer wall, without the gate of the town. The mayor and aldermen were ready in their scarlet gowns to receive and welcome my Lord, and there delivered the keys of the town gates to his Lordship, with an oration written in Latin; which done, the townsmen,

* See 8 Nov. 1595.

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to the number of 200, with their ensign and in arms, stood on both sides the street guarding my Lord to his lodging, where being alighted, they discharged a volley of shot." There were assembled at Galway the Earls of Kildare, Thomond, and Clanricarde, Lords Brimegeam, Roche, and Dunkellie, and divers knights and gentlemen.

18th and 19th.—My Lord sat in Council.

20th.—Sir Charles O'Carrell came to Galway "with report of divers of his men slain by the Butlers."

21st.—Letters from England.

22nd.—Letters from Mr. Malbie about his coming in with the O'Connors. The mayor and aldermen came and invited my Lord to dinner the following day. Mr. Leman, of co. Mayo, brought in his complaints against Sir Richard Bingham, his brothers, and followers.

23rd, Sunday.—The Bishop of Kilmaccowe preached before my Lord and the Council, both in English and Irish. My Lord and the Council dined at the mayor's, after which Mr. Graves preached. Mr. Brabson and Tibbott Dillon returned from parleying with the Bourkes.

24th.—His Lordship walked out of the town to see the abbey.

25th.—Intelligence that O'Donell was come into Connaught, and had dissuaded the Bourkes from coming in as they had promised; whereupon Mr. Brabson was once more sent to them. Doctor Neland's son committed, being lately come out of Spain.

26th.—Captain Conwaie's company came to Galway.

27th.—Morrough McMurie* came in and submitted himself before the Council, and put in a pledge.

29th.—The mayor came before the Council, "and craved my Lord's furtherance for establishing a preacher for the town," which was assented to.

30th.—Mr. Graves preached. The Council sat. Mr. Malbie brought in O'Conner Roe and Dermot O'Conner O'Hanley, with their complaints.

December 1st, 1595.—"This night the noblemen and captains presented my Lord with a mask."

2nd.—Captain Higham was committed. The Earl of Thomond took his leave, and rode into Munster.

3rd.—Letters from England, brought from Dublin by Thadie Noland.

4th.—Thady Noland, the pursuivant, sent to Dublin with letters for England.

5th.—Letters from Mr. Brabson, from Mayo. My Lord departed from Galway to Athenree, where he lay at the abbey (Mr. Broune, the dean's).

* "O'Flahargie" in the margin.

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6th.—Mr. Grafton brought in complaints against Sir Richard Bingham's followers.

7th.—To Lough Reogh (the Earl of Clanricarde's). Mr. Brabson returned from the Rowrckes, who would not come in, but sent a submission, and their complaints against Sir Richard Bingham and his followers.

8th.—To Balleneslowe (Mr. Brabson's).

9th.—To Athlone Castle. "Sat in Council, and dealt with Sir Richard Bingham touching the manifold complaints against him."

10th.—To Ballymote (Lady Straunge's).

11th.—To Mollingar. My Lord of Delvine, Mr. Newgent, and others met my Lord.

12th.—To Cloinne (the Lord of Delvine's). Letters for England sent to Dublin by Mr. Manneringe.

13th.—To Arbracken (the Bishop of Meath's). Conner O'Birne submitted before the Council.

14th.—To Riverston (Sir Robert Dillon's).

15th.—To Dublin.

16th.—My Lord sent for Sir Robert Gardner and Sir Harry Wallop to confer of such business as had passed in his absence.

17th, *et seq.*—The Council sat.

19th.—Sir John Norris came to Dublin.

27th.—Mr. John Hoyer, the gentleman usher, sent into England with a packet.

28th, Sunday.—The Bishop of Lawghlen and Mr. Fenn preached.

29th.—"The Mayor and the citizens of Dublin came and made their excuse to my Lord, showing their disability, being not able to lend money to the State at that time."

30th.—Rise Ap Hugh came to Dublin, and certified the death of the Countess of Tyrone.

31st.—The Mayor and townsmen of Tredaugh presented their complaint of the soldiers' abuses.

January 1st, 1595[–6].—"Letters received from the Earl of Clanricarde and from Mr. Anthony Brabson, certifying the outrage of the enemy in Connaught, notwithstanding the peace, and how some of the Kellies were gone out lately, and burned and preyed certain towns of Mr. Francis Shanne's.* This night certain lords and gentlemen presented my Lord with a mask."

2nd.—"This day the lords and gentlemen who were of the maske, being before invited, dined with my Lord, where they were honorably feasted."

3rd.—Letters sent into England by post.

4th, Sunday.—My Lord knighted Captain Henry Warren in Christ Church after the sermon.

8th.—Letters from Sir Richard Bingham and Tibbott Dillon, certifying the outrages of the enemy in Connaught.

* "O'Ferrall" in the margin.

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9th.—It was determined in Council to send Sir H. Wallopp and Sir Robert Gardner to draw the Earl of Tirone to a peace at Dondalke, according to her Majesty's directions. Six rebels' heads were brought in, including some of the O'Reylies', who were overtaken with a prey, which was rescued by Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Taffe, and others.

10th.—The Lord of Slany sent for by the Council, "and direction given for the bringing in of Philip O'Reylie for the safeguard of himself and certain merchants who were bound for his coming in." Warrant and direction given to Wallopp and Gardener.

11th.—Dr. Hanmer and Mr. Fenn preached.

12th.—Letters to England. Captain Higham, come from Sir Richard Bingham, reported the state of Connaught to the Council. The companies of Captains Chichester, Percie, Parsons, Garrett, and Babbist, and Sir George Bourcher, were sent thither, making in all 19 companies at that time in Connaught. Wallop and Gardner departed for Dondalke.

13th.—Letters from Sir Richard Bingham.

14th.—Commission to Sir Richard Bingham for placing soldiers in Connaught. News from Spain that the river of Seville, overflowing, drowned 4,000 people, and did much harm.

19th.—Letters from Sir H. Wallopp and Sir R. Gardner, certifying the death of Sir Hugh McGennis, and that Tyrone was staying within three miles of Dundalk for O'Donnell.

21st, *et seq.*—The Council sat.

25th, Sunday.—Mr. Daniell and Mr. Fenn preached.

26th.—My Lord was advertised by the townsmen of Kells that the rebels had taken all their cattle and hogs, which were rescued by Captain Fleming and his horsemen, who slew about 30 of the rebels, 13 heads being brought in.

27th.—Mr. Hoy, the gentleman usher, arrived with letters and 12,000*l.* from England. He brought news of the death of the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Roger Williams, and Sir Thomas Morgan.

February 2nd, 1595[–6].—Sir H. Wallop and Sir R. Gardner returned to Dublin from parleying with Tyrone.

5th.—The Earl of Ormond came to town. Phergus O'Farrell sent in the heads of Farrell O'Banne's son and another rebel.

7th.—Letters from the Lord of Delvin, "certifying of the assault and burning of a castle, where some of the enemy were burned and the rest killed." Sir Thomas Norris came to town, and did his duty to my Lord. [The] Sergeant-Major returned from Connaught with letters from Sir R. Bing[ham]. Letters sent to England by Mr. Oldsworth.

8th, Sunday.—Letters from the Earl of Clanricard. Sir Henry Duche died this day. The Bishop of Meath and Mr. Fenn preached.

9th.—"My Lord sat in the council of wars."

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10th.—The Council sat "about hearing a controversy between the Earl of Ormond and Sir Charles O'Carrell."

11th.—Surley Boy came in, and did his duty to my Lord.

12th.—Surley Boy invited to supper.

16th.—[The] Sergeant-Major* sent with certain companies to relieve the Cavan.

18th.—Letters sent into England by Mr. Fowlkes. Sir Robert Gardner sent to England.

19th.—Captain Bartlett married to the Lord Chancellor's daughter.

22nd, Sunday.—The Bishop of Downe and Mr. Fenn preached. "My Lord and the Council sent Surley Boy a black velvet mantle laid with gold lace."

24th.—Letters received from Tyrone by Th. Noland.

25th.—"Mr. Manneringe died, and his office of searcher-ship my Lord bestowed of his servants, William Miller and Richard Griffen. Sergeant-Major returned from the Cavan."

26th.—20,000*l.* arrived from England, by Dudley Norton. Mr. Manneringe buried.

March 2nd, 1595[6].—"My Lord sat in the council of war."

3rd.—Sergeant-Major (Chichester) with other captains went to relieve the abbey of Boyle.

4th.—Mrs. Huggans died.

6th.—Upon intelligence that 300 or 400 Scots and Irish were come over the Shannon into McGoghlin's country to burn and spoil, my Lord began his journey [thither], accompanied by Sir George Bowrcher, the Lord of Inssiequeene, Sir William Clarke, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Harry Warren, and others. He rode to Tryme (Mr. Ashe's). Letters left at Dublin to be carried into England by Marviliack, "the next wind."

7th.—To Mollingar (Mrs. Hope's).

8th.—My Lord and Sir G. Bowrcher heard bills of complaint, and ordered that the country should be paid for things taken up for her Majesty's service.

9th.—His Lordship sent his carriages to Phillipstown, where preparation was made for his coming; but suddenly he took another way towards O'Moloie's country, and rode to Durrough (Sir Edward Herbert's).

10th.—To Rathmacgelduld (Tege O'Moloye's). The chief of the O'Moloies with other gentlemen and some kearne met my Lord, and declared that the Scots, at that instant, were burning the country within view. His Lordship sent 100 shot with certain kearne, under the guiding of O'Moloye, over the bogs towards them. Assisted by McGoghlin, they came near to the Scots that night, and at break of day fell upon them, and killed 140 of them, others being drowned in returning over the Shannon.

* "Chichester" in the margin.

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11th.—My Lord rode to Cloghon, O'Madden's castle, in Losmage, and encamped before it. O'Madden, being gone out in action of rebellion, had left there a ward of his principal men, who, on my Lord's approach, set three of their houses adjoining the castle on fire, and made shot at us. Being summoned to yield, their answer to Captain Thomas Lea was "that if all that came in his Lordship's company were Deputies they would not yield," expecting some aid. That night my Lord appointed Captain Izod to keep watch, lest the enemy should escape by a bog adjoining the castle. About midnight my Lord visited his watch, and understanding that some women were in the castle, sent "and advised them to put forth their women, for that he intended the next morning to assault the castle with fire and sword," but they refused.

12th.—The thatched roof of the castle was fired by a soldier who cast up a firebrand, "and whilst our shot played at their spike holes, a fire was made to the grate and door, which smothered many of them." The soldiers made a breach in the wall and took many alive, most of whom were cast over the walls and so executed. 46 persons were burned and killed. Two women and a boy were saved by my Lord's appointment.

13th.—My Lord rode to an island a mile distant, "where it was supposed some of the cotts should be found which the Scots got over the Shannon with." Mr. Brabson came from Althone, with a boat manned, to seek out the cotts on the river.

14th.—My Lord having appointed 50 of Sir George Bowrcher's soldiers with McGoghlin and his kearne for the defence of the country, rode to Corcurr, "where his Lordship rested in straw that night at one Tege McFirro's house." Letters from Sir R. Bingham.

15th.—My Lord rode to the fort at Phillipstown.

16th.—Sir W. Clarke despatched to England with letters. Mr. Foulkes brought letters from England. Mr. Malbie came from Sir Richard Bingham.

17th.—Order for the repairing of Phillipstown.

18th.—My Lord rode to Croghon (Sir Thomas Moore's).

19th.—My Lord returned to Phillipstown, and hunted the hare as he came. By the way the Baron of Upper Osserie and his son met him.

20th.—My Lord rode to the fort at Mary Borrough, and dined by the way at Mr. Dempai's, where letters were received from England by post.

22nd.—To Stradbery (Mr. Gosbie's). "My Lord found to Mr. Gosbie's son's child, Sir Harry Warren being my Lord's deputy for the same."

23rd.—To Mounstereven (Captain Warram St. Leger's).

24th.—To Dublin. My Lord dined by the way at the Nasse, between which and Dublin he was met by the Lord

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Chancellor, Lord President, and the rest of the Council, with the citizens of Dublin.

25th, *et seq.*—The Council sat.

28th, Sunday.—Mr. Fenn and Mr. Pilsworth preached.

29th.—Mr. Garrett Moore came out of the North, and spake with my Lord.

April 1st, 1596.—My Lady rode to Kilmanum to prepare the house against my Lord's coming.

2nd.—Letters to be sent to the post of Chester for the Court by Mr. Beeston. Captains Dearing and Russell appointed to go to Chester, receive 300 horsemen there, and see them shipped and brought over. Certain corporals sent to conduct over the 1,500 foot.

3rd.—My Lord removed to Kilmanum.

4th, Sunday.—Mr. Traverse and Mr. Fenn preached.

5th.—Sir Robert Gardner returned from England. "A Spaniard which was sent into Spain for Englishmen to redeem the Spaniards here, returned and brought nine Englishmen out of the galleys; and for them nine Spaniards were delivered."

6th to 8th.—Part of the soldiers landed.

8th.—The Lord Chancellor and Sir H. Wallopp dined with my Lord.

9th, Good Friday.—The Lord President and Sir Geoffrey Fenton departed for Dondalke, to treat with Tyrone, O'Donnell, and the other principal traitors.

10th.—The soldiers who lately arrived were mustered.

11th, Easter Day.—The Bishop of Downe and Mr. Fenn preached. After the Bishop's sermon in the morning, my Lord knighted Sir John North in Christ Church.

12th.—Sir Robert Napper and Sir Anthony St. Leger dined with my Lord. The Lords of Gormonston and Lowth brought the ward of Mr. FitzWilliams before the Council.

17th.—Sir Robert Needham and Captain Russell landed with part of the companies of horse and foot.

18th.—Mr. Dean Wheeler and Mr. Fenn [preached]. Letters from the Lord President and Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

20th.—My Lord viewed the horsemen on the Green. Letters from the President and Fenton by Brimegam.

21st.—The Council sat. Letters to the President and Fenton.

22nd.—Sir H. Wallop and Sir R. Gardner dined with my Lord. Sir Edward Yorke arrived from England with letters. More horsemen landed.

26th.—Sir Henry Norris and Sir Robert Needham's companies of horses were erected.

27th.—The Lord President and Sir Geoffrey Fenton returned to Dublin from the treaty with the Earl of Tyrone.

29th.—Sir H. Wallop and Sir G. Fenton came to my Lord.

May 1st, 1596.—The Council sat (as usual). Sir W. Clarke

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arrived from England with letters. News came that the Spaniards had won Callis (Calais).

3rd.—News from England of the deaths of Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawckings, and Sir Nicholas Clyfford.

4th.—The Lord of Delvin came to town and dined with my Lord.

6th.—Letters to England by Mr. Beeston.

8th.—Sir R. Bingham came to town. Letters from Captain Stafford, from the Newrie, certifying that Spaniards had landed in the North with munition.

12th.—News of the death of Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper. The Earl of Tyrone's pardon signed, and sent by Lieutenant Banckes to be delivered to Sir Edward Moore.

16th.—Sir Harry Norries landed.

17th.—Mr. Beeston set to sea with letters, and Sir John North also went to England.

20th.—News that Mr. Gosbie, his eldest son, and five of his men were slain in defending his town against 60 of the O'Moores. Mr. Gosbie killed Gorg O'Moore, one of the chiefest of them. Sir Robert Napper, Sir Anthony St. Leger, and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, with their ladies, dined with my Lord at Kilmanum.

21st.—Sir H. Wallop and Sir H. Norries came to dinner.

23rd, Sunday. Mr. Dean Wheeler and Mr. Fenn preached (as usual). Letters from the Earl of Clanrichard and the Mayor of Galway, "confirming the Spaniards' landing in the North, being 3 pinnaces, and in each 60 musketeers."

24th.—One of Captain Audlei's soldiers executed for running away.

26th.—"My Lord and Lady rode abroad a hunting the wolf."

27th.—Letters to England by post. The Earl of Kildare went to England.

29th.—"Certain soldiers who ran away from their captains were by my Lord's appointment put to cast the dice for their lives, and one of them, who cast least, was executed."

31st.—Sir R. Napper and Sir J. Fenton came to dine with my Lord. "Captain Warran returned from the Earl of Tyrone; at which time the Earl sent one of his followers, Shane McDonnell, with a letter to my Lord and the Council, which was sent him from the King of Spain, and charged the said Shane upon his oath, and Captain Warren upon his promise, that the said letter should be returned without any copy taken of the same.* The said letter was brought out of Spain, and delivered to the Earl by one Don Olonso Cobos."

June 2nd, 1596.—Letters to England carried to Chester by Captain Roberts. The Lord President and Sir G. Fenton departed for Connaught.

* See 22 January 1596.

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6th, Sunday.—My Lord and the Council received the Communion. Letters from the Mayor of Galway, "who sent an Italian to my Lord, who came into Ireland with the Spaniards and escaped from them." After his examination my Lord sent him into England to my Lord Treasurer.

7th.—Browne, the Lord President's man (with letters), Captain Streete, and Captain Higham landed from England.

8th.—Sir R. Bingham and Sir R. Napper came to my Lord.

10th.—The Lord Chancellor and Sir Harry Wallopp dined with my Lord, after which they sat in Council. Letters to England by Mr. Altone Clarke.

12th.—Letters from the Lord President and Sir G. Fenton.

13th.—The Bishop of Downe and Mr. Fenn preached. Letters to the President and Fenton. "Morrough McTege Oge secretly, with a barrel of powder, lead, and match, upon one of his Lordship's horses, [went] towards Ballenecor to Captain Tucher; which munition was delivered there the day following."

15th.—The Bishop of Meath came to my Lord.

16th.—The Lord of Delvin came.

20th.—The Lord of Delvine sent in one of the O'Farrels, a notable rebel, who was taken and wounded by the Newgents. He died of his wounds.

22nd.—Letters and 12,000*l.* from England.

23rd.—Letters to England. My Lord and Lady rode to Rafarnam "to see the house." Letters from the Lord of Delvin and the rest of the Commissioners brought by Captain Streete. Baron Elliot came to tell my Lord "how Sir Edward Moore, being one of the Commissioners, had been to bring the Earl of Tyrone his pardon; who, before his coming, had taken a journey into the uttermost part of his country."

26th.—Captain Warren affirmed before the Council "that he had not given his oath to the Earl of Tyrone for returning the King of Spain's letter."

28th.—Letters from the Lord President and Fenton.

July 1st, 1596.—Letters from the Lord President and Fenton, "declaring that they of Connaught had deferred their meeting for a month." Mr. Henry Broune despatched into England with letters. Sir Robert Napper and his Lady went to England.

2nd.—Letters from the Mayor of Galway.

4th, Sunday.—Letters from the Lord President and Fenton. My Lord and the Council received the Communion.

5th.—Sir H. Wallop and Sir R. Gardner dined with my Lord.

6th.—The Sergeant-Major returned out of Connaught.

7th.—Wallop, Gardner, and Sir Robert Dillon came to my Lord. Order for sending 2,000*l.* to the Lord President (Norris) in Connaught, to pay the companies there.

8th.—Eight ships seen at anchor beyond the head of Hawth.

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Mr. Hoyer and Gryffen, being sent to know what they were, brought word they were Scots.

9th.—Letters from the Lord President. Sir Geoffrey Fenton returned from Connaught. Letters to England (frequently).

13th.—Wallop and Gardner came to my Lord.

15th.—News that the Garradines had burnt a town of Captain Lea's.

16th.—Letters to England. Order for the making up of certain Irish companies into hundreds.

18th.—News of the capture, sack, and burning of Cales Cadiz) by the Earl of Essex. The Lord of Delvin came to my Lord.

19th.—Divers Irish Lords appeared before the Council about the general hosting. News that Tyrone had received his pardon.

20th.—Lords Delvin and Gormonston came.

22nd.—“Letters received from the Commissioners, confirming that the Earl had received his pardon (after much debating) with humility and reverence, protesting all faithfulness and duty to do her Majesty service; but he refused to take his oath to forsake all foreign aid.”

24th.—Marviliack returned with letters from Sir Robert Cecil, who was chosen her Majesty's principal secretary. Mr. Wiseman and O'Connor Sligo also came over.

26th.—Sir H. Norries returned from Connaught.

August 2nd, 1596.—Sir G. Fenton departed for Connaught.

5th.—Letters from the Mayor of Waterford.

6th.—“The news of the Earl of Essex confirmed from Waterford and Milford.”

8th.—Sir Henry Norris set to sea for England; and my Lord sent Morgan over with hawks and horses.

9th.—The Sergeant-Major (Chichester) went into Connaught.

10th.—My Lord rode with Sir R. Gardner, Sir R. Bingham, and Sir G. Bowroher to the Lord Chancellor's at Rafarnam, where they sat in Council.

11th.—Letters from the Lord President and Sir G. Fenton in Connaught, giving hope of peace, and certifying “that the army goeth not forward on the 6th of August as was appointed by them.”

12th.—Letters from Lieut. Greame, who certified that Feagh McHugh had received letters from the Earl of Tyrone, “and that himself feared to be burnt every night.”

13th.—Sir H. Wallop and Sir R. Gardner came to Killmanham, and dined with my Lord.

14th.—Letters from the Lord President and Sir G. Fenton “doubting of the peace.” Letters to England by post. Letters from Captain Tucher “that James Butler had taken five of the Captain's his men and hanged them.”

16th.—Letters to England by Mr. Wiseman.

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18th.—Captain Thornton returned from sea. Sir Charles O'Carrell sent in his brother and two others according to my Lord's appointment, and desired that the Earl of Ormond might send in James Butler and the rest, "which were principal men [who] had done him wrong."

19th.—Letters from the Lord President and Fenton.

21st.—Letters from Sir E. Moore. Captain Lea returned from the Earl of Tyrone.

23rd.—Letters from Sir Thomas Norries.

25th.—My Lord of Delvin came to dinner.

26th.—"Mr. Strawbridge and my fellow Gryffen took a seminary priest in Dublin," who was committed to the Castle.

27th.—Letters from Justice Walshe, "that a female child was brought before him dead with two heads upon one body, which he sent to Waterford."

28th.—Letters to England by Marviliack. News of the deaths of Lord Hunsdon and Sir Francis Knowles, and of the return of the Earl of Essex with our navy.*

September 2nd, 1596.—"My Lord and Lady with the Lady Bowrcher rode a hawking."

3rd.—Sir Robert Dillon came to my Lord.

5th, Sunday.—My Lord and the Council received the Communion at Christ Church. Mr. Howson and Mr. Fenn preached. The Sergeant-Major returned from Connaught with letters from the Lord President.

6th.—The Lord of Delvin sent in three of the O'Farrells' heads.

7th.—"My Lord and Lady walked abroad to see fish taken."

8th.—Sir Anthony St. Leger came to my Lord.

9th.—Lieut. Beeston was sent by my Lord with Sir Robert Needham's horsemen to convey munition to Ballenecor. They were attacked at the pass near Radrome by some of Feagh McHugh's followers, one man being slain and two or three hurt, but the munition was saved and brought back. Captain Tucher having sent some of his men to meet the munition, Feagh in their absence assaulted the fort, won it by the treachery of a sergeant, took Captain Tucher prisoner, and razed the fort to the ground. My Lord sent the Sergeant-Major (Chichester) and Captain Lea with 200 foot and 40 horse to Ballenecor, but at Newcastle hearing that the fort was lost, they returned.

10th.—Letters from the Earl of Ormond.

12th.—"This night, being windy and dark, between 11 and 12 of the clock, certain cows of Kilmanum town, breaking out of a banne, and running away, one of the town raised the

* Here follows a "report of the voyage." (See June 1596.)

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cry, whereat my Lord and the household rose, and put ourselves in arms, supposing some treachery."

14th.—Letters from Ormond and Captain Mountague.

15th.—Letters from England by one of Sir Henry Norries's men and by Mr. Garrett, of Dublin.

16th.—Mr. Henry Browne returned from England.

18.—My Lord began his journey to Rathdrome, and rode to Old Courte, where he encamped, being accompanied by Sir Edward Yorke, Sir William Clarke, the Sergeant-Major (Chichester), Captains Peirse, Marya Winckfield, Russell, and others.

19th, Sunday.—Marched to Newraff.

20th.—To Rathdrome. Here two or three in fetching wood were cut off by the rebels, one of them being Cassie, my Lord's messenger, "who was found sore mangled."

21st.—"My Lord continued at Rathdrome, and began to fortify the church, intending to leave a garrison there. In the afternoon his Lordship rode towards the woods, and appointed certain houses adjoining thereunto to be pulled down for timber to fortify with; but the rebels lying close in the wood gave us a volley of shot; whereupon my Lord sent the Sergeant-Major and Captain Street to entertain skirmish with them, which they did for the space of half an hour." Captain Mountague and Garrett Fleminge parleyed with Feagh McHugh.

22nd.—Captain Tucher's sergeant was executed near the camp for treachery and cowardice in yielding up the fort of Ballenecor. Two soldiers executed at Dublin for the same.

23rd.—Letters brought from Dublin by Philip Hore, "about the dividing of the treasure of 15,000*l.*, whereof 8,000*l.* was borrowed here and repaid by my Lord Treasurer's direction out of England."

24th.—"About one of the clock this morning my Lord appointed Captain Lea with his companies of foot and kearne to rise, and to lodge as near the enemy (beyond them) as he could. Then my Lord rose by break of day with 200 foot and 50 horse, and marched towards Ballenecor with drums beating and ancients spread; and drawing near the ford, the rebels raised the cry, and made show on the hill by Ballenecor about 100 strong, besides 60 and upwards of their best shot, [and] drew down to the ford to meet us there at the bridge. Notwithstanding they lay at rest there for us, and played upon us, yet our soldiers behaved themselves so well as that we drove them from their stand, and recovered over the ford with small loss and some hurt. Then Captain Lea came to my Lord, who could not recover beyond them without descrying; whereupon my Lord sent him and Captain Streete another way into the Glynnnes to meet with them; and coming to a town of Feaghe's, named Farrenerren, they burned it, and in returning from thence the rebels skirmished with them about an hour, whilst my Lord with his horse stood upon the mountain. After

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which, in coming to the camp the same way, my Lord appointed certain houses adjoining to the wood to be set on fire." Sir John Dowdall's and Captain Higham's companies came to the camp.

25th.—Sir Richard Bingham departed for England without my Lord's leave.

26th.—Letters from Mr. H. Browne (at Dublin), who was going with letters to England.

28th.—My Lord rode to the woods, to fetch timber for fortification. Mr. Mastersonne and Mr. Dudley Norton came to the camp.

29th.—Captain Lea was sent out with companies upon service.

30th.—Captain Mountague returned with two prisoners, and Captain Lea with a prey of 80 cows taken from the rebela.

October 1st, 1596.—The Earl of Thomond came to the camp. The two prisoners were executed, "and a horseboy of my Lord's for stealing a soldier's sword."

2nd.—The Earl of Thomond returned to Dublin. Letters to England and to the Lord President.

3rd.—The Earl of Ormond came to the camp with 100 horse, and after conference with my Lord returned to the rest of his company, 200 foot, and encamped two miles distant. About midnight my Lord sent out the Sergeant-Major and Captain Lea with our foot companies two several ways into the Glynnnes, and by daybreak of the 4th "rose with 50 horse, and rode through part of the Glynnnes up to the mountains, some six miles, where we met with the Sergeant-Major and his company, who had been discovered by the rebels; and, drawing together further on the mountain side, we descried about 100 of the enemy in two companies, which showed themselves on the Glynne side. And my Lord, knowing there would be no service performed without great disadvantage, commanded the Sergeant-Major to draw back; and in returning towards the camp we espied Captain Lea on the mountain by Ballenecor, standing with a prey of 300 cows and upwards, which he had taken from other of the rebels, and stayed there till my Lord drew down to the ford to assist him." We brought the prey safe to the camp.

6th.—The Sergeant-Major, with some companies of foot, sent out upon service.

7th.—The Sergeant-Major returned with 80 cows and a prisoner, a follower of Feagh's, named Hugh Boye, with his daughter. On receipt of letters from England, my Lord "sent post to the Lord President into Connaught."

8th.—My Lord departed for Dublin, leaving the camp at Rathdrome under the command of the Sergeant-Major (Chichester), who went on with the fortification.

11th to 15th.—My Lord and the Council sat.

16th.—My Lord returned to the camp from Dublin.

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17th.—Sir George Bowrchier came to the camp.

18th.—Sir John North and Sir John Bowles, with their foot companies, each 100 strong, came to the camp.

19th.—My Lord sent the Sergeant-Major into the O'Birnes' country for beeves, who returned with 100 cows. A muster taken before my Lord. The Sheriff of Kildare sent in a prisoner, who was with Feagh at the taking of Ballenecor. He was executed near the camp. The Lord of Dunkellie and Mr. Newgent came to the camp.

20th.—Lieut. Flower and John Mastersone sent with some companies on service.

21st.—Captain Lea sent with some companies on service.

23rd.—Captain Lea, in returning to the camp with a prey of 80 cows, was fought with by the rebels at the ford at Ballenecor. My Lord, being abroad and hearing the skirmish, went in person to relieve him, and brought the prey to the camp. We had 9 or 10 slain and 20 hurt.

24th, Sunday.—Mr. Dean Wheeler preached. Letters from England by Marviliacke brought to the camp by Thomas Belfield.

25th.—The Sergeant-Major and Captain Lea sent abroad upon service. Sir George Bowrchier rode to Dublin with Mr. Cooke.

27th.—Captain Flemming came to the camp.

28th.—Letters from Lieut. Flower and Captain Greemes, that they had taken 80 cows from the Butlers, and the castle of Newston, where they left a ward.

29th.—“My Lord received a packet of letters by Mr. Master-sonne, which came from the rector of the Irish seminary of Salamanca, brought to Waterford by one Father Archer, who went here in the name of Bowman; which letters were received by one Devorexe, of Waterford, whom my Lord committed.” Captain Flemming's horsemen cut off one rebel's head, and took another prisoner. Lieut. Flower returned.

30th.—This night the Sergeant-Major and Captain Lea were sent abroad, and on Sunday, the 31st, by break of day my Lord went with his company of horse, and met them returning with 300 cows and 60 garrons, “and had the killing of 8 of the rebels, the chiefest of whom was Cahire Glasse O'Toole.”

November 1st, 1596.—“This night, at the setting of the watch, six soldiers of Sir John Bowles and Sir Thomas North's companies, which had run away from their colours, were put to cast the dice for their lives, and one of Sir Thomas North's company, who cast least, was executed.” Captain Mountague and Lieut. Flower sent abroad on service.

2nd.—Sir Henry Bagnall came to the camp. Phelim Mc-Feagh's foster-brother brought in as a prisoner.

3rd.—Sir H. Bagnall returned to Dublin. Letters from the Council at Dublin by the pursuivant Farrell.

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4th.—Mr. Cooke sent to Dublin. Phelim McFeagh's foster brother executed.

5th.—"My Lord rode abroad unto the Glynn side, where he lighted upon some of the enemy unaware, but being near their fastness, no service could be done upon them. About midnight three or four shott of the enemy discharged into our camp, whereat the alarm had like to have been taken."

6th.—Sir Edward Bowes came to the camp with his company, 100 strong. Victuals brought from Dublin by Thomas Belfield. Lieuts. Flower and Vaughan sent to Tullie and Newston with companies.

9th.—Sir William Clarke went to Dublin.

10th.—Captain Lea, in returning to the camp over the ford at Ballenecor with 40 cows, was skirmished with by the rebels, and forced to stay till my Lord relieved him.

12th.—"Lieut. Flower returned from Tully, where Lieut. Vaughan and six of his soldiers were treacherously by the enemy slain, and two of his brothers sore hurt."

13th.—Lieut. North and his company were put into the fort [at Rathdrome] till Captain Lea returned from the Glynnnes, when he and Lieut. Flower were appointed to keep the same. Sir Urian Leigh arrived with his company, bringing one of Feagh's followers prisoner from Dublin.

14th, Sunday.—The camp moved from Rathdrome to Boyle Boye, the entry into the main Glynnnes. Captain Trevers' company were sent back to the Newrie.

15th.—The Sergeant-Major (Chichester) and Captain Lea entered the Glynnnes before day. "And by daylight his Lordship drew to the north side of Glan-Malorrighe with his company of horse and some shot, which he thrust into the Glynnnes, and drew all along even home to the camp, the enemy making no fight upon any part of our forces to hurt." Captain Lea, passing through the Glynnnes on the further side, had taken 200 cows, which he brought to the camp by the bridge of Ballenecor.

16th.—In consequence of heavy rains the camp was raised, and we marched over the bridge at Ballenecor with all the carriages, and through two bad passes to Rasthane, near Glan-Lurkin. My Lord appointed Feagh McHugh's pledges, one of them being his base son, to be executed, with one other of his followers.

17th.—Marched to Hacketts-town.

18th.—Mr. Harepoole came to my Lord.

19th.—"The camp removed to Tullie. The Earl of Ormond was in fight the same day with the Butlers that were out, and burnt about the Briskloe in our sight. This night the Sergeant-Major and Captain Lea were sent out with companies to do some service upon the Butlers, and, lighting upon the Earl's camp, returned from him in the morning. In the meantime Mr. Harpoole had taken a prey from the Butlers."

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20th.—The Earl of Ormond came to my Lord, and returned to his camp about the Briskloe. Letters from the Council at Dublin by Morgan Birne.

21st.—News that Captains St. Leger's and Marshall's companies had done some service upon the rebels in Leix.

22nd.—Letters to England by Mr. Sparke. My Lord rode to Newston and relieved the ward there. The Earl of Thomond, Donogh Spannio, and other Cavanaghs came to my Lord.

23rd.—The following companies sent to their places of garrison: Sir John Bowles's to Carickfergus, Sir Edward Bowes's to the Nasse, and Sir Urian Leigh's to Drogheda. The Earl of Thomond went with his company to garrison at Kilkenny.

24th.—Captain St. Leger came to my Lord and returned.

25th.—Letters from the Lord Chancellor and Council by Thady Farrall, the pursuivant.

26th.—Letters brought by Mastersonne from the suffiran of Rosse, that 17 ships, containing 5,000 Spaniards, coming to Ireland, were all cast away by tempestuous weather. This was confirmed by the Mayor of Waterford's letters.

27th.—My Lord removed to Boulton, leaving the Sergeant-Major in command of several companies at Tullie.

28th.—To the Nasse (Mr. Coolie's).

29th.—The Earl of Kildare came to my Lord, who then rode to Dublin. The Council and citizens met my Lord by the way.

30th, *et seq.*—The Council sat.

December 1st, 1596.—Justice Dillon committed to the Castle.

4th.—“This day Chambers died, and his office of the keeping of Kilmanum my Lord bestowed of Mr. John Hoyer, who was married this day to Mrs. Grace Cade, my Lady's woman.”

5th, Sunday.—Mr. Dean Wheeler and Mr. Fenn preached. My Lord and the Council received the Communion.

6th.—Captain Follyott committed to the Castle upon a complaint made by one of the Lord Chancellor's tenants.

7th.—Divers of the Irish lords met before the Council.

8th.—Letters from the Earl of Tyrone brought by Thadie Farrall.

10th.—Samuel Norton (with letters) and Sir Robert Gardner went to England.

12th.—Mr. Fenn and Mr. Graves preached.

13th.—The Mayor of Dublin mustered the citizens.

14th.—Letters from Captain Mountague that Captain Thomas Lea, in coming from Wicklowe with victuals to the fort at Rathdrome, was set upon at a ford a mile from the fort by Feagh McHugh, but, with the help of some horsemen of the O'Birnes' country, killed 30 of the rebels, among whom were Morris Duffe, Feagh's nephew and secretary, and Edmond McShane, his uncle.

15th.—Captain Lea sent in 17 traitors' heads.

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- 16th.—Letters from the Baron of Delvin.
- 17th.—Letters from the Earl of Tyrone by Captain William Warren. Letters from the Lord President (Norris), the Lord of Louth, and Sir H. Bagnall.
- 18th.—The Lord President came to Dublin from Connaught.
- 20th.—Crosse, Mr. Treasurer's man, arrived with 20,000*l.* from England.
- 23rd, Thursday.—Mr. Fenn preached.
- 24th.—Letters from the Sergeant-Major. "A soldier, counterfeiting a warrant of Captain Hugh Moystion's and naming himself to be one Hoy, for extortion and wounding a tenant of Mr. Finglasse's," was executed by martial law.
- 25th, "Christide."—Dean Wheeler preached.
- 26th, Sunday.—Mr. Hughson and Mr. Fenn preached. Letters from Sir H. Bagnall, that the Earl of Tyrone was encamped with 5,000 men within a mile of the Newrie.
- 28th.—"A dyffident was signed for the captains."
- 29th.—Lord Delvin came to Dublin.
- 31st.—"Captain Warram St. Leger certified my Lord that his company and Captain Marshal's met with one Captain Tyrrell, who was out in action in Leaxie, where they had the killing of eight of the rebels, besides the taking of their munition."
- January 2nd, 1596[–7].—Letters from Captain Maria Winckfield, that Turlagh McHenry, captain of the Fewes, had taken Captains Baker and Gwest prisoners.
- 4th.—Sir Connia[r]s Clyfford, Sir Thomas Jerman, Sir Stephen Thornexe, and Sir Christopher St. Lawrance landed at Dublin.
- 6th.—Sir Connia[r]s Clyfford "received his oath" before the Council, and was appointed governor of Connaught.
- 7th.—Letters from the Lord of Louth and Captain Warren brought by Farrell.
- 9th, Sunday.—Dr. Hanmer and Mr. Fenn preached.
- 11th.—The Sergeant-Major (Chichester) came to Dublin from Tully.
- 13th.—"A packet of letters sent into England by post, and brought back again by turning of the wind."
- 14th.—The Lord President departed to victual Ardmagh, accompanied by Sir George Bouchier and Sir Geoffrey Fenton.
- 16th, Sunday.—The Lord Chancellor (Archbishop Loftus) and Mr. Fenn preached. Letters received from Galway.
- 17th.—Seven Englishmen, sent from Spain to redeem so many Spanish prisoners, arrived at Cork. Their names were Wright, Hughes, Gage, Rogers, Byrche, Kellie, and Dixon. They had money given them, and were sent to England.
- 18th.—Letters from Connaught, that upon O'Donnell's coming into that province most of the people revolted again.
- 20th.—Letters from the Earl of Clanricard, that O'Donnell was come into the country of Clanricard, with 3,000 foot and 200 horse, burning and spoiling.

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21st.—Mr. Henry Browne arrived with letters [from England]. The Lord Borrowgh coming to be Deputy.

23rd.—Letters from Sir G. Fenton, "that the Earl of Tyrone had suffered Ardmagh to be victualled with three of our companies, for the performance of which the said Earl had delivered in pledges." Mr. Thomas Horewell sent to England with letters.

24th.—Letters from Galway. Mr. Molinex, Chancellor of the Exchequer, died, and my Lord bestowed that office on Mr. Richard Cooke, his secretary.

25th.—Captains Russell and Mountague returned from the Lord President.

26th.—The Lord President and Sir G. Fenton returned from Dundalke. "Captain Henry Streete sent in 35 heads of the rebels of the Breney, besides 10 more of the rebels' heads which were stolen away; all which he had the cutting off in the town of Kells, where he lay in garrison, they attempting the town in the night."

The Council sat almost daily.

February 3rd, 1596[–7].—Lord Mountgarrett brought before the Council.

4th.—Sir Edward Stanley and Lady Clyfford landed from England at "the Ring's end."

8th.—Sir Conniars Clyfford departed for Connaught. Letters to England by Bignell, the Treasurer's man.

13th, Sunday.—Sir Conniars Clyfford's chaplain and Mr. Fenn preached.

19th.—Letters to England by John Fowlkes. My Lord began his journey towards Catherlough, and rode to the Nasse.

20th.—To Catherlough, where my Lord lay, at the Castle, Mr. Harpoole's.

21st.—A seminary priest named Lee, who this day said mass at Lawghlin bridge, was taken by a soldier, examined, and committed to the custody of the Provost.

22nd.—The Sergeant-Major and Captain St. Leger came to my Lord. Captain Lee also came, and certified that he had taken 200 cows and 50 garrones from Feagh McHugh.

23rd.—The Earls of Ormond and Thomond, the Lord of Doneboyne, and others dined with my Lord. Letters from England.

24th.—Letters despatched to Limerick, Ross, Cork, Waterford, and all other ports for restraining shipping from going to any part of Spain.

25th.—Sir G. Fenton sent news of the overthrow of 2,300 Spaniards in Brabant by the States.

27th.—Edmond Keting committed.

28th.—My Lord removed to Tullagh. Letters from England brought by Moore the pursuivant from Dublin.

March 1st, 1596[–7].—Captain Russell, Mr. Cob, and Mr. Cooke came from Dublin. Letters to the Lord President, the Lord Chancellor, and the Council at Dublin.

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2nd.—To Haggardstown. Captain Richard Greemes took a spy.

3rd.—Over the mountains to Farrenerren. The Sergeant-Major with 200 soldiers had a light skirmish with the enemy, and took from them 50 cows, and brought in the head of one of their best shot.

4th.—“My Lord marched from Farrenerren to Ballenecor, and passed over the bridge; and from thence proceeded forwards over the mountain into the deepest bottom of the Glynne with carriages, where his Lordship dined; after which he knighted the Sergeant-Major, Sir John Chichester, being the place where Sir Peter Carew was slain in the Lord Graie's time. Then his Lordship returned another way through the Glynes, up a mighty rock and bad pass, which, God be thanked, with much ado we safely passed, without any annoyance from the enemy, to our camp at Farrenerren.”

5th.—My Lord marched to Catherlough. Letters from the Council at Dublin by Stanley, pursuivant. Letters from Captain Henry Street.

6th.—Letters to the Council at Dublin, desiring to know what time was appointed for the Commissioners' meeting with the Earl of Tyrone at Dundalke, and promising if requisite to be at Dublin before their going, for furnishing the army to attend them. The sub-sheriff of the county of Catherlough was committed for abuse in gathering up corn in the country. Captains Montague and Richard Greemes brought in the heads of Dermond McOwen and Caire Glasse O'Birne, of Feagh's sept, and took a prey of 60 cows.

8th.—My Lord rode to Lawghlin, Captain Warham St. Leger's, where he was honourably entertained.

9th.—The Earl of Ormond came to Lawghlin. My Lord passed his word under his hand to the Earl of Ormond and Captain St. Leger, that if Garrett McMortagh would cut off 20 of the kearnes, being rebels, he should have his pardon. My Lord returned to Catherlough.

10th.—Mr. Harpoole's men brought in from the Brisklow the heads of Geff. Tobie and Patrick Duffe, followers of the Butlers out in action, and a prisoner named Nicholas Tobie, foster-brother to Peirse Butler; “who, being examined, would not confess anything against the Butlers, or where they usually abode.”

11th.—Patrick Moore, a prisoner, executed by martial law.

12th.—My Lord rose by 3 o'clock in the morning, and rode towards the Brisklowe, where he had appointed three foot companies to meet him, and beat through some of the rebels' fastnesses, but none could be found, as they had gone beyond the mountains. Some of our soldiers lighted on 16 rebels, one of whom, named Caroe McDonnell Cavanagh, uncle to Feagh's sons, was taken prisoner.

13th.—Letters from the Council at Dublin that six lasts of gunpowder, containing 140 barrels, lying at the Crane in

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Dublin, had by some negligence exploded, blowing up many houses adjoining, and killing many people. Mr. Harpole received a letter from Peirse Butler, asking for my Lord's protection.

14th.—My Lord rode to the Nasse.

15th.—To Dublin. The Chancellor and Council, with Mr. William Lane, Mr. Brounnett, and others, met his Lordship. The Council sat.

16th.—Captain Lea sent in two traitors' heads. Phelim O'Toole brought in one head, and took Turlagh O'Birne, one of Feagh's followers, prisoner.

17th, Thursday.—My Lord sent for Mr. William Lane and Mr. Brounnett, to speak with them. Mr. Fenn preached in the chapel. Captain Persie came to my Lord.

22nd.—The Earl of Kildare came to my Lord. Brian Reagh's brother's head brought in by the Earl of Kildare's lieutenant. A prisoner named Morris McHugh Cavanagh brought in by Captain Kellie. Letters from Molmorie O'Reylie, promising to perform some service in the Breney.

25th, Good Friday, 1597.—Letters to England by Lieutenant Fysher. The Lord President went to Dondalke to parley with the Earl of Tyrone. Captain Richard Greames brought in three traitors' heads and four prisoners, one of them son to Hugh Cancoe.

27th, Easter Day.—After the sermon in St. Patrick's my Lord knighted Mr. William Lane.

30th.—Captain Lea sent in the heads of James Butler, nephew to the Earl of Ormond, and two others. Letters from Sir Conners Clyfford out of Connaught.

April 1st, 1597.—Letters to the Governor of Connaught.

3rd, Sunday.—The Bishop of Lawghlin. and Mr. Fenn preached.

4th.—Captain Thomas Maria Wingfield came from Dondalk. Captain R. Greemes sent in one John Eustace, sometime his lieutenant, who had conspired to betray him and his castle to the rebels, as a prisoner, and also two traitors' heads, one of them being Hugh Duffe's brother.

5th.—Peirse FitzJames, sheriff of Catherlough, sent in 13 of the traitors' heads.

7th.—Marviliack went to England with letters. Sir G. Fenton and Sir G. Bowrchier rode to Dundalk to the Lord President.

8th.—Captain Trever landed from England with letters from the Countess of Warwick and others.

11th.—Sir William Lane went to England.

13th.—Two ships of Dublin arrived from Spain, bringing my Lord intelligence from thence.

14th.—Letters from the Earl of Ormond, that one Tirlagh Oge McHenry, with eight more rebels, was killed by his men two days before.

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15th.—My Lord sat in the Star Chamber hearing a cause between Mr. Edgerton and Captain Mansfield. Mr. Edgerton was fined 100 marks for a riot, and committed to prison. John Ball, sergeant-at-arms, provost-marshal of Connaught, and marshal of the Four Courts, died. My Lord bestowed the first office on John Hoyer, his gentleman usher, the second on Captain Lea, and the third on Mr. Gwilliams, his treasurer.

16th.—Letters to Captain M. Wingfield, at Dondalke.

20th.—Mr. Richard Masterson brought in the heads of 12 of Feagh McHugh's followers, having also committed seven prisoners to the castle of Wexford. My Lord sent Mr. Richard Cooke, his secretary, with letters to England. My Lord sat in the Star Chamber about ordering a cause between the Bishop of Lawghlin and Mr. Sheffield.

21st.—Sir G. Fenton and Sir G. Bowrchie returned to Dublin. Letters from the Earl of Ormond, "that his men had taken six prisoners that were traitors in Munster with Morogh McShehy."

22nd.—A packet of letters sent to England by post, and carried to Chester by the Bishop of Lawghlin.

24th, Sunday.—The Lord Primate and Mr. Fenn preached.

30th.—Letters received from my Lord Borrough by Dakings, his servant, who was sent over before to make provision. One of Hugh Cancoo's sons and two other rebels executed by martial law.

May 1st, 1597, Sunday.—Letters from the Earl of Essex and the Countess of Warwick brought by Lieut. Fisher. Sir Peirse FitzJames's son sent in another of Hugh Cancoo's sons. Mr. Huson and Mr. Fenn preached. Captain Goodwyn died.

3rd.—Captain Thornton sent to sea with the Queen's pinace for the Lord Burgh.

5th.—Letters from the Lord President (Sir John Norris), "that the Earl of Tyrone had deferred his meeting with him till the last of May, till which time a peace was prolonged, at the expiration of which the Earl promised to meet the Lord President in Dundalk, and deliver in his son as a pledge." The Earl of Ormond sent in 24 traitors' heads.

6th.—"My Lord sat in the Castle Chamber, where Captain Norries's cause was heard, who was adjudged (for speaking most heinous speeches against her Majesty's person) to be brought to the pillory with a paper on his head declaring his offence, and there to lose both his ears, to pay 500*l.* Irish for a fine, and to endure perpetual imprisonment." Widow Hope was fined 200*l.* Irish, and imprisoned, for the escape of the Newgents from Mollingar gaol.

7th.—Sir Thomas Jerman went with letters to the Council in England. My Lord took his last journey towards the Glynnas, in prosecution of Feagh McHugh, and rode to Rathdrome, where the foot companies met him.

8th, Sunday.—Early in the morning our foot entered the

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Glynnnes, and fell into that quarter where Feagh McHugh lay; "and coming several ways on him, it pleased God to deliver him into our hands, being so hardly followed as that he was run out of breath, and forced to take a cave, where one Milborne, sergeant to Captain Lea, first lighted on him, and the fury of our soldiers was so great as he could not be brought away alive; thereupon the said sergeant cut off Feagh's head with his own sword and presented his head to my Lord, which with his carcass was brought to Dublin, to the great comfort and joy of all that province." Many of his followers were slain, and 200 cows were taken, with much pillage, which was divided among the soldiers. My Lord returned to Rathdrome, and there before the fort knighted Sir Calistinas Brooke, Sir Thomas Maria Wingfeild, and Sir Richard Trever.

9th.—My Lord rode to Dublin. All the way the people of the country met him with great joy and gladness, and, as their manner is, bestowed many blessings on him for performing so good a deed, and delivering them from their long oppressions." The Council, divers noblemen, and the citizens of Dublin, with many others, met his Lordship, and he was welcomed with universal joy.

10th, *et seq.*—The Council sat. Several of the foot companies landed.

15th.—"The Lord Burgh landed at —, and came to Dublin, where he was invited to supper at the mayor's, after which his Lordship went to his lodging to St. Mary Abbey, at Sir George Bowrcher's house." 24,000*l.* and divers foot companies landed. Marviliacke brought private letters from England.

16th.—Dermond McNorris sent in five heads of Feagh's followers. "My Lord removed this night from the Castle to lie at Mr. Usher's house at the bridge foot, whereby the Castle might be made ready for the Lord Burgh against he should receive the sword." The Lord Burgh came to visit my Lord.

17th.—My Lord and the Council sat, "where the Lord Burgh came, and delivered her Majesty's instructions." After supper my Lord went to the Lord Burgh's lodging, where they conferred together.

18th to 21st.—My Lord and the Council sat.

19th.—Sir John Chichester sent in the heads of one Conner O'Kennedie and seven others of Feagh McHugh's followers. Mr. Cooke, "our" secretary, landed with letters from England. Letters from the Earl of Ormond that he had lately cut off 12 of the rebels by martial law, and kept four others prisoners. The Lord President (Norris) came to Dublin.

21st.—"My Lord and the Council sat in the afternoon, after which my Lord went to St. Mary Abbey to the Lord Burgh." The Earl of Ormond took his nephew Peirse Butler, executed him, and sent his head to Dublin.

22nd, Sunday.—The Lord Chancellor (Archbishop Loftus)

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and Mr. Fenn preached. After the sermon my Lord delivered up the sword to the Lord Burgh in St. Patrick's Church, and dined with him at St. Mary Abbey, "where the feast was kept." After dinner they sat in Council there about the "establishment."

23rd.—The Lord Deputy and Council met at St. Mary Abbey and sent for my Lord, who, after some consultations, departed.

24th.—My Lord went to the Lord Deputy and Council at St. Mary Abbey. Divers lords, knights, and gentlemen came to take their leave of my Lord.

26th.—My Lord departed from Dublin, being accompanied to the waterside by the Lord Chancellor and the rest of the Council, the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens of Dublin, and divers captains. "This evening we hoist sail, and the day following, being Friday, 27th, his Lordship landed at Ormshead, where his Lordship lay at Mr. Rowland Moystion's—in Wales."

Pp. 117.

Vol. 601. p. 123.

2. Abstract of the preceding, entitled—"A brief Journal of the services in Ireland during the deputation of Sir William Russell, extracted out of his own Journal-Book."

Pp. 22.

[June.]

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The ENGLISH PALE.

Vol. 632, p. 163.

"A Declaration of the present State of the English Pale of Ireland, and of many the causes which have brought the same to misery and extreme distress."

Cos. Louth, Meath (north and west the Boyne), Westmeath, Kildare, and Dublin (south of the Lyffye) are for the most part "spoiled, wasted, and consumed by burning or otherwise, save some castles in each of the said shires, where the owners do shroud themselves from the rebels, which they cannot long hold without your Majesty's speedy relief." This waste has been caused by the incursions of the rebels, the daily outrages and disorders of soldiers, and the burthens imposed by the governors, the Council, and commanders.

Louth is continually spoiled and overrun by the arch-traitor Tyrone, the McMahanones, and their confederates. The said McMahanones, the Relies, O'Rowrck, O'Ferrall Bane, the McGogheghanes, O'Melaughlin, the Nugents, and one Tyrrill, with some places under his command, sent from Tyrone, have continually spoiled and burned Meath and Westmeath. The Kavanaughes, Birnes, Toolles, Moores, Connors, "Bastards Giralduines," and the Demsyes have spoiled and burned Kildare, part of co. Dublin, and the south and east parts of co. Meath.

"This [was] done without resistance of your Majesty's forces, who might have stopped many of these mischiefs, if such as were placed in garrisons thereabouts had performed their duties, which they commonly forbear, alleging they were only to guard the garrison places, and not leave the same."

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Moreover, the soldiers have, contrary to your pleasure, not much [less] consumed, impoverished, and annoyed the Pale than the traitors. "The horse companies, in their passing through the same, every man most commonly hath double horses, some officers treble, each of them one boy, and some two, travelling not past four miles in the day—and that not directly, but crossing the country to and fro—wasting, with their lingering journeys, the inhabitants' corn excessively with their horses, and their goods with their extortion. The foot companies likewise, observing the same course in travelling, most commonly, not above two or three miles in the day, though their appointed garrisons be not past ten miles off, yet do they go 30 miles about, being followed and accompanied as they go through the Pale, each soldier with his boy at least, and for a great part with their women, and many horses, as well of their own as of the country, violently taken from the owners, to carry them, their children, and women, placing themselves at their pleasures, exacting meat and drink far more than competent, and commonly money from them; their boys, women, and followers much exceeding the people's ability, taking money from their officers after a double rate, whereof amongst every 7 or 8 soldiers they affirm commonly to have one. And if there be any wanting of a full company—as commonly in these journeys and all other cases, tending to the country's charge, there are rather more than under, though at all other times far fewer than due—then are the numbers which they report to be absent said to be employed in necessary causes, and they which are present do oftentimes take up money for the diet of them pretended to be absent. And if they be not satisfied with meat and money according to their outrageous demands, then do they beat their poor horses and their people, ransacking their houses, taking away cattle and goods of all sorts, not leaving so much as the tools and instruments that craftsmen do exercise their occupations withal, nor the garments to their backs, nor clothes to their beds; so as at their next meeting places there are to be found many times such plentiful store of household stuff, or what else they could carry or drive away with them, as at ordinary markets; which if the owners did not redeem at the will of the takers, then are they sold and dispersed in such sort as they that ought (owned) them shall never come by them again. And if any do withstand or gainsay such their inordinate wills, then they do not only exercise all the cruelty they can against them, but do also procure other companies to set afresh upon them in far worse sort than before, in nature of a revenge, so as whosoever resisteth their wills shall be sure to have nothing left him, if he can escape with his life.

"This course of ranging and extorting of her * silly people is become so common and gainful, as that many other soldiers

* So in MS.

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(as is said) have no other entertainment from their captains; and many others that are not soldiers, pretending to be of some company or other, have, in like outrageous sort, ranged up and down the country, spoiling and robbing the subjects as if they were rebels. And most certain it is that the rebels themselves, pretending to be soldiers, and knowing how gainful the course is, have often played the like parts unbeknown to the poor people, who live in such awe of the soldiers as they dare not resist any that take upon them that profession. So as, of all sides, the poor subjects go so miserably to wreck as no tongue nor pen can at full express."

Every two months since these broils 2,000 or 3,000 men have been drawn through the Pale from Munster, Leinster, and Connaught to Dondalke, to conclude a cessation of wars.

When the forces are placed in garrisons, large proportions of beoves, muttons, and grain are imposed weekly on the poor inhabitants, without consent of the nobility and gentlemen. For a ticket of 20s. they must give a beef, for which they paid 40s. or more. If a small portion happen to be in arrear, the soldiers run into the country with their horses, boys, and women, and commit great extortions, notwithstanding the largeness of their allowance, and "the continual wants of the numbers that their proportions are plotted for."

At other times the garrisons oppress the inhabitants without cause, "consuming wastefully and needless such provisions as people make for relief of themselves and their families, and in misusing of their persons, in such wise as the poor creatures, being thereby deprived of food and rest, together with the spoils of the rebels, are forced to forsake their houses, which out of hand are plucked down, and the timber thereof burned in the garrisons; which waste is made the more grievous that the inheritors or inhabitants of those waste places are forced to carry the timber of their houses to be burned; the soldiers leaving no trees fruitful or otherways unspoiled; the planters and preservers, with heavy hearts, looking on their long labours and expectations thus defaced and brought to so uncomfortable an event."

The soldiers are often called from Munster somewhat near to Dublin, the chiefest place of ease and security within the Pale, and there they practise their usual disorders. Such journeys are needless.

"These miserable afflictions are the more grievous unto us, that the army hitherto consisteth for a great part of the mere Irish, of whom many of them have been traitors and rebels lately pardoned or protected, who are naturally inclined and delighted to see the Pale go to wreck, which by these means they bring to pass more effectually, and with less danger to themselves, than if they were in actual rebellion; and yet (woe be unto us therefore!) no great difference, for ought we perceive, made between us and those the offspring of traitors, whom our ancestors, with the loss of their blood in the service

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of your Majesty's most worthy progenitors, dispossessed of that which we now hold from your Highness.

"And although the allurements of this unhappy time did offer provocations to carry unstayed minds astray, yet we, as unremovable from our loyalties, do remain steadfast and constant continually, making choice of all calamities, miseries, and mischiefs whatsoever, rather than to be disloyal; far different from the Irish, that never omitted the least occasion of advantage given them to take revenge of the Pale, and to show themselves the professed enemy of your Majesty's crown and dignity."

The manifold impositions of beoves, muttons, porks, grain, carriages, pioneers, and other provisions, the finding of soldiers for defence of the borders, and the charge of the "yearly rising out of the general hostings," without any other burthens, are sufficient to bring the Pale to extreme poverty.

Your rate for beoves was formerly 15s., and now 20s., but your subjects pay for each beofe 40s. or 50s.; "and a pork for 5s. before, worth in the market 20s."

The soldiers were appointed to have 10 sheaves of oats nightly for each horse, paying therefor 2½d., but last year oats grew scarce, and the inhabitants had to pay 1½d. for each sheaf. Many of the country were thereby undone, and forced to forego tillage and leave their land unsown; and many fair horses were famished. The soldiers complain that they cannot receive their pay, protesting that if they received it when due they would not be driven to range up and down the country.

"Many companies appointed to lie in garrisons, and victualled with your Highness' store, when the same is near at an end, and sometimes before, pretending want, and not procuring or having care of supply from your Highness' victualler, from whom they are to have the same, issue forth into the country where they list, taking beoves or what else they pretend to want at their own pleasures, far exceeding any ordinary or competent proportion, whereof some part they restore for money, and the rest use as they will, thinking all they do lawful, for they give their tickets, which many times they deny. And if the owners of the goods so taken proffer to stay the same, as some have done, demanding by what authority or warrant their goods are thus violently taken from them, their common answer is, that their drum and colours is a sufficient warrant. Then, if the owners seem not to be satisfied, they be assaulted, and as rigorously used as if they were disobedient and disloyal subjects.

"The mean devised by the State for recompensing of the party grieved by this outrageous course was to grant a commission to the sheriff[s] of some shires to plot the said beoves indifferently upon the whole shire where they were taken, and so with a general hurt to satisfy private grief; which bred many enormities, by reason the offenders were

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not punished for the outrage, nor restrained to competent proportions, and compelled to make satisfaction for their excess and disorder.

"Upon complaint exhibited unto the State for other the abuses of soldiers, proclamation was sent forth that in their throughfare, upon pain of death, they should not exact the country, but take such meat and drink as the inhabitants could afford them, giving ready money or their officers' tickets for the same; and if they did otherwise, then it should be lawful to sheriffs, justices of peace, and others to apprehend and commit the soldiers so offending to the shire gaol, or, failing thereof, to present their names, that they might inflict such punishment on them as their misdemeanour and abuses did merit. Which order, as it fell out, procured greater disorder; for the soldiers, hearing thereof, came so strongly to the place where they did lodge, as the country neither durst nor were able to apprehend them, though their outrages were greater than before; so as the same was the destruction of those places altogether. Neither was it possible to present their names, except the inhabitants had special knowledge of them; for the soldiers, to delude the good meaning of the aforesaid proclamation, did not only deny the names, but gave out themselves to belong unto a contrary captain, whose company was then perhaps in the remotest place of the land."

"Sundry principal rebels and traitors, being taken into protection from time to time, have had their companies of horse and foot placed in the country, exacting of the people diet and money as largely as any, with greater grief to the bearers, being driven by that means to cherish and entertain their deadly enemies.

"The soldiers, till now of late, were commonly in their throughfare partly directed by the sheriffs, collectors, and others of the country, with some ease to the poor inhabitants. But now, to aggravate our miseries, there be Quarter-Masters erected, who do plot and quarter the soldiers with no indifferency or care, having no knowledge of the country, but, overburthening some with over-great numbers to their utter undoing, do, for reward, free others. And whether (further?) they do quarter and charge places time out of mind privileged and freed from all impositions, in respect of service and yearly rising due out of them to your Majesty and your most noble progenitors, greatly to the discontentment of the nobility and gentlemen of this realm, that should by this course be brought to as miserable state as the poorer sort, if they yielded thereunto."

The poor people, as a last resource, sent such of their goods and cattle as they might spare to their friends in the inner and safest places of the English Pale, but your forces were removed from the frontiers of the English Pale the last month of May, and your poor subjects, unable to furnish themselves with horses, armour, and weapons, were invaded by the rebels,

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with all their winter forces, which "spoiled and burned even into the bowels and heart" of the country, where never before has a traitor durst show his face. The country offered to maintain 500 horsemen to serve your Majesty at your pay of 12*d.* sterling *le piece per diem*.

"Suit was made to have armour and munition delivered to the inhabitants for some of the money due to them for country charges, and that certain bands should be erected of the English Pale, to be trained up by some expert man at the charge of the country, and ready at any time at their own charge* to withstand any invasion or sudden brunt of the rebels."

These offers were not accepted, upon suspicion of lack of due affection in us towards your Majesty's service, owing to difference in matters of religion and conscience; but by our loyal bearing of the before-mentioned burthens and calamities, by the deaths of sundry gentlemen of the English race of the Pale in resisting the rebels, by the fact that the most notable rebels have been slain and overthrown by your subjects of this country (as the Earl of Desmond, James FitzMorries, Callough O'Connor, Rowry Oge, Con McCollo, and others), it may plainly appear what faithful and hearty affection we carry towards your Majesty, "upon whose gracious care and regard of us our whole hope doth altogether depend."

Copy. Pp. 16.

June 25. 272.
Vol. 607, p. 141.

TIBBOT BURKE.

"An Abstract of the Demands of Theobald ne Long Burke unto Sir Coniers Clifford, Governor of Connaught, at Lehinche, 25 April 1597; sent into England, and answered by the Lords of the Council 25 June 1597."

"He undertook, with the aid of her Majesty's forces, to banish Tibbot McWalter, the now McWilliam; for reward of that service to have all McWilliam's lands to be assured unto him, and in lieu of the name of McWilliam to have some title to be bestowed upon him according to the worthiness of his service.—*A style was granted, whereof consideration should be had; the lands also, conditionally that it should bear the composition which Sir Richard Bingham had formerly imposed upon it.*"

That the lands in co. Mayo taken from the possessors in Sir Richard Bingham's time and conferred upon others may be restored to the right owners.—*This large demand was denied.*

"That the benefit of her Majesty's letters in the behalf of his brother Moroghe ne Muyre, and the like for Donell O'Mayle his mother, might be confirmed unto him if he would become a good subject."—*Granted.*

* In MS., "ready at a time for their own charge."

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That Richard Burke be received to mercy and have a pension.—*Granted.*

"He demanded all the lands of such persons as were then in rebellion in co. Mayo to be granted unto him and his heirs.—*There was granted unto him all the rebels' lands that were of his own sept.*"

He demanded the castle and lands of Castle Barry.—*Denied.*

Pardons for sundry persons.—*Granted.*

That for seven years such as depended upon him should not be questioned for any harms done.—*Suspended.*

"He demanded such portions of McWilliam's seignory as was by the Lord General's last parley agreed upon.—*Granted.*"

A company of foot in the Queen's pay.—*Granted.*

A commission to grant protections in co. Mayo.—*Mitigated.*

In Carew's hand. Pp. 2.

July 1. 278. The ARMY.

Vol. 601, p. 142a.

Ordinances by her Majesty for reforming Disorders in the Musters and Payment of her Army in Ireland, 39 Eliz., 1597.

"Every captain of 100 footmen shall receive weekly upon every Saturday for the week following his full entertainment of 28s. for the week; and so in like case the lieutenant 14s., the ensigns 7s., and the sergeant drummer, surgeon, and phyfe 5s. apiece, by way of imprest; and every common soldier of the company shall likewise receive by way of imprest 3s. ster. The residue, which is for every of the said four last officers 2s., to make up his full pay, and for every common soldier to make up his full pay 20d. by the week, shall be answered to the full value thereof in good apparel of several kinds, part to serve them for the winter, and part for summer, which shall be of good quality and stuff for the prices, and delivered at the two seasons for the winter and summer, whereof true patterns shall be sent to the Lord Deputy, to be there compared with the apparel that shall be sent thither for the soldier, which shall be of these sorts and prices hereafter following, viz.:

"For the four officers of every band.—For the winter:—a cassock of broad cloth with silk buttons and lace, 22s. 7d.; a doublet of good canvas, 14s.; a hat and band, 5s. 5d.; two shirts and two bands, 9s. 6d.; three pair of shoes, 7s.; three pair of stockings, 8s.; a pair of Venesions with silk lace, 15s. 4d.; [total,] 4l. 2s. 3d. (*sic*). For the summer:—two shirts and two bands, 9s. 6d.; two pair of shoes, 4s. 8d.; one pair of stockings, 2s. 8d.; a hat and band, 5s. 5d.; [total,] 22s. 6d. (*sic*).

"Common soldier.—For the winter:—a cassock of broad cloth, 17s. 6d.; a doublet of canvas, 12s. 6d.; a hat cap, 3s.; two shirts, two bands, 8s.; three pair of shoes, 7s.; three

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pair of stockings, 8s.; a pair of cloth Venesions, 13s. 4d.; [total,] 3l. 9s. 4d. For the summer:—two shirts and two falling bands of Hollon, 7s.; two pair of shoes, 4s. 8d.; one pair of stockings, 2s. 8d.; a hat cap, 3s.; [total,] 17s. 4d.

“And because it will seldom happen that any band of 100 more or less will be found so complete as it should be needful to deliver weekly the whole sum payable to such a company with the full pay of the entertainment of the captain and officers, the six dead pays therein allowed, the checks for absence and deficiency also defaulted; it is therefore ordered that the Treasurer at Wars shall pay and deliver weekly for the imprest of every such company the sum of 18l. 19s., agreeable to the form above expressed. The captains and soldiers thus paid shall not, to the offence of our subjects, as heretofore, be ceased upon the country.”

A commissary for the musters to be established in every province, and to have 6s. 8d. *per diem*. Musters to be taken every month, “allowing no more of the nation of Ireland or of any other nation but of England, where the band is ruled by an English captain.” The commissaries to send the muster rolls to the Lord Deputy, and to be changed every year. The surveyor of the muster rolls to examine the books and certify any disorders to the Lord Deputy and Council, and the offenders to be punished for corruption. The surveyor to send copies of his books every half year to the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland and to the Council in England. The Lord Deputy to inquire how many pretend to be free from checks. The books of musters to be kept in the Castle of Dublin as records.

“It were to be wished that the pay of every soldier might come to his own hand immediately from the Treasurer or his officer;” yet it shall be sufficient that the Treasurer or his officer deliver to the captain or his lieutenant the whole weekly imprest for his company, in the presence and with the knowledge of eight at least of the soldiers. Any captain who detains any soldier’s wages is to be publicly punished, removed from his charge, and compelled to pay double the money detained.

As some persons have odd numbers of horse that are not so serviceable as they might be, if they were in bands under good leaders, “no horseman shall be allowed in any pay but such as shall serve in bands of 50 at the least, saving such as are allowed to attend upon officers by their patents or by the establishment.” No company of footmen to be of less number than 94 able persons, unless it be in wards.

This order is not to extend to the retinue of the Lord Deputy, who is to have allowance for his retinue as heretofore.

Whereas the chief officer of the musters in that realm has, by prescription and without lawful warrant, “taken to his own use the benefit of one pay out of every company,” her Majesty commands that no officer of musters shall take any

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such pay in any company, in order that no more than six dead pays shall be allowed in one band of 100. "And to the intent these ordinances may be kept and have a beginning as soon as may be, her Majesty hath presently sent as much money as may duly serve for these lendings (imprests) to all manner of footmen that are esteemed to be there in service, that are allowed 8*d.* by the day for 14 weeks, and for the Lord Deputy and all his retinue, and all horsemen and others serving as martial men, sufficient to pay their whole wages for three months, as by a schedule signed by her Majesty's Council and sent to the Lord Deputy shall appear."

Greenwich, 1st July 1597.

Copy. Pp. 6.

July 1. 274. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (BOROUGH).

Vol. 601, p. 145a.

For the weal of Ireland we employ great forces there under you, and have sent a navy and army to the seas towards Spain, to withstand all dangers that might come from thence. We now wish to reform the great disorders there, especially in "charging of us with pay of more persons than are known there to serve us," and for that purpose we have devised certain ordinances. As you are in the field, you may not have leisure to peruse and observe them; so we require you, for avoiding delay, to impart them to such of the Council as can attend to the execution of them.

Certify us what numbers of persons are ready for service according to their allowances, for the certificates from the Treasurer (Wallop) and Muster Master are not satisfactory. Rafe Lane, the Muster Master, seems to have been very negligent, and to have made up his checks by guess. The Treasurer certifies that our charge is about 12,000*l.* a month, "besides many other extraordinary charges of persons not subject to Lane's muster." He has "sent a declaration of the expense of 24,000*l.* saving 800*l.*," but does not state what number of persons are in our pay, or until what time the imprests are to serve. Sir William Russell, our late Deputy, has made declaration to our Council that the numbers he left there in pay were 8,303; but he believed that in truth there were not above 5,000. The Undertakers in Munster have neglected the habitation thereof with Englishmen, and have made grants to the Irish. Charge the Council "to answer you what hath been done therein to reform this disorder, upon our express commandment given to certain of them to inquire of the said defaults, and to have proceeded sharply to the reformation thereof either by punishment of the offenders or by seizing into our hands of their lands so misused." Give commission to certain chosen persons, joining with them the President of our Council there, to inquire into this matter, and how many Patentees are absent and not resident upon their lands.

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The lands and seignories of the late Earl of Clancarre are to be surveyed.

Greenwich, 1st July 1597.

Copy. Pp. 3.

[July.] **275.** The EARL OF TYRONE to the KING OF SPAIN.

Vol. 617, p. 90.

We received your Highness's letters by Don Roderigo de Vayen this last March, by which you did write that we should go forward in our enterprise, and that your Majesty would send us aid. We returned answer by the said Don Roderigo. Believe no news from England of any agreement in this country. Great offers have been made by the Queen of England, but we will not break our oath and promise to you.

"We are compassed round in such order on each side, that, except God keep us, we will be undone; but as yet we have given them the worse. We skirmish very often, and still they have the worst. And now lately I had the killing of the sergeant-major (Turner) of the Queen's army, and of the Lord Deputy's (Lord Borough) brother-in-law (Vaughan), with many others. The Earl of Kildare [was] hurt, and died of his hurt.* On the side that O'Donnell was in, there came the Governor of Connaught (Clifford) with a great army, near as great as the Deputy's was, and laid siege to a castle (Ballishenan) in his country; but at length he was driven to steal away with the loss of a nobleman (O'Brien, Lord of Insequin) and many officers and soldiers, and driven to leave the Queen's great ordnance behind, with all their victuals and carriage. So as now we are so set to, that we must humbly crave your present succour."

Dated "1597."

Copy, "translated out of Latin." P. 1.

Sept. **276.** REBELS in CONNAUGHT.

Vol. 632, p. 22.

"A brief Declaration of the Province of Connaught, how the same stood at my coming, and as it is at this present, with the names of the chief gentlemen of the septs, [made by Sir Coniers Clifford, Governor of that province†]."

Roscomen.—All the Kelleys in Imany between the Suck and the Shannon were in rebellion, and protected by Sir John Norreys. They lived in obedience until the coming of O'Donnell into the country. Then Feriogh McHugh O'Kelley, of Moycarnan, [and] the Kelleis of Twoaleag revolted; some fled into the North, some into O'Rwark's country. "Feriogh is

* Note in the margin: "False; for he died of no hurt."

† These words are added by Carew.

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this instant September protected by me." Donell O'Kelley, of Lysdallon, Edmond O'Kelley, and Donogh Baccho O'Kelley, of Culnegire, Kedogh O'Kelley, of Cloghin, [and] Redmond O'Fallon, of Myltown, were never in action. O'Connor Roe, O'Byrne, O'Hanly, and O'Flanygan were in action, and taken in by Sir John Norris. Most of their kinsmen and followers revolted upon the coming of O'Donnell, but have now come in. MacDermot with 150 followers was taken in by Sir John Norris, but revolted at the coming of O'Donnell, "and yet himself taken prisoner by O'Donnell, who detaineth him." The McDermott Roes have come in to me, and live about the Abbey of Boyle; but their followers are in action with O'Rwarke. Con MacDwaltogh O'Connor, cousin germain to O'Connor Don, pretending to be chief of that name, received protection of Sir John Norris, and revolted upon the coming of O'Donnell. He was slain in action by Feagh Boork, son to Sir Hubert Boy MacDavy Boork, with 16 others, including Mulrony MacDermott. The two brethren of Con MacDwaltogh have submitted to me this instant September. Their followers are in action.

Galloway.—All the Kelleys beyond the Suck (except Connor ny Garr O'Kelley, of Gallogh, William Kelley, of Knockmoy, and the sons of Shane ne Moy, who were never in rebellion), taken in by Sir John Norris, live in obedience. The sons of Teig O'Kelley, of Malloghmore, and Feagh MacMelaghlen O'Kelley have received protection from me. Ulicke Boork, who murdered George Bingham, and Shane Boork his brother, sons of Redmond Boork, commonly called Scobe, are with O'Donnell. All my Lord Bretingham's country (except himself and his sons, with Sir Hubert Boy MacDavie and his sons, and Thomas MacHenry Boork) were protected by Sir John Norris. Richard Boork, of Deremaclaghine, has continued loyal. All the O'Flaherties, of Yreconoght, were taken in by me; but Brien Echowley O'Flahertie and Morogh MacTeig O'Flahertie have lately fled into Ulster; and Rury Sheog O'Flahertie, Hugh Duff O'Flahertie, Roger and Mathew O'Flahertie, sons to the late Sir Morogh ne Doe O'Flahertie, were never in action.

Clare.—All the gentlemen and others live in obedience.

Mayo.—The inhabitants ("except William Boork, of Shrowle, his son Oliverus McShane and his brother Edmond, William Boorke FitzRichard, who fled into Mounster, and MacMorrice"), in number 1,500, were in rebellion, and protected by Sir John Norris.* Tybott ne Long with the Devil's Hook and others have come in to me, and put in pledges. McWilliam continues in action, and in July last lost 200 of his men. "At his late coming in this instant

* *In the margin* :—"After that Tibott Boork came to me McWilliam, doubting Oliverus McShane would join with him, took him prisoner, whom I redeemed."

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September his brother Thomas, equal in mischief to himself, was slain, and one of the chief commanders of the Clandonnells, with 30 or 40 of his men; their heads sent to me by Tybott ne Longe." McWilliam's forces, with 400 out of O'Donnell's country, amount to 700.

Sligoe.—The inhabitants, to the number of 400, are still in action. Only Caale Og MacDonogh has come in; he dwells near Ballymoate. O'Hary Boy, O'Hary Reogh MacDonogh, of Cayla, and Tyryrell MacDonogh, of Corron, [the] MacSwynes, the Hartes, [and the] O'Dowds, of Tyreragh, are the principal men in action.

Leitrim.—Brien O'Rwark, called O'Rwark, and Teig his brother, with 600 followers, are in action.

The total number of men now in action is 2,600 at least, combined with O'Donnell, who continually employs his foot upon this province, and has 1,500 foot and 300 horse. Maguyer, whose sister O'Rwarke has now married, joins O'Donnell with 700 foot and 100 horse, only for the disturbing of this province.

"Principal prisoners reserved upon several killings:—John MacJonyn, John MacMorrice, Davy MacMorrice, Edmond MacMelaghlen, Davy MacRicard Boork.

"Castles of account taken also by me and so kept:—Ballinderge in co. Gallaway, the Bryse, Castle Barr."

Copy. Pp. 8.

Dated by Carew "1597."

Nov. 5. 277. STATE OF IRELAND.

Vol. 621, p. 57.

"A summary Report made of the estate of the Realm of Ireland at this present in the several Provinces, debated in Council 5 November anno 1597."

Ulster.—All the late rebellions in Ireland have had their beginning in Ulster. Like as when Sir William FitzWilliams surrendered the sword to Sir William Russell, and when Russell delivered up his charge to Lord Burghe, we advertised your Lordships [the Privy Council] of the bad state of that province, so now we have to report "that there is no part freed from the poison of this great rebellion, and no country or chieftain of a country, being Irish, whom the capital traitor Tyrone hath not corrupted and drawn into combination with him, so as from sea to sea beyond Dundalk, namely, from Karrickfargus in Clandeboye to Ballishanon in Tyreconnell, there is no part that standeth for her Majesty, except Karrickfargus, the Newrie, the fort of Blackwater, and the Cavan in the Breny, which are held with strong and chargeable garrisons to her Majesty, besides three or four petty castles in Clandeboyes and Lecall, namely, Belfast, Edendoghe, Carricke, Olderfleet, and Dondram, all which are maintained by wards." In Clandeboye two of the petty lords,

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Shane McBryon and Neale Oge McHugh McFeolem of the house of the O'Neales, made their submission, and are now returned into their countries pardoned, but they are not likely to stand fast longer than may serve their turn.

This bad estate of Ulster is like to grow worse by the late frequent practices of the two great lords of Kantlyre in Scotland, Angus McDonnell and McAlane, "both labouring vehemently to come into Ulster, and bring with them 2,000 or 3,000 Scots; [and], under pretence to make offer to serve her Majesty, they will bend themselves against her, and convert their forces to serve the traitor, with whom it is to be doubted they have contracted underhand." In our opinion, their sudden reconciliation, "being before at deadly malice one against the other, should betoken some deep conspiracy against this State, either set on by Earl Huntley in Scotland, or drawn on by Tyrone in Ireland." These two Scottish septs were formerly "at pike" one with the other.

"We have directed Sir John Chichester, who hath charge at Knackfargus and those parts, to stand upon as good a keeping as he can against the subtlety of those Scots, and to foresee specially that they come not into Karrickfargus, or any other house or castle kept for her Majesty, otherwise than he may be able to put them out when he will."

Connaught.—Her Majesty has to keep in this province a force of 2,300 foot and 75 (*sic*) horse; "and such is the waste and ruin, specially in grain, as we are driven to victual most of those companies out of her Majesty's store, sometimes by sending of corn by sea from Dublin to Gallawaie, which is very chargeable and casual, and sometimes by conveying of biscuit over land, when we can get garrans for carriage of it, which is not without difficulty and great murmur of the country, though they are paid ready money, according to her Majesty's usual rates."

"Albeit upon the drawing of Tibbott ne Longe [Burke], and the late expelling of the supposed McWilliam by her Majesty's forces twice out of that province, there were some appearance that the state of the country would grow to better settling, the rather for that upon the expulsion of McWilliam and the coming of Tybott sundry other septs of the Burghes, O'Kellies, and other nations that were loose and stood out before, came in to Sir Conyers Clifford, . . . and he procured from the late Lord Deputy a general pardon for them all, and of some of them he took pledges: nevertheless, many of them fell to revolt afterwards, when they saw O'Donnell to countenance McWilliam, and attempt to set him in his place again." Till O'Donnell be taken down, it will be hard to reduce them.

Leinster and the English Pale.—The garboils are greater than ever. It was thought that, by cutting off Feoghe McHugh, they would have come to an end, but the quarrels have been renewed by his two sons. "They have been with

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Tyrone all the last summer, and have wrought him to send forces with them into Leinster under the conduct of sundry chief lords, some remaining about himself, as Captain Tirrell and one of the O'Neales, and others chosen out of Leinster, as Breon Reoghe O'More, the Nugents, and Feoghe's two sons themselves, . . . to the number of 600 and upwards, divided and sorted into shot and pikes, and other short weapons.

"These have of late committed sundry burnings in Leax, Offaly, the Ranelaghe, the Byrnes' country, Kildare, and in some part near Dublin, where they have done several hurts upon the subjects, and especially upon the English, as they could come by them; whom they sought principally to expel out of their dwellings in Leinster, as the other rebels in Ulster and Connaught have; . . . whereby it is apparent that this great rebellion in Ireland is a mere Irish war followed upon the English of purpose to root them out, and reduce the realm to the old Irish laws and tyrannical customs of Tanistry. To these are adherent sundry of these Irish families in Leinster, as the O'Mores, O'Connors, some of the Cavannaughes, some of the Birnes and Tooles, some of the McCaughlons, O'Malagh-lins, O'Moloies, O'Dempsies, and others."

In the English Pale many are suspected of unsoundness, "even for that in ordinary warrants . . . for her Majesty's service, they are far more backward than good subjects ought to be: . . . besides, two base brethren of the Earl of Kildare, called the Bastard Geraldines, having drawn to them a number of loose people, do range up and down the English Pale, extorting meat, drink, and money at their own wills, and so terrify the subjects of the Pale as many do forsake their dwellings for fear of their violence. These Bastard Geraldines are now upon protection; and what will further become of them we know not, having often written to the Earl of Kildare to temper with them and to stay them, but we have not as yet heard anything from him."

Munster.—"The best tempered of all the rest at this present; for that, though not long since sundry loose persons, as some of the McShees, the Lord Roche's base sons, and others became Robin Hoods, and slew some of the Undertakers, dwelling scattered in thatched houses and remote places near to woods and fastnesses, yet now they are cut off, and no known disturbers left who are like to make any dangerous alteration upon the sudden. And yet we have intelligence that many are practised withal from the North, to be of combination with the rest, and to stir coals in Munster, whereby the whole realm might be in a general uproar: a matter which maketh good our former opinion that it is a universal Irish war, intended to shake off all English government."

Given at Dublin, 5 November 1597.

Copy. Pp. 6.

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Dec. 22.

278.

The EARL OF TYRONE'S SUBMISSION.

Vol. 617, p. 321.

"The most humble and penitent Submission of me, Hugh Earl of Tyrone, presented in mine own person" to the Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Lord Lieutenant General, with his assistants the Bishop of Meath and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, at Dundalk, 22 December 1597.

Upon my former submissions I received pardon; yet of late I have fallen into the like crimes, and provoked her Majesty's indignation. "I do here acknowledge, upon the knees of my heart, that I am most sorry for this my late relapse and defection."

Make known to her Majesty my several grievances "done to me and mine" by some of her ministers. Till her Majesty's pleasure be returned, I crave "a time of forbearing of arms for two months," which I promise to perform for myself and those who have taken part with me. I promise there shall be no impediment to the victualling of the fort of Blackwater. I will deliver a sufficient pledge.

Signed: Hugh Tyrone.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Dec. 22.

279.

The EARL OF TYRONE'S PETITION.

Vol. 617, p. 323.

The humble Petition of Hugh Earl of Tyrone to the Lord Lieutenant General of her Majesty's army (the Earl of Ormond), at Dundalk, 22 December 1597.

"That all the inhabitants of Ireland may have free liberty of conscience, or at least ways the benefit of her Majesty's positive law, without being cumbered with the law of reason."

That her Majesty grant pardon to him and all that remain in Tyrone, "with satisfaction of any defect of all former grants passed to his Lordship that hath grown by these late actions;" and that he may be restored by Act of Parliament to his blood and dignity.

"For that the abuses of her bad officers hath been the beginning of all this trouble, and that the Irishry cannot away with the rigour of law upon every small occasion, their bringing up being but barbarous;" that Tyrone may be made a county palatine.

That her Majesty withdraw her garrisons from Tyrone "and all other parts of the Irishry."

As there passed an oath between the Earl and all the Irishry that took part with him, that he would take no agreement for himself unless every of them had pardon and their predecessors' lands, he craves that the same may be granted, and that the Mores and Connors may have a reasonable portion of their predecessors' lands.

That he may have the pledges delivered for the performance of the first truce between the Lord General Norreys and him; and that his last pledges may be exchanged.

Copy. P. 1.

1597.

Dec. 22. 280.

ARTICLES PROPOSED TO TYRONE.

Vol. 617, p. 319.

"Articles prescribed to the Earl of Tyrone by the Lord Lieutenant General (Ormond) and his assistants the Lord Bishop of Meath and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Knt.; the performance of [which] articles the said Earl hath promised upon his honour and credit to the uttermost of his power, and hath subscribed the articles with his hand, the 22nd of December 1597."

(1.) He and all whom he pretends to have taken part with him shall keep the peace to all her Highness's subjects during "the abstinence of war," eight weeks from the date hereof.

(2.) He shall call out of Leinster "all such of Ulster as were sent thither by his direction," and suffer none of them to remain there or in the English Pale during the abstinence.

(3.) If any persons break into rebellion during this abstinence, he shall not aid them, but leave them to be prosecuted.

(4.) If he send to buy victuals in the English Pale, such as he employs therein shall bring an attestation under his hand, showing they are sent by him. It shall be lawful for them to buy victuals, upon condition that the Queen's subjects may buy victuals and other commodities in Ulster. "The Ulster men shall not come in troops or great companies armed, whereby to take meat and drink of her Majesty's subjects by violence."

(5.) Upon any supposed wrong committed upon him or his by any of her Majesty's garrisons or subjects, he shall not enter into any revenge, but "cause the same to be informed, with the proofs, to the Lords Justices or Lord Lieutenant General."

(6.) He shall not "entertain any practice, contract, or other intelligence whatsoever with the King of Spain or any of his ministers, or any other foreign nation." If he receive from Spain or any other foreign place any letters, messages, or directions, he shall acquaint the State therewith.

(7.) Whereas the Earl has made suit that his grievances might be made known to her Majesty, "so soon as he shall book the same, and deliver them to me the Lord Lieutenant General, or to any other by my appointment, we will see them faithfully transcribed to her." We require him "not to pester his book of complaints with matters frivolous and unnecessary."

(8.) According to his promise, the Earl shall deliver 40 beeves into the fort of Blackwater, and send a safeconduct with her Majesty's victuals and munitions to be now sent thither. He shall suffer the soldiers of the fort to cut and bring in wood and other necessities; "the wood to be assigned by the Earl within a mile of the fort." He shall give a safeconduct whenever it is necessary "to carry any matter from the Newry or other place to the fort."

(9.) Restitution to be made of any prey or "bodragge" taken out of the English Pale to the Fues, Farney, or any other part the North, "the same being trackted thither," so soon as

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the same shall be proved before the Commissioners. The thieves to be executed. The like course to be held for any spoils taken from the Earl or his dependants by any of the army or any of the Pale. "If any man be stopped from following of his tract, the party giving him impediment to answer the goods so tracted."

Signed: Hugh Tyrone.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Dec. 22. 281. The EARL OF TYRONE'S REPLY.
Vol. 600, p. 47.

"The Answer of the Earl of Tyrone to the Articles prescribed unto him by the Earl of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant General, and his assistants the Lord Bishop of Meath and Sir Geoffrey Fenton," 22 December 1597.

"To the 1st he agreeth, so as the like be observed by [her] Majesty's subjects towards himself and all those [that] are in action with him.

"To the 2nd he agreeth, saving only if any do stay with them of Leinster, contrary to the* commandment, that they be used no otherwise than as they be with whom they remain. He will send for all, and if any tarry, he leaveth them to the Lord General's discretion.

"To the 3rd he agreeth, so as none now depending on his truce be received or entertained by the Lord Lieutenant General or the State during this truce without his consent.

"To the 4th he saith he is contented that her Majesty's subjects shall buy necessaries in Ulster, so as his men and dependants may have the like liberty to buy and sell among her Highness' subjects; and that none of this side shall take meat† forcibly in the Pale.

"To the 5th he agreeth, so as he may have redress within ten days after the complaint made thereof to the Lord Lieutenant General or to the Lords Justices; and the like toleration to be used towards the Earl and his dependants until ten days after notice given him, that redress be had of either side, [except?] wheresoever any track shall be left on unmanured or uninhabited land.

"To the 6th he saith he will accomplish the same, if any cause of that weight come to his hands worth the sending during the truce.

"To the 7th he saith he will do his best endeavour therein, as near as he may in discretion.

"To the 8th he agreeth, so as the wood be cut on this side of the water next Ardmaghe; and for any other thing, that they first agree with the owners for the things they want, and procure a man of the Earl's to go with them when they look

* "his" in MS. 621.

† "or drink" is added in MS. 621.

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for any necessities, and not themselves to go into any part of the country not being accompanied with the Earl's men.

"To the 9th he agreeth."

Signed: Hughe Tirone.

Copy in Carew's hand. P. 1. Endorsed.

Vol. 621, p. 55.

2. Another copy.

Dec. 29. 282. The QUEEN to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 601, p. 147.

We have seen divers letters of yours since you received our commission of lieutenancy. Your proceedings show judgment and affection to our service. We can be content to receive the penitent and humble submission of those traitors that pretend to crave it. "You now represent our own person, and have to do with inferior people and base rebels, to whose submission if we in substance shall be content to condescend, we will look to have the same implored in such reverend form as becometh our vassals and such heinous offenders to use, with bended knees and hearts humbled; not as if one prince did treat with another upon even terms of honour or advantage, in using words of peace or war, but of rebellion in them and mercy in us; for rather than ever it shall appear to the world that in any such sort we will give way to any of their pride, we will cast off either sense or feeling of pity or compassion, and upon what price soever prosecute them to the last hour."

Examine their complaints against our ministers, but do not "suffer them so to abuse your ears with complaints as to justify all their treasons by such imputations."

Dispense with such conditions prescribed by us heretofore as you find likely to delay the conclusion of mercy and quietness. In the schedule enclosed we have noted the conditions which are to be insisted on.

We are informed by Connyers Clyfford "that some of those rebels in and near Connaught are desirous to be received to mercy, and that he thinketh no way more likely to effect it than by your hearkening to the capital rebels' offers." Give him directions.

"Where we do find that the offals left of Pheaghe McHugh (O'Birne) and other rebels near the Pale do daily infester good subjects and distract those forces which should be otherwise [employed], we are content, and do hereby give you authority and warrant, to take all such into our mercy, and to give them our pardon, whom you shall, with the advice of the Lords Justices, think fit to be received for our service; and so have we also in Connaught given Connyers Clyfford warrant to do the like."

"For the rest of the misgovernment of our kingdom, especially in distribution of our treasure, and in our being notoriously abused by false musters, we do write to all such our officers as it appertaineth, and doubt not but, in what

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properly appertaineth to you as General of our army, you will yield us an account answerable to the opinion and expectation we have of your fidelity and wisdom. And to the intent you may have some assistant to you in those matters of treaties, we do allow well of our Secretary's (Fenton) going with you, and do hereby authorise you to take him, and to communicate with him all such things as are appertaining to our service. And further, we do give you full power to receive and pardon any of the rest of the capital rebels, with such conditions as possibly you can procure, although they have followed the principal traitor (Tyrone), but in no sort to do it for his sake."

Whitehall, 29 December 1597.

II. "HEADS of MATTERS for our Cousin the EARL OF ORMOND to urge to TYRONE at the meeting."

- (1.) That he make his personal submission to you in public.
- (2.) That he renounce all confederacy with the Irishry.
- (3.) That he renounce the name of O'Neale.
- (4.) That he disperse all his forces, and send out of the realm all Scots and other hired strangers.
- (5.) That he have nothing to do with any of our uriaghts.
- (6.) That he deliver to you the sons of Shane O'Neale, to be sent to the castle of Dublin, from whence they escaped.
- (7.) That he contribute to the rebuilding of the fort and bridge of Blackwater, that our garrison be continued there without danger, and that the country bring it victuals.
- (8.) "That he tell you truly how far he hath proceeded with the Spaniards, or any other Prince," and that he renounce all such dealings.
- (9.) That he suffer a sheriff in Tyrone.
- (10.) That he put in his eldest son for a pledge, or some other chief man, and resort, "as other lords of Ireland use to do," to the Governor and Council at Dublin.
- (11.) That he pay a fine of — pounds to us with[in] three years. "Let the fine be imposed for an honour to us, and afterwards we may be moved to remit either the whole or part of it."
- (12.) That bodragges, stealths, and outrages done on both sides be referred to commissioners.
- (13.) That if he yield to so many of these articles as shall appear necessary to give assurance of his loyalty, the rest may be forborne.

"Of all these thirteen articles, these are necessary to be urged and obtained, which are the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th."

Memorandum by Sir Robert Cecil at the end.

Copy. Pp. 5.

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Feb. 8. Vol. 601, p. 149a.

283. "A NOTE of O'ROURKE'S DEMANDS, 8 February 1597."

(1.) That he may be pardoned with all his followers.—*Granted.*

(2.) "That he may have his country, both spiritual and temporal, past to him and his heirs by patent."—*Granted.*

(3.) That, for the defence of co. Letrym, garrisons be placed at Cavan and Ballimote, to act in concert with himself.—*There is already a garrison at the Cavan, and there will be also one at Ballimote or Sligo.*

(4.) That both the constablenesship and collectorship of co. Letrym be given to Charles Trever.—*Granted.*

(5.) That her Majesty build a gaol at Letrim.—*Granted.*

(6.) That a ward, of O'Rowrke's choice, be maintained by the Queen to defend the said gaol.—*Granted.*

(7.) "That the Governor of Connaught may procure a sufficient warrant in O'Rowrke's behalf not to be arrested for any matter with[out] a special direction from her Majesty; and the rather for that it is openly known how the Bingham's maliciously urged his father to go into exile.—*Sir Richard Bingham hath nothing to do in that province.*"

(8.) That he may have warrant to confer from time to time with gentlemen in rebellion, and that what he promises in behalf of her Majesty be performed.—*Granted.*

(9.) That the arrearages, both temporal and spiritual, of all his country be forgiven him and others.—*Her Majesty refers this to the Governor and Council.*

(10.) "That he, with all his country, may not be contributory to any kinds of hostings or cesses other than his composition."—*Granted.*

(11.) "That the Governor do procure for him martial law within his own country."—*Granted.*

(12.) That if his cattle be driven of necessity into Sligo or Roscomen, they shall not be cessed by any companies.—*Granted.*

(13.) That in case of a general peace between her Majesty and all the Irishry, he may have half a troop of horsemen to protect him.—*Granted.*

(14.) That if O'Donnell or Tyrone obtain more favorable conditions, "you will be a means to obtain the like for me."—*Granted.*

(15.) That if he be driven by the Queen's enemies to forsake his country and lose his goods, "the Governor will sue and obtain for him such living as may be correspondent for his calling."—*No need to doubt her Majesty's grace.*

Copy. Pp. 2.

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Aug. 14. 284.

DEFEAT of the MARSHAL (SIR HENRY BAGNALL) at the BLACKWATER.

Vol. 600, p. 222.

"The Order and Direction given to the Army, as well for their marching as order in fighting, going to the Blackwater, the 14th of August 1598."

"It was ordered that the army, setting forth in six regiments, should, if occasion required, join and make three bodies, and turn out their wings as they should see cause. Colonel Percy having the vanguard, the Marshal his second, should both join, and make one vanguard. Colonel Cosbie, having the vanguard of the battle, Sir Thomas Maria Wingfeild his second, were appointed the like. Colonel Cunie, then Sergeant-Major, having the vanguard of the rear, Colonel Billings his second, were appointed the like.

"The Marshal, in respect that his regiment had the vanguard, would go there, notwithstanding that he was advised and persuaded by Sir T. M. Wingfeild to come in the battle and leave the vanguard to him. The like did Colonel Cunie, but neither could persuade him.

"The battle was commanded by Sir T. M. Wingfeild, the rear by Colonel Cunie. The horse were divided into two bodies. The vanguard led by Sir Callistine Brooke, General of the horse; the point by Captain Mountgue, Lieutenant General; the rear by Captain Fleminge, marching betwixt the two rear regiments.

"The army thus marching, having bog and wood on either hand, within less than caliver shot, was fought withal within half a mile of Ardmaghe. The vanguard passed on over the ford, at the first bog, where the saker was left without stay until it came to the trench, and so forward. Cosbie likewise passed the bog and left the saker. Sir T. M. Wingfeild, coming thither, made there a stand, as well to carry off the saker as to attend the coming up of the rear regiments, whom he doubted to be greatly engaged, for that he heard them in great fight, and had no sight of them in long time before, by reason of a hill betwixt them. Of this he went to acquaint the Marshal, thinking to find the vanguard but a little before him, which could not then be seen by reason of the hill, purposing to have it to make good that place, and that himself would go with the battle to fetch off the rear, but it was so far off as the Marshal sent to them to make their retreat to that hill where he stood, and returned with Sir T. M. W. to the saker, which he then brought off by force of men, and went again with the Marshal, thinking that the vanguard had been come up, which was still advancing forward; and in all this time there was no sight of the rear.

"Sir T. M. W., being come to his own regiment, saw the rear coming up, for whom he made a stand with his regiment at the boggy ford, and went to tell the Marshal of their coming, in which time he was slain; and the vanguard,

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either having received message to make a retreat, or overlaid with the multitude of the enemy, wheeled about disorderly, which advantage the enemy took, and brake them." Captain Evans was shot. Much of our powder took fire, wherewith many of our men were slain and hurt. The Sergeant-Major and Captain Mountague then came to Wingfeild, and they determined to retreat to Ardmaghe. Colonel Cosbie, however, without orders, made an attack on the enemy. He was fetched off, "broken as the rest."

Pp. 2. Endorsed: "14 August 1598. The manner of the defeat given to the Marshal at the Blackwater."

Vol. 621, p. 61.

2. Copy of the preceding.

Aug. 17. 285. INSTRUCTIONS to SIR SAMUEL BAGHENALL.

Vol. 601, p. 150a.

The Queen has given you commission to have the charge as a chief colonel of two regiments of 2,000 soldiers, besides a company of horse, now sent under your charge to Loughfoile in Ireland. Charles Egerton is to be second colonel. By the 20th you are to be at Chester, where 600 of the 2,000 are appointed to embark. Direct your course for the bay of Knockfergus or Olderfleete, whither the other companies, which embark at Plymouth, are directed also to repair. On being joined by them, proceed to Loughfoyle. Assist Hugh Tudor, commissary of the musters.

Victuals are sent by sea to serve your companies for four months, and oats for your horses. If you capture any victual from the enemy, your provisions will last five months. In the winter it will be difficult to furnish you with supplies; and as Loughfoile is a waste place and uninhabited, special care must be had for the safety and preservation of the victuals.

The munition to be stowed in a safe place.

With the money delivered to you, you are to provide 100 horse at 30*l.* each, with armour and furniture both for the horses and men. The horse to be sent to Chester, and viewed and mustered by James Ware and other country gentlemen.

When at Chester, if the wind serve, you are not to wait for the horse, but leave some one to conduct them. Two of the 100 horse are to be delivered to the Provost Marshal.

As the place where you are to arrive is very ruinous and desolate, your first care shall be to see the two regiments and the horse well lodged. Then "seek to gather the corn of the enemy, and the straw for your horses, and make provision of wood before the hardness of the winter come on." Have regard to the government of her Majesty's people committed to your charge.

"Because of late time we have found that, by negligence or corruption of the captains, the soldiers sent over thither are dismissed and suffered to return again or get away by stealth, you shall give warning to the masters of those ships that shall transport you thither, that after the soldiers be landed they

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do take no soldier into any of their ships, upon pain to be severely punished at their return hither, and the loss of all their freight." Any soldier attempting to run away to suffer death. If any soldiers be slain you are not to admit above six Irish in a band.

Seek all opportunities of annoying the enemy.

Advertise the Lord General (Ormond) and the Lords Justices (Loftus and Gardner), and especially the Governor of Connaught (Clifford), of your arrival. Authority is given you to hearken to any overtures and parleys offered by the rebels. You may give rewards for intelligence and espials, and for good service.

"The good carriage of your captains and soldiers towards the Irish that shall continue or return to their obedience will induce others to offer themselves unto you; and therefore, for the better governing of the soldiers, you shall observe such orders as have been by the Earl Marshal set down." You may make use of the pinnaces employed on that coast.

"Where the footmen have an imprest of 3s. sterling by the week and the horsemen of 18*d.* sterling *per diem*, and the captains and their officers their full pay, which is to be paid to them after deduction of the victuals, the paymaster shall from time to time make like imprests and payments by your privity and warrant.

"You shall use all your means to know the factions and partialities of Ulster, which are very many, for divers of the rebel's followers are kept but by strong hand; which known, you shall instruct yourself the better whom to trust, and which are fittest to be employed one against other. And if you can surprise the castle of Sir John O'Doortery, or recover him by treaty from thence, you shall have good relief both for your horse and foot, and a port and passage to send to and fro for anything that you shall want. And you shall understand that Sir John O'Doortery may be drawn easily from O'Donnell; so may Hugh Duff McDonnell and McSwyne-a-Do. Those that are amongst others ill affected to Tyrone are Sir Arthur O'Nele, and the nation of Slught Art, all the sept of the Donolos,* and Harry Oge McHarry McShane."

As some of the rebels of late have sought protections only to serve their turns, and afterwards revolted, be circumspect how you give protection to any rebel.

Dated 17 August 1598.

II. INSTRUCTIONS for SIR SAMUEL BAGHENALL the second time, upon the defeat given to the Marshal near Armaghe."

Whereas her Majesty was purposed to send 2,000 soldiers to Loughfoyle under your charge, whereof 1,000 were levied

* "O'Donoghue" in the margin in Carew's hand.

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lately in sundry counties and the rest taken out of the West Country, "being of old soldiers heretofore drawn out of the garrisons in the Low Countries;" upon the overthrow of the Marshal near Ardmagh her Majesty has determined that the horse raised by you and the 2,000 foot shall be directed to the port of Carlingford. Order has been given to Colonel Egerton to carry the 1,400 men appointed to be embarked at Plymnothe, first to Lambay, near Dublin, and then to Carlingford.

The 600 appointed to be embarked at Chester, with the horse provided by you, are also to be transported. Repair to that city and conduct the men that are there with their captains and officers to Lambay, where you are to send word to the State of your arrival, and then proceed to Carlingford.

Bestow your soldiers in the towns of Carlingford, Dondalk, and the Newry, until you receive orders from the Lords Justices and the Lord Lieutenant General.

III. "SCHEDULE of the COUNTIES from whence 2,000 men were levied for Ireland, upon the defeat of the Marshal with her Majesty's troops near Armagh."

Oxford, 100; Berks, 100; Essex, 100; Suffolk, 200; Norfolk, 200; Huntingdon, 50; Rutland, 50; Lincoln, 150; Sussex, 100; Kent, 100; London, 400; Hereford, 50; Bedford, 50; Buckingham, 100; Hertford, 50; Nottingham, 50; Derby, 50; Leicester, 50; Northampton, 100; Cambridge, 50.

Total, 2,100.

Copies. Pp. 8.

Sept. 12. 296. The QUEEN to the LORDS JUSTICES (LOFTUS and GARDNER) and COUNCIL.

Vol. 601, p. 154a.

Having been moved by you "to supply that Council with some principal persons of experience and judgment, on account of the several rebellions in that kingdom, we make choice of Sir Richard Bingham, whom we have appointed to be Marshal of that realm, to repair thither. He returns with our favour and gracious opinion. Hear him lovingly and friendly in all things concerning our service, wherein we know that you, our cousin of Ormonde, our Lieutenant, will find great ease and contentment every way, it being neither fit nor possible that you should spend your body in all services at all times; and yet we must plainly tell you that we did much mislike (seeing this late action was undertaken) that you did not above all other things attend it, thereby to have directed and countenanced the same; for it was strange to us, when almost the whole forces of our kingdom were drawn to head, and a main blow like to be stroken for our honour against the capital rebel, that you, whose person would have better daunted the traitors, and which would have carried with it

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another manner of reputation and strength of the nobility of the kingdom, should employ yourself in an action of less importance, and leave that to so mean a conduction."

"It doth not a little trouble us to find so hard effects of all things from thence, considering the notable supplies of men, treasure, and victuals more plentifully sent than ever heretofore."

But there are notorious errors in that government. When the treasure was kept back by the winds and the soldiers clamoured for pay, not one of the principal officers forbore taking up his allowance in full beforehand. The captains entertain Irish to cover their frauds and to make gain by licensing English to depart, whereby the places are wasted and spoiled, and the Irish are ready to turn our own arms against our own armies, as lately at the Blackwater, "when you of our Council framed such a letter to the traitor after the defeat as never was read the like either in form or substance for baseness." All the expeditions to the North have been unsuccessful, while the other parts of the kingdom have been left to be spoiled and wasted by the rebels. With an army of eight or nine thousand men, it is strange that the provincial rebels of Leinster and Wexford should not be mastered.

All the forces you have and those appointed for Loughfoile are to be placed in garrison in our frontier towns, especially those that are maritime, where must be staples of victuals for such forces as may be sent for his (Tyrone's) prosecution. During this winter you are to follow the wars of Leinster. As you have had supplies of 4,000 men, clear our army of the Irish, and so order it that for this winter it may be reduced to 8,000. If we pay them and do not have them we shall be offended, "having often written hereof without any answer returned what is done in it." "Though some soldiers may run from the army to the rebel, it being upon the same continent, (which are not many,) yet all the rest must return by sea, which is not easy, if such good orders were taken as should be, that no soldier were suffered to embark in any our port towns without grant or good warrant for their passage."

Greenwich, 12 September 1598.

P.S.—We are glad to hear that your letter to the traitor has been stayed.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Dec. 1. **287.**
Vol. 601, p. 156.

The QUEEN to the LORDS JUSTICES (LOFTUS and GARDNER), LORD LIEUTENANT (ORMOND), and COUNCIL.

Although we have forborne to write many letters to you since these late dangerous alterations in Ireland, we have sent over great supplies, to our excessive charge; yet we receive naught else but news of fresh losses and calamities. Although you have the great number of 9,000 men, "we do

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not only see the northern traitor untouched at home, and range where else he pleased, but the provincial rebels in every province, by such as he can spare, enabled to give law to our provincial governors ; besides that the Pale is not only wasted, but the walls of Dublin (where our State is seated) esteemed unsafe, and (as we hear) the suburbs thought a dangerous lodging for some of our principal counsellors."

We disdain to bear affronts from "a rabble of base kerne." In providing a remedy no expense shall be spared. Meanwhile we remind you of some causes of these losses and dangers.

(1.) "There hath never been any care taken by the captains to train such soldiers as newly come over, neither is there any uniformity of discipline through the whole kingdom."

(2.) The numbers certified are false, to the gain of the captains, soldiers being licensed to return to England immediately after their arrival on that side. If it be objected that owners of ships and masters do receive them by stealth, we must still blame you for not punishing the offenders.

(3.) Neither Munster nor Connaught have been supplied with men for their defence, though nothing is being done in other parts.

(4.) As consultations upon matters of importance have frequently been deferred in the absence of you our Lieutenant (Ormond), "without whose advice and direction nothing would be resolved for the wars," we command you to make your abode for the most part at Dublin, as Norreis and Clifford are resident in their provinces, and our Marshal Bingham may be used for the war of Leinster, and Bagnoll directed towards Ulster. You are to have the superintendence of them all.

(5.) Our army is not to "hazard any main prosecution until it may be better provided and strengthened." The greatest part of the forces to be drawn between Munster and Leinster, saving the garrisons in Ulster and Connaught. In Munster and Leinster labour chiefly to assure the walled towns.

(6.) Take good pledges of all lords and gentlemen whom you suspect.

(7.) All good means to be used "for conservation for victuals and garrons for the use of our army which shall arrive." Any victuals not likely to be kept from the traitor to be destroyed.

(8.) Make it known that we cannot free our subjects there from many omissions, "when we consider what defences in former times the noblemen of that kingdom and others have used against divers rebels." We will not suffer them any longer to be oppressed by those vile rebels, but send a sufficient force of horse and foot out of England, strengthened with old soldiers of the Low Countries. Send us "a more perfect declaration what are our numbers by poll, how many Irish, and how the army is sorted for their arms of all kinds."

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The President of Munster's (Norris) company of 30 horse to be increased to 50, and to be paid in sterling money at 12*d. per diem.*

Whitehall, 1 December 1598.

Copy. Pp. 4.

Dec. 3. 288. The QUEEN to SIR THOMAS NORREYS, Lord President of Munster.
Vol. 601, p. 158.

We have understood how strange a revolt has happened in Munster. "When the first traitor grew to head with a ragged number of rogues and boys, you might better have resisted than you did, especially considering the many defensible houses and castles possessed by the Undertakers, who, for aught we can hear, were no way comforted nor supported by you, but either for lack of comfort from you, or out of mere cowardice, fled away from the rebels upon the first alarm." We have sent over 2,000 foot for your aid. You will receive instructions from our Council. We have given orders to increase your 30 horse to 50, in sterling pay, and to send over another 100 horses.

There are some persons either out in rebellion or suspected, who might be used, on their claims for lands being granted, as good instruments against the capital rebels, who are combined with the northern traitor. Promise them our pardon, and that we will see them satisfied in all things just and reasonable. Of such are the White Knight, Condon, and Donnough McCormocke of the Dually. If McDonnaght will serve us against Derby McOwen, who takes the title of McCarty More, we will bestow upon him the country of Dually. If the White Knight has adhered to the rebels for lack of force to resist them, "or for fear of any other offence against our laws," assure him we will not suffer any extreme course to be taken against him, but consider his complaints. As for Condon, "cause him to know that if we had understood what success he had by the last despatch wherewith he was sent into Ireland, we would have taken present order for a gracious end to have been made between him and Hyde."

You are not to show yourself facile in offering grace, but "if honorable and just cause of extending favour may satisfy those who are not maliciously incorporated in the general and Spanish combination of the arch-traitor, we would have you proceed speedily and discreetly in this kind."

Whitehall, 3 December 1598.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Dec. 3. 289. The QUEEN to SIR THOMAS NORREYS, President of Munster.
Vol. 614, p. 117.

Warrant to commit to the Earl of Thomond the command,

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under himself, of the forces in Munster, with the pay of 10s. a day.

Palace at Westminster, 3 December 1598, 41 Eliz.

"Copia vera, concordans cum originali; ex. G. Thornton, Fra. Kingesmill.

P. 1. *Endorsed*: Copy of her Majesty's letter, etc.—This packet in the beginning of September 1599.

290. The EARL OF TYRONE'S FORCES.

Vol. 635, p. 61 b.

"The List of the Horse and Foot of Ulster under the Earl's command, 1598."

Cormagh McBaron, of Carick-Teage, 60 horse, 200 foot; Art McBaron, in O'Neale's land, 30 h. 60 f.; Henry McShane, of the Tynan, 30 h. 80 f.; Philomy O'Neale, of Dunavall, 10 h. 40 f.; Neale O'Quin, of Curran, 10 h. 30 f.; Con McTerlagh, at the Tynan, 10 h. 40 f.; John McDonnell Grome, of Bunburbe, 8 h. 40 f.; Edmund Gynelaugh, of Knock-la-Glinche, 6 h. 30 f.; Oge Quin, 20 h. 30 f.; O'Mallow, of Ellis Flin, 6 h. 20 f.; Cormagh O'Hagan, 10 h. 20 f.; O'Hagan, 16 h. 40 f.; Brian Carough, 30 h. 60 f.; Sir Arthur O'Neale, of the Onye, 30 h. 50 f.; Cormagh O'Neale, of Lenough, 10 h. 30 f.; O'Cane, 60 h. 60 f.; "Tyrone, 60 horse for himself and his men, 200 foot under the command of Nugent and Tyrrell, besides a 100 naked Scots with bows;" Con McHenrie, between the Tynan and Clougharde, 12 h. 40 f.; Con O'Neale, 5 h. 20 f.; John O'Neale, of Carrick-Teall, 20 h. 50 f.; O'Hanlan, McGenyese, and Bryan McArte, 80 h. 200 f.; Magwyre, 50 h. 200 f.; the McMahoundes together, 100 h. 300 f.; Terlaugh McHenrie, 50 h. 100 f.; the Upper and Lower Clanduboyes, 120 h. 800 f.—the Lords of the Lower Clanduboyes, Shane McBrian and Neale McHugh—of the Upper Clanduboy, Neale McBrian Erto and Owen McHughe; James McSowrlie, of the Rowte, 60 h. 200 f.; O'Donnell, with O'Doharty, and the rest of Tirconnell, 140 h. 1,000 f. Total:—horse, 1,043, foot, 3,540.

The distances of the above-mentioned persons from the fort [of Blackwater] and Dungannon are specified.

Note in Carew's hand:—"This was reported by Capt. Fr[ancis] Sta[fford], 1598."

P. 1.

291. ULSTER.

Vol. 614, p. 279.

"Questions propounded [to certain] by the Lords of the Council touching the Prosecution of the Rebels in Ulster."*

The Queen, being informed of a project presented by you for an enterprise to subdue the rebellion of Tyrone, O'Donnell,

* This heading is in Carew's handwriting. The words "to certain" are struck out.

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and their complices, is desirous to have you consider of all things necessary for its execution, especially the following :—

What number of foot and horse are necessary. What number of pioneers for fortifications. Where the said fortifications are to be placed. "Whether shall be any sconces made to have wards in them, to stay the passages at the fords upon the principal rivers." What munition and powder. What artificers, as masons and carpenters. What victuals, and what shipping will be requisite.

What number of ships and men for defence of the sea coast against the Scots and their galleys. Within what time it is likely, joining with the Commissioner of Connaught's forces, to subdue Tyrone and O'Donnell. "By what means may the Irish in Clandeboy, the Rowt, the Glynnies, the Ardes, and other places possessed by the Scots be suppressed, to be severed from the aid of the rebel Tyrone. Whether shall the Lefer or the Dryry be taken to be held with the garrison; and whether the house of Strabane, being the rebel's chief house in those parts, set upon the Lefer, may be taken without great ordnance.

"How shall the two forces from Loughfoyle and Ballishannon be able to march to meet together through all Tyrconnell without help of necessary garrons, both for their victuals and for their tents and other carriages, considering the rebel will fly with his create[s] either towards McGuyre or else to the country of the McSwynes upon the North Seas, and there continue for all the time that the English army shall be on foot, which may not long continue without relief."

Dated by Carew "1598."

Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew: "Questions propounded by the Lords of the Council touching the prosecution of the service in Ireland against Tyrone, and answered by Sir Wm. Russell, Sir Walter Raleghe, Sir George Carew, Sir Richard Bingham, Captain Francis Stafforde, Captain Dawtrey."

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Feb. 25. 292.

The ARMY.

Vol 601, p. 171.

"An Establishment [by the Queen] expressing the number of all the officers and bands of horse and foot appointed for a new Army in the realm of Ireland, together with their several entertainments, by the day, month, and year. The same Establishment to begin and take place from the 1st day of March in this 41st year of [our] reign."

Officers of the Army.—The Lord Lieutenant, 10*l.*; lieutenant of the army, 3*l.*; general of the horse, 40*s.*; marshal of the camp, 30*s.*; sergeant-major of the army, 20*s.*; lieutenant of the horse, 20*s.*; quartermaster, 20*s.*; judge martial, 20*s.*; auditor general, 13*s.* 4*d.*; comptroller general of the victuals, 10*s.*; lieutenant of the ordnance, 10*s.*; surveyor of

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the ordnance, 11s. 8d.; two clerks or commissaries of munitions, to attend the magazines or arsenals, at 5s. *per diem* apiece; four corporals of the field, at 6s. 8d. each; four commissaries of victuals, three at 6s. *per diem*, and one at 8s.; carriage master, 6s. 8d.; twenty colonels, 10s. each. Total for a year, 13,127l. 16s. 8d.

Horse.—1,300 horsemen, distributed into 26 bands; captains, 4s. a day; lieutenants, 2s. 6d.; cornets, 2s.; 300 of the horse at 18d. a day, 200 at 15d., and 800 at 12d. Total *per annum*, 31,408l. 5s.

Foot.—16,000 foot, divided into 160 bands. Captain of each band, 4s. a day; lieutenant, 2s.; two sergeants, a drum, and a surgeon, 12d. each; ensign, 18d.; 94 soldiers and 6 dead pays, 8d. each. Total *per annum*, 228,246l. 13s. 4d.

Extraordinaries.—For sending letters by messengers; for the hire of a bark to convey packets; gifts and rewards for services; espial money either for foreign countries or for that realm; carriage of treasure, victuals, and munition; necessaries for the clerk of the Council; charges of keeping prisoners, and of buildings and reparations of castles, forts, and houses (all to be passed by concordatum), 5,000l. a year.

Sum total, 277,782l. 15s.

Given under the signet manual, at Richmond, 25 February, 41 Eliz.

II. "A LIST of divers OFFICERS and SERVITORS not contained in the Establishment."

Officers-general.—The Lord Deputy, 1,300l. a year; his band of horsemen (at 4l. 4s. a day), 1,542l. 2s. 6d.; 50 footmen (at 8d. each a day), 608l. 6s. 8d.; treasurer at wars, 35s. a day; marshal, 5s. 9d.; master of the ordnance, 24s. 8d. a day; clerks, gunners, and other ministers of the ordnance, 25s. 2d.; Sir Raphe Lane, muster master, 11s. 6d. Total, 5,313l. 9s. 7d.

Munster.—The President, 133l. 6s. 8d. a year; his diet, 10l. a week; his guard of horse and foot, 30s. 6½d. a day; chief justice, 100l. a year; second justice, 66l. 13s. 4d.; Queen's attorney, 13l. 6s. 8d.; clerk of the Council, 20l.; provost marshal (at 14s. a day), 255l. 10s. Total, 1,657l. 13s. 9½d.

Connaught.—Sir Conyers Clyfford, 100l. a year; his diet and the Council's there, 10s. a day; "more to him for an increase at 10s. *per diem*;" "more to him an allowance *per annum*, 40l.;" chief justice, 100l. a year; clerk of the Council, 20l.; sergeant-at-arms, 20l.; provost marshal (at 14s. 6d. a day), 264l. 12s. 6d. Total, 909l. 12s. 6d.

Ulster.—Nil.

Leinster.—Sir Warham St. Leger, lieutenant of the Queen's County, at 6s. 8d. a day, 121l. 13s. 4d. a year; Owen Ap Hughe, provost marshal of the army, 4s. 3d. a day; Robert Bowen, provost marshal, 5s. 7½d. a day. Total, 301l. 17s. 8½d.

Chief Officers lately erected.—Governor of Loughfoyle, 20s.

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a day; governor of Karickfergus, 10s.; governor of Dundalk, 10s.; commander of the forces of Cavan, 10s.; commander of the forts of Rathdrome, Castlekeavyn, and Wicklowe, 10s.; commander of the forces in Ofayly, 10s. Total, 1,277*l.* 10s.

Warders in divers provinces.—In Leinster, 42*s.* 3*d.* a day; Munster, at 26*s.* 4½*d.*; Ulster, at 28*s.* 4*d.*; Connaught, 200*l.* a year; warders newly erected, 57*s.* 10*d.* a day. Total, 3,031*l.* 0*s.* 7½*d.*

Pensioners, Almsmen, and Commissaries.—44 pensioners, 4*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* a day; 13 almsmen, 6½*d.* each a day; four commissaries for musters, 6*s.* 8*d.* each a day. Total, 2,385*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.*

Sum total, 13,886*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*

"This list was signed by the Lords [of the Privy Council], as the former was by her Majesty."

Copies. Pp. 6.

Vol. 635, p. 142.

2. Other copies of the same.

March 7. 293. The QUEEN to SIR GEORGE CARYE [Treasurer].

Vol. 601, p. 174a.

Warrant to pay to the Earl of Essex, Lieutenant of Ireland, 10*l.* a day, the entertainment due to his company of 50 horse and 50 foot, and the usual allowance of 1,000*l.* yearly out of the composition of 2,100*l.* made with the inhabitants of the Pale in lieu of cesse. The Justices now being (Loftus and Gardner), and the Lieutenant of the army (Ormond) to have the full entertainments ordinarily allowed to a Deputy by equal parts, until they deliver up the sword, deducting all the imprests which they have received before Carye's arrival. Also to pay 20*s.* by the day to the late Treasurer, Sir Henry Wallopp, during his stay there.

Richmond, 7 March 1598.

Copy. Pp. 2.

[March 12.] 294. To ROBERT [DEVEREUX] EARL OF ESSEX, Earl Marshal of England.

Vol. 601, p. 159a.

Commission to be Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland, with full powers to suppress the rebellion by any means, to treat with the rebels, to hold a parliament, to use martial law, to remove officers, &c., &c.

*Date omitted.**

Copy. Latin. Pp. 13.

March 22. 295. SIR GEORGE CAREW, Treasurer at War in Ireland.

Vol. 601, p. 175a.

"Instructions for George Carye of Cockington in the county of Devon, knight, appointed by us to repair into the realm of Ireland with our cousin the Earl of Essex, and to remain there as our Treasurer at Wars."

Having, at the suit of Sir Henry Walloppe, now Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, revoked him from that charge in regard

* This commission was dated 12 March, 41 Eliz. See Mr. Morrin's Calendar of the Irish Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, pp. 520-522.

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of his great years, and of the great account he has to make, we have made choice of you to supply that room. You are to enter into that office from the 1st inst. Should any sums be issued by him after that date, "the same shall be by you repaid unto him, and run upon your accompt."

By your letters patent you are both Treasurer at Wars and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and further Receiver General of all our revenues there; "which though they be all places distinct and in their true natures not very convenient to be all in one hand, yet, in regard of the great trust we have in you, we are pleased they shall so continue."

The greatness of this late rebellion giving us cause to send thither a greater force than ever we previously had there, we have divided the account of that charge from the ordinary charge for martial services, and caused an establishment to be made thereof apart, which has been delivered to the Lieutenant General (Essex). You are not to exceed the payments specified in it "at your peril."

The men of war are to be furnished from hence with apparel twice a year, at a certain rate, and victuals are to be issued at certain staples to the soldiers at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day for each man. These sums are to be defaulted upon the pay of the soldiers. Defalcations also to be made of all sums which ought to accrue to us by the checks cessed upon the bands, according to the certificates of the commissaries of the musters; and for powder or munition delivered to any in our pay, "in cases wherein it is not accustomed to be spent at our costs," according to the certificates of the Master or Lieutenant of the Ordnance. We have limited the "extraordinaries" to 5,000*l.* by the year, which we hope will serve for all such expenses; but we have given warrant to our Privy Council here to pay any further sums necessary. A monthly certificate is to be sent over of all sums issued "by warrant of *concordatum*," and to be signed by the Council. See that this is done.

A quarterly certificate to be sent hither as usual, to the Treasurer of England or Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, showing the issues of the treasure sent in specie for the payment of the army there.

We have caused a list to be drawn up by our Council here, from the half-yearly books sent over by the Muster Master, of "the old ordinary charge of martial affairs." According to that estimate you are to make payment to the officers therein mentioned, "until such time as our Lieutenant General hath reduced the same to a certain charge; for the doing whereof as we have given him special instruction to be taken in hand presently upon his arrival there by conference with our Council, so we require you, as in a matter specially incident to your charge, to call upon him to see it speedily performed and certified over hither to us or our Council, to the end that thereupon both he and you may receive from us a like establishment under our hand as now you have for our extraordinary army."

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Some of the officers have claimed to hold their retinues without check, "which is a great main to our service there." We have given special charge to our Lieutenant General to examine by what warrant they claim such exemption. "Be mindful to call upon our said Lieutenant General, among his other multitude of affairs, to see the same done."

In the same list we have limited this part of our charge to 15,000*l.* sterling by the year.

The payments due to officers of justice in the Chancery, the two Benches, the Exchequer, &c. are to be made out of the revenue. If, owing to the disordered state of that kingdom, the revenue will not suffice, payment shall be made to them out of the treasure sent from hence.

Of late years the Treasurer at Wars has made up all captains' reckonings "upon the full pays." To remedy the inconveniences which have followed, we have determined to appoint an auditor of the army, to concur with you in viewing and examining your accounts.

Your predecessor in the office of Receiver General of our revenues there has not made due certificates, nor has a yearly account been made before the officers of the Exchequer. Every half year send us a perfect book under your hand containing the receipt of our revenue there, and the payments made out of it.

On your arrival make us a certificate of the fees and allowances of all the officers of the Exchequer, the Courts of Chancery, both our Benches, "or any other officers of justice or our revenues," and of their fees, showing how far the revenues "do stretch to discharge them."

A great disorder has been used by your predecessors and their clerks "in buying of bills of captains and servitors, which have had pay due unto them by us, at under rates, by laying out money aforehand, and then paying themselves out of our treasure, when it hath come for special services or growing charges." Neither you nor any of your servants are to "intermeddle with buying of bills."

Former Deputies, when in the field, took an allowance of 10*l.* a day, by concordatums. As our Lieutenant will spend most of his time thus, and "live in other sort than those who have gone before him," you are to pay him the sum of 10*l.* a day, limited in the establishment, as a standing allowance, from the day of his taking the sword.

Richmond, 22 March 1598.

Copy. Pp. 9.

March 25. 296.
Vol. 601, p. 166.

The QUEEN'S INSTRUCTIONS to the EARL OF ESSEX.

"Instructions for our Cousin and Councillor Robert Earl of Essex, Earl Marshal of England, &c., Lieutenant and Governor General of our kingdom of Ireland; given at Richmond, the 25th of March 1599."

We find it necessary, both in regard of our honour and the safety of Ireland, to end the rebellion there by a powerful force.

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We shall " spare no earthly thing of ours " in defence of that kingdom and people. Any person appointed to manage an affair of this nature " cannot but have a great sense and feeling which so great an honour and trust deserveth, and both resolve to undergo the charge with comfort, and study, by all efforts of diligence, faith, and wisdom, to yield us and our estate timely fruits of his endeavours."

Having cast our eyes upon all our servants, and compared the qualities and fitness of each, we have resolved on you before any other, out of former experience of your faith, valour, wisdom, and extraordinary merit. We have made you our Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland, and " committed to your charge a royal army, paid, furnished, and provided in other sort than any king of this land hath done before."

Although it is not needful for us to instruct you, "to whom all particulars are better known (in respect of your inwardness in counsel and favour with us) than any other that hath gone before you," yet we think it not amiss to prescribe such things as are necessary for you to observe.

Upon your arrival in Ireland deliver our letters to the Lords Justices and Council, receive the sword, and take the oath. Then assemble the Council and require to be informed of the state of that kingdom, and of the strength of the rebels. Take pledges of suspected persons.

The army and people are to be "instructed and contained" in the true exercise and service of God. "This great infection of Popery is so spread over the kingdom, as it is most true that even in time of peace (and within the English Pale) multitudes of parishes have had neither incumbents nor teachers, and in the very good towns of assembly not only recusancy allowed, but massings and idolatry winked at and tolerated." Call the bishops and ecclesiastical ministers to account for it.

Of late years, with the increase of our charge, we have appointed certain learned men in the laws to be Chief Justices of our Benches, Master of the Rolls, and Chief Baron. Give them your assistance in the execution of justice. "We have appointed also certain councillors of estate, whose discretion and experience may much help you in matters of government of that kingdom; whom we do require you to hear and use with all respect."

False certificates have usually been sent over of the numbers serving in our pay, as you know; and our bands have been continually filled up with Irishry, "in such sort as commonly the third person in any one band hath not been English, and the Irish have run away with their arms to the traitor." The rebels have thus been enabled to withstand our forces, and even to besiege and take from us our castles and forts, a matter seldom seen before in that kingdom. Look into all such corruptions and abuses. We are pleased with the order already projected by you for reformation of them.

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Inform yourself of the state and strength of our forces, and how they are provided with munitions and victuals; "and because we have, as you know, resolved within compass of what numbers we will have you contain our charge," and there have been continual levies and transportations in excess of those numbers, "send us a perfect declaration what numbers you have, how you have sorted them under captains, colonels, and superior officers, and what are the names of those commanders and captains."

We have of late sent over great masses of victuals, which are to be defalked out of the soldiers' pay. Direct the Treasurer at Wars to see due defalcation made, and "to have special care for the better preservation of our people in health, that the officers for the victuals may keep the same from waste or putrification." The soldiers to be ordered to take them from our victuallers in time convenient, and not to leave them upon our hands till it become unwholesome. If any merchants be licensed to bring over victuals, the sale of such victuals is not to be to the prejudice of ours.

The ordnance, powder, and munition is not to be wastefully expended, and defalcation to be made out of the pays of such as receive them. Cause the Treasurer at Wars and the Muster Master to inform you what persons in our pay "pretend to be exempted from being checked." All who have warrants for such exemptions are to be ordered to have ready such horse and foot as are allowed them.

You have authority to order payment of extraordinary sums "by way of concordatum, but we have caused to be made and signed with our hand an establishment of an army, consisting of divers principal officers, newly increased from our former lists, with an allowance to every of them of several entertainments, and likewise have set down in the said establishment the number of 1,300 horse in bands, with their captains and officers." They are to be paid accordingly.

Our Council here have signed another list of persons not contained in the establishment, being principal officers, governors of provinces, with their retinues, governors of castles, forts, and wards, pensioners, almsmen, and such like, amounting to 15,000*l.*, which sum is not to be exceeded.

Great sums of money have been granted by our Deputies and Council by concordatums for very mean services and unnecessary causes. Be sparing of such concordatums, which are not to exceed the sum limited in the said establishment, and are to be enrolled in our Council books; certificates to be sent to us every month.

We have given you extraordinary power to grant pardons to all persons in rebellion.

In consideration of our infinite charges, endeavour to procure us "profits by way of fines or otherwise." The rebels are to be tied by the same tenures, rents, and services as formerly. "Give them their pardons with reservation of

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some beeves yearly payable to us, or else some competent rising-out of horse and foot. You shall also bind them to keep open the dangerous passages, to use English habit and language, to yield yearly some works to the maintenance of some several forts."

"We have given you liberty in Ulster to pass the lands of certain persons named in your commission,"* but you are not to pass away the lands of O'Dohortye or Sir Arthur O'Neale, as we have reason to believe their defection is rather of necessity than of disloyalty.

We have also given you liberty to let lands in fee-farm. Inform yourself of the plot devised for the Undertakers in Munster, and take the opinion of the Council.

Reduce the numbers of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, which we have granted, as soon as possible.

Confer knighthood upon none who do not deserve it by some notorious service, or who have not in possession or reversion sufficient living. That order has been hitherto granted without moderation.

It is not unlikely that the capital traitor, upon your arrival, will make some means to be received to our mercy, and profess, as formerly he did to our cousin of Ormonde and Norreys, that he desires to show himself a good subject. Let it at first appear "that you will not receive him upon any capitulations, but upon simple and single submission." If that seems to increase his despair, grant him our pardon only for his life, without any further favour. You know how weakly others dealt with him, after he had received our pardon. Therefore, after his pardon is granted, you are not to let him depart without good security that he do not return to his disloyalty.

As you would lose time by sending to us for instructions, in case he should refuse the above conditions, we give you further authority "to take him in upon such conditions as you shall find good and necessary for our honour and safety of that kingdom."

Copy. Pp. 10.

March 27. 297. For ROBERT EARL OF ESSEX, LIEUTENANT and GOVERNOR GENERAL of IRELAND.

Vol. 601, p. 174.

Licence by the Queen, at his own request, "to return to her Majesty's presence at such times as he shall find cause," leaving two Lords Justices there in his absence.

Under the Signet Manual, Richmond, 27 March 1599.

Copy. Pp. 2.

* The Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, O'Rowrk, McGuire, and McSurley Boy.

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March 27. 298. "BRIEFS of LETTERS PATENT, WARRANTS, COMMISSIONS, &c."
Vol. 601, p. 135.

1597, 20 Sept.—Sir Thomas Norris, upon the death of his brother Sir John Norris, by her Majesty's warrant to the Lord Bouroghe, Lord Deputy, was established Lord President of Munster.

1597, 29 Oct.—Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, upon the death of the Lord Bouroghe, by virtue of her Majesty's letters to the Council, was made Lieutenant General and Captain of the army, and a commission was sent him by her Majesty.

1597, 1 Nov.—The Earl of Ormond, by virtue of her Majesty's letters to the Lords Justices, was allowed 100 marks sterling per mensem for the execution of the office of Lieutenant General, 30 horsemen and 30 footmen; and the said Lords were allowed 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per mensem, to be divided between them, and 10 horse and 10 foot each.

1597, 15 Nov.—Sir Thomas Norris, elected Lord Justice by the Council upon the death of the Lord Bouroghe, was discharged from the said office; and Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, and Sir Robert Gardiner, Chief Justice, were made Lords Justices.

[1598], 7 Aug.—Sir Samuel Bagenall appointed colonel of the forces sent to Loughfoile, consisting of 2,000 foot and 100 horse; and Charles Egerton nominated lieutenant colonel of the said forces.

1598, 31 Aug.—Sir Richard Bingham, by virtue of her Majesty's letters to the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, upon the death of Sir Henry Bagnall, slain at the Blackwater, was established Marshal of the army of Ireland.

1598[-9], 22 March.—The Lords Justices were commanded by her Majesty's letters to deliver up the sword to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant.

1599, 27 March.—Sir Henry Walloppe, by virtue of her Majesty's letters to Robert Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant, was discharged of his office, and Sir George Cary was appointed Treasurer at Wars in his place.

Her Majesty also directed special letters to Walloppe to render up his office to Cary.

Copy. Pp. 2.

March 29. 299. The EARL OF TYRONE to CON O'NEILE.
Vol. 632, p. 185a.

It seems to me you take an unwise course with the Lord Archbishop [of Cashel],* for none this side the Pope "hath authority to lay hands on his person, nor any other priest ever, without the Church themselves do it, or a holy bull, that a priest should oyle with burning, and then to make him of

* "Milerius McCraghe" in the margin, in Carew's hand.

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the temporality openly, and he was not so used; but if the covetousness of this world cause him to remain on this way that he is upon, how did his correcting touch you? Withal I have the witness of my own priest upon him, that he promised to return from that way, saving only that he could not but take order for his children first, seeing he got them, and also that he is friend and ally unto us." You should rather follow the Bishop's advice than that of his enemies. "I bid you to enlarge the Archbishop without delay, and to let him have his houses and manors without spoil; for you were to blame to put his castles into his enemies' hands hitherto." I bid you also set Richard Power at liberty. You seldom send us news from thence. We saw not the greyhound you sent.

Loughsworcan, 29 March 1599.

"Upon pain of my ever displeasure, send me no request for the Archbishop and all his pledges, but that they shall be [dis]charged."

Headed by Carew: "In the behalf of the Archbishop of Cashell."

Copy. Pp. 2.

[March?] **300.** The EARL OF TYRONE to CON O'NEILL.
Vol. 632, p. 186.

We received your letters concerning Meillmorre McGraghe, the Archbishop of Cashell. We also saw the Bishop's letter complaining of you, and saying he came to you upon your promise and the safeconduct of your people. Our pleasure is that the Bishop, Richard Power, the Bishop's sons, and all others that have been apprehended in his company be enlarged, and that you deliver the Bishop his house of Ballymaky. "Howsoever desirous your people are to get gain, hazard not you your own scandal or reputation for any benefits." Take no ransom for any of them. The Bishop may come hither or stay there, as he pleases.

Dated by Carew, "1599."

Copy. P. 1.

April 3. **301.** INDENTURE between CON O'NEILL and the ARCHBISHOP of CASHEL.
Vol. 632, p. 187.

"Here is the condition that Con O'Neille enlargeth Moylemoore McGragh and his son, with the delivery of his towns of Ballymakin and Aulin: to receive 200*l.*, two silver cups to O'Neile's son, and to get 50*l.* thereof in broad cloth, kersie, and in green or blue mantles; and O'Mary's son, Bryan McGragh, and O'Kennidie's son to be pledges for the payment thereof within 10 days. And if any of O'Neille's adherents should take any part of the same by the way, then Con to take with him; and if any of the English take it, the Archbishop to stand to the loss. And Con, sworn upon the mass book with the assurance of God and the priest, the

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Clan Donnells, Munter Hagans, Munter Kuynne[s], and Munter Donells, to deliver the pledges all and towns to the Archbishop as soon as that sum be paid. And the Bishop sworn to O'Nelle's son never to sue nor follow the same payment against him, nor no other in his behalf, for that ransom, nor for any other hindrance he did him. And the Bishop bound to do his endeavour for the said Con for his good favour or friendship in all ways, not hurting his privilege in her Majesty's laws. O'Neille's son bound to him in like sort, and to his sons, restoring all the evidence he got in Ballymaky to the Bishop.

"The 13th of April according the Church, the 3rd of April according the English, 1599.

"The Bishop's hand is to this, and Con O'Neille's."

Copy. Pp. 2.

April. 302. STATE OF IRELAND at the arrival of the EARL OF ESSEX,
Vol. 600, p. 251. April 1599.

"*Leinster*.—In the co. of Dublin the mountain rebels, viz., the O'Bernes, the O'Tohills, the Galliglasses, with other Irish septa, are in actual rebellion; their strength 500, whereof 200 horse. In the co. of Kildare, James FitzPeirs, a Geraldine, sheriff of the shire, Bastard Geraldines, being two base brothers of the Earl of Kildare, one of the Dalahides, Glashane O'Dempsie, and Lisaghe O'Dempsie, with the rest of the O'Dempsies, and certain of the Eustaces, of kindred to the late Viscount Baltinglasse, attainted: their forces are 230 and 20 horse. The cos. of Catherloghe and Waxford most part in rebellion. The chief in these two counties are the Kevanaghes, who with their followers are —, whereof 50 are horse. In the Queen's County, Wony McRorie O'More with the rest of the Moores, who with their followers are 600, whereof 30 are horse. In the King's County, [the] O'Connors are in rebellion, with the O'Moloyes and the O'Donoughes: their forces are 400, whereof 12 are horse. In the co. of Kilkenny, the Viscount Mountgarrett, with his brother's sons Richard, James, and Edward, and followers, are in rebellion, with the O'Carrolls: their forces 150, whereof 20 are horse, besides continual assistance from Tirone, to whose daughter Mountgarrett married his son.

"*Meath*.—[In] Westmethe, the O'Mollaghlines, O'Foxes, McCoughlas, some of the Nugents and Geraldines, in action: their forces 160. Captain Tirrill hath 200, of which 20 are horse. The cos. of Louth and Longford much wasted of Ulster; [forces] 120.

"*Ulster*.—This province is in a manner all in revolt. Dundalke, the chief frontier town between the English Pale and Ulster, and Knockfergus, another principal town in the north of Ulster, are both for her Majesty kept by garrisons. So is the Newrye, Carlingford, Greencastle, and Narrowwater; and

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in the Bready (*sic*) the castle of Ballindarogge, late Philip O'Reylie's; and this is all the footing her Majesty hath in Ulster; all the rest is in rebellion. Neale McBryan Fertaghe, Lord of the Upper Clandebouys, 80 foot and 50 horse. In the Whites' country, called the Dufferie, most part wood and bog, 20. McArten and Slevaght, McO'Neale's country, 100 foot, 20 horse. In Kilwarlinge, Mc—— hath 60 foot, 10 horse. In the Feager, beyond the Mynne water, Hugh Mc-Moreartagh hath 40. Shane Mc—— Theobald his country, joining upon the Bann's side, 50 foot, 10 horse. James Mc-Surlie Boy, ——, two brothers, Neere and Randon, in the Routt, together with the ——, 100 foot and 100 horse. In Macguire's country, Fermanaghe, 600 foot and 100 horse. McMaghone, Ferry (*sic*) Clancaruell, and Patrick McArte Moyle, in the co. of Monaghan, 500 foot and 160 horse. Edmond O'Reilie usurpeth the Breny, called the co. of Cavan; 500 foot, 60 horse. O'Cahan is able to make 500 foot and 200 horse. In Sleighe Art, Sir Arthur O'Neale's country, 300 foot, 60 horse. In Sir Henry Oge's country, McHenry McShane, 200 foot, 40 horse. In the Fewes, Tirlo McO'Neale, 300 foot and 60 horse. O'Hagan's country, 100 foot, 30 horse. O'Quinne's country, 80 foot and 20 horse. Donologhe's country, 200 foot and 60 horse. McCane's country, 100 foot, 12 horse. O'Neale hath always about him 700 foot and 200 horse. Cormucke McBaron, his brother, hath 300 foot and 40 horse. Hugh McGenis, O'Neal's father-in-law, hath 300 foot and 40 horse. In Tirconnell, being O'Donnell's country, Sir John O'Dogherty, whose country joineth to Lough Foyle, 300 foot, 40 horse. The Doneloghes' country, being betwixt the river of Finne and Lough Swillie, the son[s] of O'Donnell have 150 foot and 30 horse. In McSwyne's country, McSwyne d[e] Band, McSwyne de Fand, and McSwyne d[e] Doe, 500 foot, 30 horse. O'Boyle's country reacheth to Calebegge, 100 foot, 20 horse. In the country of Donogall, where O'Donnell's chief house is, 200 foot, 60 horse.

"*Munster.*—In Tipperarie, the Lord Baron of Cahir and James Butler his brother, with their followers and dependances, 300 foot, 12 horse. Edmond FitzGibbon, *alias* the White Knight, 400 foot, 30 horse. Ralph Purcell, Baron of Loughmey, with his followers, 200 foot, 6 horse. Cahir Mc-Shane Glasse O'Mulrian, and the rest of the O'Mulrians, 300 foot, 60 horse. Keadaghe O'Maghir, 60 foot, 30 horse. Brian Oge O'Kennidie, Hugh O'Kennedie, with the rest of the O'Kennedies in Ormond, 500 foot, 30 horse. Redmond Burke, pretending himself Baron of Letrym, and his bonoughes 300 foot, 20 horse. William Burke FitzJohn, with the rest of the Burkes of Clanwilliam, 200 foot, 4 horse. In the co. of Corke, James FitzThomas, the supposed Earl of Desmond, 250 foot, 30 horse. The Lord Roche and Patrick Condon, 200 foot, 28 horse. Donoughe McCormucke, Lord of Dowalloghe, O'Kiffe, O'Kallahan, 200 foot, 8 horse. In Muskry,

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Bary Oge, and John, brother to the Lord Bary, 120 foot, 3 horse. In Carbry, with David Burke, 500 foot. In Limbricke, Pierce Lacy, with the McShees, Clanwilliam, and other septs, 300 foot, 15 horse. In Kerry, the Lord FitzMorice, Thomas Oge, John De la Hide, the McMorice Toghes, and other followers and strangers, 500 foot, 30 horse. In the co. of Desmond, O'Soullevant Beare, Dermond McOwen, calling himself McCarthi More, 500 foot, 60 horse. In Coshmore, in the co. of Waterford, 200 foot, 10 horse. The total in Munster: 5,030 foot, 242 horse, and esteemed more by 100. The cities and port towns, with all the best castles, still hold for the Queen.

"Connaught.—In Roscommon, O'Connor Sligoe, McDermond, O'Flynn, O'Heare, O'Hanly, O'Flamergen, McSwyne Fanoughe, McSleught, Duff Dalie, O'Kelly, all in action of rebellion; their strength 500 foot, 60 horse. In Sligo, McLamaghe O'Doody, O'Hary Boy, O'Hart McDonoghe, O'Garry, 300 foot, 30 horse. Letrym, called O'Roark's country, 600 foot, 60 horse. In Mayo, McWilliam, the Joyes, 600 foot, 60 horse; some castles here kept for the Queen. In Gallway, the sons of Redmond ne Skoabe, uncle to the Earl of Clanrickard, 300 foot. In Sillauchie, four sons of Owen O'Maddin, whose father was lately killed in action, 50 foot. In Ire-Connoghe, the Joyes, McDonoghe, the Flahirties, 140 foot. In Clare, Teg the Earl of Thomond's brother, with the O'Briens, McNemaraghes, and others, 600 foot, 50 horse; divers other septs, tied by pledges, are in action."

Copy. Pp. 5.

Endorsed: "April 1599.—A general computation of the Irish forces in rebellion, when the Earl of Essex arrived in Ireland."

May 28. 303. The QUEEN to the LORD LIEUTENANT (ESSEX).
Vol. 615, p. 446.

"Of late we referred the consideration of our right and of the several claims made by Florence McCarty and Nicholas Browne concerning the lands that were belonging to the Earl of Clancarre to the report of him (you?) our Lieutenant and our Secretary here, being assisted with one of our Council in Ireland, as, namely, St. Leger, Master of the Rolls, and Wilbraham, our Solicitor, also of that kingdom, who, having heard the cause sundry times, have in the end declared their opinions of the estates of our right and their several claims, and what course you thought meet to be held in the disposition thereof according to a brief hereinclosed."

For the loyalty and readiness of Florence to do us service in Munster, we authorize you to give order for our letters patents to be passed, granting to him and Ellen his wife, and their heirs male, such lands as were mortgaged to Browne, and the rest of his (Florence's) lands "whereof he hath any estate of inheritance;" to be held by knight service at an

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annual rent of 120*l*. Florence to pass an estate of inheritance to Browne of the lands mortgaged.

"Of such lands of the said Earl's as Florence hath formerly sued for, and were to that end appointed to be surveyed by our President of Munster and others, we send you the survey." All the late Earl's seignories, duties, spendings, rents, provisions, and superiorities are to be reserved to us. The claims of the late Earl and Florence to lands in Clandonnell Roe, Clandermody, Bearrhy, and other places, in right of the Earl's wife, are to be passed to us and extinguished.

If you find cause, "stay or alter this direction." Insert what conditions you think fit. We wish to relieve and prefer Florence without any prejudice to ourself. He has "informed us that if he might have charge of some of the Irish, as some others have, he could thereby do good service."

Under the Signet, Greenwich, 28 May, 41 Eliz. "This is a true copy.—Tho. Lake."

Pp. 2. Endorsed:—"Copy of her Majesty's letters to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland," &c.

June 22. 304.
Vol. 621, p. 126.

PROCEEDINGS of the EARL OF ESSEX.

"A Journal of the Occurrences of the Camp from the 21st of May until the last of the same month, and thence continued till the 22nd of June 1599."

On Monday, 21 May, the Lord Lieutenant returned to the camp, attended on by the same troop of horse which before accompanied him to Kilkenny. On the 22nd he marched forwards towards Munster, and lodged at night in a small village called Claynbrogan. On the 23rd he removed to Clumell, on the Shoure (Suir), where the army rested that day and the next, to refresh themselves and to wait for the coming of cannon and munition from Waterford. His Lordship, with a troop of horse, went to meet the companies from Waterford, whose rendezvous he had assigned about two miles beneath the town, near a castle called Darrilayrie, belonging to the Lord of Cahir, but held by the rebels.

Upon the arrival of these forces his Lordship summoned the castle, which is seated on the Shoure and commands the passage by boat from Clumell to Waterford. The rebels surrendered, and were pardoned. A ward of 30 soldiers of Captain Clare's company was left there.

On the morrow (25th) his Lordship caused the vanguard and the battayle to march towards a fair green within a mile of the town. "Himself went to the Key, and used all possible diligence for hastening after the artillery, being one cannon and one culverin; howbeit, because the bridges, where of force it was to pass, were weak, and all things necessary for the quick repairing of them wholly wanted, he was constrained to leave it behind, with order for the guarding and conducting of it by the rearguard, with the help of some few horse;

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and, for the lack of draught-horses, it should be drawn by force of men's hands; which the day following was accordingly performed."

His Lordship overtook the vanguard, and caused them to stay one English mile short of the castle of Cahir, the chief house of Thomas Butler, Lord of Cahir, a place of greater strength than any in this kingdom, and of great consequence, "being a passage upon the river, a cover for the best part of the co. of Tipperary, and a near neighbour to the White Knight's country, to the Burckes' country (called Clanwilliam and Muskery), and to Arlo, the principal fastness which the rebels of Munster have." It is strong by nature, being seated on a main rock in an island in the river. "Southward it hath a great bawne, compassed with an high stone wall, which (besides those of the castle) hath two flankers in itself; and (after you have gained the bawne) another strong stone wall ere you come to the house. On the north side you have two great square towers, which flank both one another, and the curtain betwixt them, being all seated on the highest and most inaccessible part of the rock. On the west side run two deep streams, of force to be passed ere you come to the castle; a fauxmoore also at the foot of the rock; and withal the flanks of the castle and one of the bawne, which lie very commodiously to beat on any approaches that way. On the east side there lieth (besides the stream) a main rock, as on all sides else; the flank of the bawne and of the square towers of the castle within; another fauxmure, which covereth the port of the bawne; a great round tower that comes out of the body of the castle into the bawne as a bulwark; and a small low round tower at the foot of the rock and end of the fauxmoore, which flanketh both the castle and bawne, and standeth almost in the nature of a little casamatte."

The Lord Cahir should have yielded this castle upon the approach of this army, according to his submission and his word sundry times given to the Lord Lieutenant. He was charged by his Lordship at Clumell with having received strangers into his castle, who wished to make a party for the White Knight, and against the delivery of the place; but his brother, who was in it, sent word that none were in it but his own kinsmen and followers, and that it should be surrendered the next day. Thereupon the Lord Lieutenant sent him with Sir Henry Davers to draw forth his brother and the ward, and to admit the garrison appointed to hold it. But Davers returned with assurance that the castle would be obstinately defended, "adding that Cahir himself was insolently and disgracefully used by those who came out to parley."

The Lord Lieutenant called to Council the Earl of Ormond, the Marshal (Bingham), Sir George Bouchier, Sir Warham St. Leger, and the Sergeant-Major, to consider what means he had to force the place. Finding his means very scarce, he

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sent for more munitions from Waterford, and ordered victuals to be daily supplied by the towns thereabouts. He also sent letters to the lords of countries adjoining for beoves.

"Moreover, he called again for the Lord Cahir, and in presence of his brother-[in]-law, the Viscount Montgarrett, laid before him the greatness of his fault in falsifying his word, . . . assuring him withal, that, howsoever he and his complices might hold the place invincible, yet his Lordship was resolved not to depart thence till he had reduced it, . . . which so moved him that immediately he sued for licence to parley once again with the castle." Cahir's negotiation proved fruitless.

The whole of the army was lodged next day on the east side of the river, because, if it had been divided, the rebel force (about 5,000) might have attacked either part. At night the Lord Lieutenant went to view the castle. "A trench was that night cast up within 50 paces of the castle, and there a platform made for the cannon. Gabions were also set up and filled, to cover the gunners. The culverin was placed somewhat further off, where it might see more of the flanks of the castle, and so beat down their sights. The next day, in the morning, the cannon and culverin began to play; but the cannon's carriage brake at the second shot, and could not be repaired in a day and a half. The culverin was for a while cloyed with a bullet, but, being cleared, it shot that day some 50 shot, so that the rebels scarcely durst keep in any tower, or fight on that side."

At evening the Lord Lieutenant, finding the rebels went in and out of the castle at their pleasures, sent 300 men under Captains Brett and Chamberlayne to take possession of its "orcheyearde;" Sir Thomas Gates to second them, and the Marshal to see them intrenched. This was effected with small loss, but Captain Brett was slain. Had the enemy resolutely defended this orchard, 40 men might easily have held out against 4,000, as it is intrenched by the river, and was strongly "plashed" within. As, however, the rebels next day sent in a succour of 40 or 50 men, and drew out some that were least serviceable, the Lord Lieutenant took possession of an island, and contrived to victual his men there by putting boats a little down the river, and thence carrying them on men's backs above the castle, and so putting them again down the stream. The culverin was then drawn down nearer, and next morning both it and the cannon played all the day long, and great breaches were made. The engineers were ordered to make ready ladders, scaffolds, and "sowes," that our men, in climbing up, might be protected from stones and whatever else might be cast down upon them; and the chief petarryer to make ready his petars to play upon the wall, where a sap was to be made. In case either attempt took effect, Sir Charles Percy with four old companies and two colonels were directed to make an assault. In the night the rebels attempted

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to save their lives by sally, but they were so well received by Sir Charles Percie and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence that very few escaped, and those only by swimming. The castle was immediately entered, the cannon and culverin drawn into it, and the breaches repaired. Captain George Carye, who had been wounded in the face, was left in command of it with his company of 100 foot.

On 31st May the army dislodged, and encamped that night near the abbey of Athashell. Being unable to pass the Shower by reason of the great rain, his Lordship spent a day in repairing the bridge at Colan, over which the army passed, and that night lodged a mile from Tipperary.

We received a letter from Sir Thomas Norries, Lord President of Munster, showing that in his march from Buttivan he had killed 50 rebels of the sept of the Burghes, and forced others to fly to a bog; and that he was hurt in the head with a pike. "The next morning his Lordship, accompanied with 200 horse, went to see him at the hospital, seven miles from his own quarter, and the same night met again with the army at Cullin-Agony." On 4th June his Lordship reached Limerick, where the President came to him.

While in Limerick the Lord President was advertised of the distress of the castle of Askeyton, anciently the chief house of the Earl of Desmond, lying in the midst of the rebels in Conelo. He resolved in person to revictual it, as the pretended Earl of Desmond had solemnly vowed to impeach our passage. We departed on Friday, 8th June. His Lordship despatched the Governor of Connaught (Clifford) and the Earl of Clanricarde to their charges. The army marched that day to Adare, a town of the Earl of Kildare's, in the midst of woods and bogs. Here the pretended Desmond with his Connaught men and "bonaughts" presented themselves, betwixt 2,000 and 3,000 men, with five or six ensigns flying, but did not prevent us from crossing the bridge. Seven of our companies were lodged in an old abbey there. Next morning, being exactly informed of the way by the guides, we entered a pass a quarter of a mile long. "When the Lord Lieutenant, accompanied with the Marshal (Bingham) and the Earl of Thomond, who that day led the forlorn hope, entered the mouth of the pass, they (the rebels) discharged at him a volley of shot." After some skirmishing we got through the pass, and through the wood at the end of it. Our soldiers "went so coldly on" at first that his Lordship was forced to reproach their baseness. The rebels lost 100 of their Connaught men, while not above six of ours were slain, and some 20 hurt. We then marched to Cappaghe, two miles from Askeyton, upon the river Dyle.

"The next day, being Sabbath day, his Lordship gave order for divine service and sermons to be made in every quarter." After dinner he went to Askeiton, to see the entering of the victuals sent by boat from Lymbrick. The

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enemy, who had blocked up the river, dislodged upon the approach of our army. Returning to the camp he passed the Dyle, and lodged at Calloughe. He received advice that the bastard who now pretends to be McCarty Moore and the Lord McMorris were come with all their forces to James FitzThomas, who lay within two miles of our quarters, and that the next day they resolved to fight with the army.

The Lord Lieutenant consulted his guides about the way he was to pass, and next day, 11th June, marched forward. Lord Grey, who commanded the vanguard of horse, discovered the rebels, and advanced so far that Mr. Markeham was shot through the cheek. Then the rebels, out of a great wood, began to skirmish with our vanguard, and attempted to beat in our wings of shot. The Lord Lieutenant called off all his men, and thus drew the rebel from his strength. The rebels were then beaten back into the wood, with their ambuscades, and many of their men killed. Sir Henry Norries and Captain Jennyns were shot. When Sir H. Norries was hurt, the Earl of Southampton led on that troop of horse. The Marshal, the Sergeant-Major, Sir Thomas Jermyn, and Sir Alexander Radcliffe did good service. We then marched on without let; but "the enemy still breathed out great vaunts of wonders they would do, especially at another place of far more straightness and advantage to them, which within a mile we were to pass." This night we encamped by Crumme, "a principal castle of the Earls of Kildare, standing, as Adare, upon the May."

On 12th June the Lord Lieutenant left the army at the Broughe, and went to Killmalloughe with the Earl of Ormond, the Marshal, the Master of the Ordnance, and Sir Warram St. Leger. He there met the President of Munster (who had been left at Limerick), and consulted with him and the above-named councillor how the army might be provided with victual and munition, and where it would be fittest for him to divide his forces and part with the President of Munster. "The present difficulties of the army forced him to make these propositions; for he well knew that all the money which had been in the Vice-Treasurer's hands was already issued; that there was no magazine, no remnant of any kind of victual of her Majesty's store; that those few cows which were left would be eaten in two days;" that little help could be expected from Killmallough; and there was hardly enough munition for three days.

These points were answered thus. In returning, his Lordship might make choice of three ways, "either from Killmalloughe through the county of Tipperary, and so over the Souer at Colan bridge (lately repaired by his Lordship); or the White Knight's country, called Clangibbon, and thence to Calyyr and Clumell; or through part of the Lord Roche's country, and the country of Patrick Conder, and so to

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Coneigh, the pretended Earl's castle (a place which he had strongly guarded, as being his chief mansion house, and in the strength whereof he reposed especial trust), and so to Leixmore, whence he might either over the mountains pass to Clumell, or by Dungarvan go straight to Waterford. If the first, he was presently to part his forces at Killmalloughe. If the second, he must carry all through Clangibbon, and return the President by the fair champion way of Tipperary. If the third, he must divide his forces about Leixmore.

"The first was the shortest and easiest way for his Lordship, but for the President far the worst, the whole forces of the rebels being likely to fall upon him, and if the Lord Lieutenant should carry away any munition with himself, there being not sufficient to answer such services as the Munster companies were in all likelihood to be put unto, ere they could be supplied. Besides the victual fell out every way very short for both. The second was thought altogether fruitless, the White Knight holding no place in all his country; his chief castle of Ballibey being broken down by himself upon the first bruit of the winning of Cahir. As for his neighbours,* they were all driven into Arlo, a strong fastness, where our army, so pestered with carriages, could not possibly pursue them. The last seemed longest and subject to greatest difficulties; for to pass by Conney without forcing it might be reputed dishonorable, and to attempt it with so weak means no less dangerous, we being well assured that the rebel forces would wait on us all the way."

The Lord Lieutenant, however, resolved on the last, because the Lord President "confidently assumed to procure" beeves out of the Lord Barrie's country, Muskerry, and the Desses, and from Cork a convoy of munition could be sent to the Broad Water at Farmoy, or to Castle Lions, three miles from Conney. The Earl and the rest agreed to this.

On 13th June the army marched to Arnaskighe, three miles from Killmallocke, at the foot of the mountain, which the next morning we passed, and lodged at Glanmoure, a town of the Viscount Roch. The Lord Lieutenant with 100 horse went to Mallo, the Lord President's house, whence he despatched to Cork 30 horse and 40 harquebuziers on horseback, for munition. The day following he met the army at Fermoy, having at Mallo received the submission of John Delahide, a gentleman of the English Pale by birth, but now seated in Kerry, who, for the safety of his goods, had taken part with the rebels. Cormack McDermott attended his Lordship, and brought to him 100 cows and 200 kearne, all pickes and shot, saving some few horsemen. The Lord Barry met us with 60 horse, and was commanded to send out spies, and "to go for the assuring of the convoy."

* "Neights" in MS.

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On the 16th the army dislodged. They were lightly skirmished with in two passes, but the rebels were beaten. Sir H. Davers was shot in the face. His Lordship purposed to lodge that night half a mile short of Conney, and there to await his convoy; but finding the place burned and abandoned by the rebels, he lodged the army betwixt Conney and Mogheily, a castle which H. Pine holds of Sir Walter Rawleighe.

On Sunday, 17th June, a letter came from the Lord Barrie, that he had brought the convoy safe to Castle Lyons, but the rebels lay near the way with all their forces. His Lordship, deferring the sermons till the afternoon, with 1,000 foot and 200 horse, met the convoy and brought it to the camp.

Next day we marched to Affane on the Broad Water. We passed through a great pass by Lisfynnen, "where the rebels threatened to take their leaves of us, and to leave in our army some impression of their valour; but we saw not a man of them." We were well prepared for them; and the previous night his Lordship had secretly placed 400 chosen men in the bawne and outhouses of Lysfynnen. At Affane we had to pass a ford which is only passable within an hour before and after low water. That night one half only passed; the rest crossed on the morrow at break of day. We marched to a little village two miles from Dungarvan and five from Affane. "By the way his Lordship returned those 15 companies, which the President of Munster brought with him at their first meeting, to Youghall, taking the Lord President himself along with him."

That night the Council was assembled at the Lord Lieutenant's tent. His Lordship demanded of the President what forces he thought sufficient for pursuing the war in Munster. He answered that with 50 horse and 800 foot added to those he had already he would think himself strong enough. His Lordship thereupon assigned him his brother's company of horse, and 100 foot more than he demanded—all chosen companies commanded by able and gallant commanders.

They next considered the fittest places for garrisoning; "for by garrisons only the heart of the rebellious Irish is to be broken." Choice was made of some, and their commanders and numbers were appointed.

After the Council had broken up, his Lordship drew instructions for the Lord President, and signed them. The chief points were these:—what head he should make; what place[s] he should seek to make good in case the foreign enemy should invade the province; how he should carry himself to those who offer to submit. He was to burn and spoil all saving that which either the owners could defend or should bring under the defence and favour of the garrisons; for the province would thus be disabled from nourishing hirelings and strangers, and the rebels would be starved. To place a garrison in every walled town, especially in the

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ports ; and to put himself with most of his forces into one special place, which the Lord Lieutenant had chosen to be the seat of the war. That in receiving men to mercy he should carefully look into their former behaviour, and command them to deliver their best pledges, to book all their followers and servants and undertake for them, and to bring all their substance under the command of one of the garrisons. The Lord President departed on 20th June.

His Lordship marched to Ballaonny in the Lord Poore's country, having himself in the morning gone somewhat out of the way to view the port and castle of Dungarvan. On the 21st the army was brought within three miles of Waterford, and his Lordship, with two companies of horse, lodged in the city.

Copy. Pp. 19.

July 1. 305.
Vol. 621, p. 136.

PROCEEDINGS of the EARL OF ESSEX.

"A Journal of the Lord Lieutenant's Proceedings from the 22nd of June to the 1st of July 1599."

"The 22nd of June the army was brought from Stonny-bridge to the Passage (a village so named because it is on the side of the passage or ferry from the co. of Waterford into the co. of Wexford), whither the Lord Lieutenant commanded all the boats of Waterford, Rosse, and the Caricke to be gathered together the next morning by break of the day. But the ferry being broad, the boats not great, and the carriages of our army far greater than ever heretofore in this country followed so few fighting men, his Lordship, coming from Waterford (where he had carefully reviewed her Majesty's magazines of victual and munition) the morrow after Midsummer Day, found most of his horse unpassed. In regard whereof, having lodged all his foot within half a mile from Ballihacke, he went with two companies of horse to Tynterne, a house of Sir Thomas Cockleye's, there expecting the passage of the rest of the horsemen, and leaving behind him the Marshal (Bingham) to hasten them with all speed, which the next morning was performed ; and in the afternoon by his Lordship's directions they marched three or four miles over against Tynterne, but more towards the heart of the country.

"His Lordship in the meantime, being desirous to view all the coast betwixt Waterford and Wexford, held his course by the sea-side, and lodged that night at Ballinegarre, a house belonging to Sir James Devreux, meeting the army the next day at Ballibrenen, where (whence ?) the day following we marched to a ford, which is betwixt Eniscorthy and Fernes. His Lordship employed the forenoon in viewing the state and strength of Enyscorthie, and of the troops there in garrison ; the afternoon in seeing the skirt of the Duffry, the chief fastness of Donnell Spaniaghe, who now pretends of (*sic*) the Cavenaghs, and McMurragh, which in the Irish

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account is no less than to be King of Leynister. His Lordship also went [to] a ground lying betwixt Eniscorty and this fastness, where the garrison not long before had skirmished with Donnell Spaniaghe, and upon the place examined the captains of the circumstances, and how they had carried themselves in that skirmish.

"Since our departure from Waterford till this day we saw not one rebel. Being come to the Duffry side, in the very edge of the wood, some of them showed themselves, . . . without giving us so much as one alarm, though that night we lodged within a quarter of a mile of them, and on the same side of the ford.

"At Eniscorty and at this encamping his Lordship conferred with the Council at war, what course from thence he should take, and whether he should carry the garrison of Eniscorty along with him or not. For the first, it was resolved we should go to Fernes, and thence to Arcloughe, in regard the ways through the Duffrey were all plashed, and the forces in a manner of all the Leynister rebels there assembled, against all which we could not have opposed above 1,200 foot (the hurt and sick men being excepted), who if they had been alone, the difficulty had been far less. But they were clogged with at least thrice as many churls, horse-boys, and other like unserviceable people, which of necessity were to be guarded by our troops. Besides, . . . in all those quarters there lay no castle or fort of importance to be taken in, nor prey to be gotten (their cattle being all in Phellim McFeagh's country). . . . At Arcloe it was thought fitter to leave sick men and part of our carriages, and with a light running camp to attempt somewhat upon the rebels, if we were not fought withal at our passage.

"The 29th day we marched to a place called Cooleshell. In passing, his Lordship view[ed] the castle of Fernes, which he conceived to be a fitter place for a garrison than Eniscorty, were it not that the want of a navigable river . . . did countervail the nearness of it to the rebels' fastness. The same day . . . his Lordship was advertised that the rebels the day following purposed to fight with us, the rather because they had two or three places where they might with advantage attempt either on our vanguard or rearguard of foot, and where the horse could not serve them. Wherefore the next morning we marched in the strongest order we could, and, to whet the rebels' choler and courage, we being to pass through a country called the Kinsoles (which yieldeth maintenance to many of the rebels' hired men), his Lordship all the day long burned both in his way and on each side.

"The first . . . resistance was at a village on our right hand, seated on the skirt of a great wood, and flanked on two sides with two groves of underwood. . . . The village was burnt without loss of a man. . . .

"Four miles short of Arcloe we saw their forces drawn down

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to a river's side, which for half a mile together ran within a musket shot of our highway, and over which there was a ford near to the sea, through which our guides directed our carriages and footmen to pass. . . . Some of our old Irish soldiers, finding the rebels to give way, unadvisedly passed over the river; . . . which the Lord Lieutenant perceiving, he passed a deep ford with 100 English horse, and sent to the Earl of Ormond (who with his horse was passed at the further ford near the sea-side) to second those, and to draw nearer the foot that were so disorderly engaged. . . . Captain Esmond, captain of 100 foot, was shot. . . .

"All our army was drawn over the ford towards the sea-side; which way, being heavy and deep, was refused by the Lord Lieutenant, and another chosen, which for one mile had some small passes in it, where the rebels offered skirmish to our troops, but to little purpose, for they kept so far off, that his Lordship commanded our men to spare their powder. Near the last pass the Lord Lieutenant placed an ambush of 30 horse, commanding the army to march on, and himself staying upon a hill a musket shot off, with the rearward of horse; on which hill he made show of as many coloured coats as they had seen before, and as many horses, for with boys upon spare led horses and hackneys the number was supplied. But the rebels, fearing to come upon champion ground, coasted still along on our left hand.

"From this place for two miles we had a fair champion, at the end whereof was a great ascent, and yet, at the top of this ascent, two high hills on either hand." His Lordship hastened to the top of one of these hills, and discerned the vanguard, with the Earl of Ormond and the Marshal, already advanced as far as Arcloe, and the rebels' forces (800 foot and 40 horse) marching to cut off our carriages and a wing of 50 or 60 footmen. This was the fault of the guides, who carried Ormond and the Marshal hard by the sea-side, where they could not see the country nor be seen by their own wings.

The Lord Lieutenant sent to the Sergeant-Major, then leading the rearward, for 300 of the lightest foot, and all the horse, and in the meantime went with the Earl of Southampton to rescue our men, who were about to be cut in pieces. The rebels stood on a bog, behind which was a shrubby wood, which joined the sand hills. The Lord Lieutenant sent all the gentlemen on horseback (Sir Edward Wyngelyeld only excepted) with the Earl of Southampton to the plain on the right hand, while he drew down to the wings. When the rebels perceived the small number of horse and foot, they came on with a louder cry and more speed than before. "In this coming on, Captain Roach, an Irishman by birth, who had long served the French King, with a shot had his leg shivered, and was straightways carried off. But immediately the Earl of Southampton with the horse gave a charge so

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resolute and so home, that he entered the wood so far as any way the bog would suffer him ; Mr. Robert Vernon, Captain Constable, and Mr. Coxe being all bogged, and forced to quit their horse." Mr. Coxe had received his death's wound ; Captain Constable had two wounds ; and Mr. Vernon, who had killed a leader, lay under his horse till Mr. Bellington quitted his own horse to help him up. Lord Morleye's son, heir to the Baron of Mountegle, Mr. George Manners, Mr. Thomas Weste, Sir Thomas Jermyn, Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Sir Thomas Egerton, Captain Poolye, Mr. Carewe Reynolds, and Mr. Heydon served bravely.

On the other side his Lordship sent down Lieutenant Bushell to lead a wing of shot at the same instant when my Lord of Southampton charged ; and to succour these he sent Ensign Constable. He was then attacked by the rebels, but by that time he "had gotten the foot to stand firm, to keep order, to forbear noises and speeches of fear and amazement ; for a poorer company there could not have been lighted on in all the army." The rebels, staying for their gross to come up, gave our horsemen from the rearward leisure to approach. Thirty of the horse were sent to the Earl of Southampton. Captain William Norryes, corporal, was ordered to charge with 15 horse, who were supported by 15 others under a corporal of Sir H. Davers's company. Twenty musketeers flanked the going on and coming off of the horse. The rebels were put back, and, being discouraged, they made head the other way through the bog and wood against the Earl of Southampton, who repulsed them. Then came the Marshal with some more horse, Sir H. Poore with 300 foot from the vanguard, and Captain Chamberlaine with 200 from the rear-guard. The rebels then endeavoured to secure possession of the wood and bog ; but on the Sergeant-Major coming up with Sir H. Docwray and all the ensigns of the rearguard, the rebels were forced to turn their backs in disorder, "many throwing away their arms, and some so amazed that they stuck in the bog, and were overtaken and killed by our men, though being otherwise far slower and heavier than they." His Lordship gave direction for following the chase ; and then we marched away to Arcloe.

The rebels' forces consisted of the Cavenaghes, the traitors of co. Wexford and Low Lyniester, the Burnes, the Toolles, the O'Moores of Leix, and all their bonnaghtes. Their leaders were Donnell Spaniagh, Phelim McFeagh, and McRowry. Our loss was not above one or two common soldiers, besides Mr. Coxe.

"The pursuit being ended, Phelim McFeaghe called to an Irishman, and desired him to tell the Lord Lieutenant that he humbly craved leave to come to speak with him, with condition that he might have his Lordship's word for his safe return ; and prayed the messenger to get him an answer. His Lordship's answer was that if he sent to Arcloe for a

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passport only to come as a repentant rebel, to tender his absolute submission to her Majesty's servant and minister, authorised by her royal commission, he should have such a safeconduct; but if he sent in any other form, or to any other purpose, he would execute the messenger; for he would never suffer his commission to be dishonoured by treating or parleying with rebels.

"Our quarter that night was at Arcloe. And the day following* we marched towards Wyckeloe, and encamped three miles short of it, right against the place where Sir H. Harrington was overthrown. Thence we hold † our direct course towards Dublin."

Copy. Pp. 10.

July 11. 306. The EARL OF ESSEX to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 621, p. 141.

"In my last, sent by Greene from Wyclowe, I gave an account of the end of my journey through Mounster and Lynister; since which time till I came to Dublin the care of the troops . . . and my daily marches did take up all my time. To Dublin I brought an indisposed and distempered body, yet forced myself to spend the next morning after my coming in Council, where I both gave and demanded an account of all that had passed during our separation, and conferred of our necessary provisions against my going into the North

"Upon our breaking up of Council, I delivered myself to the physicians, who had charge of me for three days, though all that while I received and answered all letters from several parts of this kingdom, and did my best to give contentment to private suitors.

"On Monday last I called a martial court upon the captains and officers who were under Sir H. Harrington, when our troops, having advantage of number and no disadvantage of ground, were put in rout, and many cut in pieces, without striking a blow. In this court Peirce Walshe, lieutenant to Captain Adam Loftus, for giving the first example of cowardice and dismaying to the troops, was condemned to die, and afterwards accordingly executed. The other captains and officers, though they forsook not their places assigned them, but were forsaken by their soldiers, yet, because in such an extremity and distaste they did not something very extraordinary, both by their example to encourage the soldier and to acquit themselves, were all cashiered, and are still kept in prison. The soldiers, being before condemned all to die, were by me most of them pardoned, and for example's sake every tenth man only executed. Sir H. Harrington, because he is a privy councillor in this kingdom, I forbear to bring to trial till I know her Majesty's pleasure.

* "1st July" in the margin.

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"Since my tedious and painful sitting on Monday, I have not been free any one hour from alarms, both from the West and from the North, Tirone lying with one half of his forces by Dondalke, and his brother Cormack, McGuyre, O'Rourke, and McMahon with the other half upon the border of Westmeath; so that every hour I send out messengers, troops, and directions, and yet am no whole hour free from indisposition. And albeit the poor men that marched with me eight weeks together be very weary and unfit for a new journey, and besides the horsemen so divided that I cannot draw 300 to an end; yet, as fast as I can call these troops together, I will go look on yonder proud rebel. And if I find him on hard ground and in an open country, though I should find him in horse and foot three for one, yet will I, by God's grace, dislodge him, or put the Council here to the trouble of choosing a Lord Justice.

"But to leave this, and to come to that which I never looked should have come to me—I mean your Lordships' letter touching the displacing of the Earl of Southampton. Your Lordships say that her Majesty thinketh it strange, and taketh it offensive, that I appointed the Earl of Southampton general of the horse, seeing her Majesty not only denied it when I moved it, but gave an express prohibition to any such choice. Surely, my Lords, it shall be far from me to contest with your Lordships, much less with her Majesty, howbeit God and my own soul are my witnesses that I had not in this nomination any disobedient or irreverent thought. That I ever moved her Majesty for the placing of any officer, my commission freely enabling me to make free choice of all officers and commanders of the army, I remember not. That her Majesty in the privy chamber at Richmond, I only being with her, showed a dislike of his having any office, I do confess. But my answer was that, if her Majesty would revoke my commission, I would cast both myself and it at her Majesty's feet; but if it pleased her Majesty that I should execute it, I must work with mine own instruments. And from this profession and protestation I never varied. Whereas, if I had held myself barred from giving my Lord of Southampton place and reputation someway answerable to his degree and expense, no man I think doth imagine that I loved him so ill as to have brought him over. Therefore, if her Majesty punish me with her displeasure for this choice, *pœna dolenda venit*.

"And now, my Lords, were it as then it was that I were to choose, or were there nothing in a new choice but my Lord of Southampton's disgrace and my discomfort, I should easily be induced to displace him, and to part with him. But when, in obeying this commandment, I must discourage all my friends, who now, seeing the days of my suffering draw near, follow me afar off, and are some of them tempted to renounce

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me,—when I must dismay the army, which already looks sadly upon me, as pitying both me and itself in this comfortless action,—when I must encourage the rebels, who doubtless will think it time to hew upon a withering tree, whose leaves they see beaten down and the branches in part cut off,—when for ever I must disable myself in the course of this service, the world now clearly perceiving that I either want reason to judge of merit, or freedom to right it (disgraces being there heaped where in my opinion rewards are due),—give just grief leave once to exclaim, ‘O miserable employment, and more miserable destiny of mine, that makes it impossible for me to please and serve her Majesty at once!’ Was it treason in my Lord of Southampton to marry my poor kinswoman, that neither long imprisonment nor no punishment, besides that hath been usual in like cases, can satisfy or appease? Or will no kind of punishment be fit for him, but that which punisheth not him, but me, this army, and poor country of Ireland? Shall I keep this country when the army breaks, or shall the army stand when all our voluntaries leave it? Or will my voluntaries stay when those whom they have will and cause to follow are thus handled? No, my Lords, they already ask passports, and that daily; yea, I protest before God, they that have best conditions here are as weary of them as prisoners of fetters. They know—this people knows—yea, the rebels know—my discomforts and disgraces. It is a common demand, ‘How shall he long prosper, to whom they which have her Majesty’s ear as much as any wish worse than to Tyrone and O’Donell?’

“I do prostrate myself at her Majesty’s feet. I will humbly and contentedly suffer whatsoever her Majesty will lay upon me. I will take any disgraceful displacing of me or after punishing of me dutifully and patiently. But I dare not, whilst I am her Majesty’s minister in this great action, do that which shall overthrow both me and it. Deal with me, therefore, as with one of yourselves whose faith and services you know. Deal with this action as with that which will make you all joy or mourn. Deal with her Majesty according to her infinite favours and your oaths, that she do not one day resume the saying of Augustus, ‘Had Mæcenas or Agrippa been alive, she should have sooner been put in mind of her own danger.’”

Dublin, 11 July 1599.

P.S.—“Your Lordships’ letters of the 27th of June touching the discharge or revictualling of her Majesty’s ships here had been answered ere this, but that I made a despatch by my servant Gibon from Waterford to your Lordship the Lord Admiral (the Earl of Nottingham), for order to be sent to Waterford for the now victualling of them.”

Copy. Pp. 4.

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July 19. 307.
Vol. 601, p. 179a.

The QUEEN to the EARL OF ESSEX, ~~of~~ more success (by our towns that we perceive by your letters to our Council importance, Henry Carye, that you have arrived at Dublin decreed for journey into Munster. You do not inform us ~~why~~ forces intend to proceed to the northern action. Much time excessive charges have been spent to little purpose.

"Your two months' journey hath brought in never a capital rebel, against whom it had been worthy to have adventured one thousand men; for of these two comings in that were brought unto you by Ormonde (namely, Mountgarret and Cahir), whereupon ensued the taking of Cahir Castle, full well do we know that you would long since have scorned to have allowed it for any great matter in others to have taken an Irish hold from a rabble of rogues with such force as you had and with the help of the cannon, which was always able in Ireland to make his passage where it pleased."

Nothing has been done which the President (Norris) might not have effected. On the other enterprise depends our greatest expectation. What displeases us most "is that it must be the Queen of England's fortune (who hath held down the greatest enemy she had) to make a base Irish kerne to be accounted so famous a rebel." Ormonde assured us that he "delivered you a charge of a kingdom without either town maritime or inland or hold possessed by the traitors." Tyrone has been pleased to see our army employed against "those base rogues," who were not strengthened by foreign armies, but only by his offal. "Little do you know how he hath blazed in foreign parts the defeats of regiments, the death of captains, and loss of men of quality in every corner." Surprises would have found better success than public and notorious marches. Regiments should not be committed to young gentlemen; and you have not informed us "who they be that spend our treasure and carry places of note in our army."

"Your pen flatters you with phrases, that here you are defeated, that you are disgraced from hence in your friends' fortune, that poor Ireland suffers in you." These are the effects of your own actions, which are contrary to our will, and cause an opinion that any person may dare displease us. We will not tolerate this. "Whosoever it be that you do clad with any honours or places wherein the world may read the least suspicion of neglect or contempt of your commandments, we will never make dainty to set on such shadows as shall quickly eclipse any of those lustres."

"You allege such weakness in our army by being travailed with you, and find so great and important affairs to digest at Dublin, [but you] will yet engage yourself personally into Ophally (being our Lieutenant), where you have so many inferiors able enough to victual a fort, or seek revenge of those that have lately prospered against our forces." In order to

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plant garrisons in the North and assail that proud rebel, we command you to pass thither with all speed.

"For the matter of [the Earl of] Southampton [Wriothesley], it is strange to us that his continuance or displacing should work so great an alteration either in yourself (valuing our commandments as you ought) or in the disposition of our army." His counsel and experience can be of little use; nor do we believe your assertion that the "voluntary gentlemen are so discouraged thereby, as they begin to desire passports and prepare to return."

Greenwich, 19 July 1599.

Copy. Pp. 5.

Aug. 10. 308. The QUEEN to the LORD LIEUTENANT and COUNCIL of IRELAND.

Vol. 601, p. 182.

"The letter which we have received this day of that Council concerning your opinions for the northern action doth rather deserve reproof than much answer." We see you dissuade that which must be done. Courtesies have made it of greater difficulty. You (the Lieutenant) are following the examples of the late Deputies Russell and Fitz-Williams. You of that Council have been the cause of that corruption in religion, by favouring Popery; and it was you who persuaded our Lieutenant, on his landing, to make so long a journey into Munster. Now we receive new arguments framed to keep our army out of the North, and thus to increase the rebels' pride. "Do you forget that within these seven days you made a hot demand of 2,000 men for this action, and now, before you have answer, send us tidings that this huge charge must leave Tyrone untouched? What would you have us believe, if we did not think you loyal, but that either some of you cannot forget your old goodwills to that traitor, or else are insensible of all things save your own particulars?" As for Lough Foile, "which still you ring in our ears to be the place that would most annoy the rebels, we doubt not but to hear by the next that it is begun, and not in question."

In answer to the letter from you our Lieutenant, "where you describe unto us how strongly our Presidents of Munster and Connaught (Norris and Clifford) are mustered in those provinces, without doing anything upon the rebels, that Ophally with 1,500 cannot save themselves, that the northern garrisons are able to do nothing with 3,000 men, that within two miles of Dublin there are stealths and incursions; if it grow out of negligence of our governors, it were fit to know it; if otherwise, then we wish they had occupied fewer numbers, seeing that they ran no worse fortune before this great army arrived. And for the places which you have taken, we conceive you will leave no great numbers in them, seeing our provinces where they are seated receive no better fruits of

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their plantation; nor that we can hope of more success (by the Council's writing) than to be able to keep our towns that were never lost, and some petty holds of small importance, with more than three parts of our army, it being decreed for the head of the rebellion (as it seems by them) that our forces shall not find the way this year to behold them."

"Howsoever you seem to apportion the numbers only of 4,750 foot and 340 horse for the journey of Ulster, yet ought you to reckon the greatest part of the forces of Connaught as one of the portions always designed to correspond that service; to which, if you shall add these 2,000 which we have granted you, with such extractions as upon better consideration you may draw both from divers places that serve rather for protections of private men's countries and fortunes than for the good of the public cause, besides what you may carry out of the frontier northern garrisons (which are near his country), you may not reckon under 10,000 or 11,000 for that service."

"Out of your own letters we may sufficiently gather the small success of your painful endeavours, where we confess our army hath lost no honour under your person; and out of our letters you may collect some sufficient matter to prove that we command you no impossibilities."

Nonesuch, 10 August 1599.

Copy. Pp. 4.

Aug. 10. 309.
Vol. 632, p. 175.

CONNAUGHT.

"Instructions [by the Earl of Essex] for Sir Tybott Dillon, Knight, August 10, 1599."

"You shall return to Athlone, and there give your best advice and assistance to the Lord of Dunkelly[n] and Sir Arthur Savadge for the settling of that country and the preventing of further accidents, which this disaster is otherways like to bring with it. Also you shall deal with all the Irishry that depended upon Sir Con[yers] Clifford's purse or favour (of what quality soever), assuring them that I [the Earl of Essex] will supply that loss they have of him in all respects. And because I know you have special interest in Tybott ne Longe [Burke], you shall also write unto him, to assure him of my good affection, of my resolution to take to the protection of him and his, to heap upon him as many favours and benefits I can any way, and, if it be possible for me to march time enough after the drawing of the troops to a head, which are now dispersed, to go in person and to set up my rest for the recovery of his brother-in-law O'Connor Sligo.

"You shall consult there with my Lord of Dunkellyn and Sir Arthur Savadge how the places there may be served, held, and victualled for some good time, and how as many of those men may be sent away to Mollingar as may be presently spared; for I will never employ them there again, nor in any place where they shall be like to do anything but to keep

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walls. The horsemen that cannot live well there shall be sent to Westmeath, to such places as shall be in your judgment best for them and the service. Let it be both your charge and theirs to advertise me of all things as often and as speedily as may be."

Copy. Pp. 2.

[Aug. 10.] 310. CONNAUGHT.
Vol. 632, p. 175a.

"Instructions [by the Earl of Essex] for the Lord of Dunkellin and Sir Arthur Savadge, 1599."

"You shall herewith receive a commission, jointly and severally, to command the forces of her Majesty in that province (the forces in Tomond and Clanricard excepted, which I [Essex] commit to the two Earls themselves) till a Chief Commissioner of Connaught and Tomond be made. You shall first look that the town of Gallawaye and the castle and town of Athlone have sufficient garrisons in them to assure them; that the Boyle and Tulske have sufficient wards to keep them, and be provided of victuals for two or three months. You shall also place a sufficient ward at Roscommon, and a garrison of horse and foot, if you find that they may live well there, and that there is any part of the country there, not wasted, which deserves the employment of such troops. You shall send away my Lord Southampton's company of horse, and as many more as cannot be well provided for there. You shall also, when you have appointed sufficient garrisons for the places above named, send the rest of the foot to Mollingar, from whence I will send them to keep walls, since they do so cowardly and basely in the field.

"You shall also deal with all those Irish lords of countries, captains, gentlemen, and others that depend upon Sir Con-niers Clifford's favour or purse, to assure them I will supply their loss of him, which I have likewise required Sir Tybbot Dillon to certify them. And both you and the said Sir Tybbot shall receive from them notes of all their wants, and what conditions they desire at my hands, to which I will return present answer, and as full satisfaction as they can in any reason require.

"And especially you must give this assurance to Tybbot ne Long [Burke], requiring him to send me present word in what stay O'Connor Sligo is, what time he is able to hold out, if he be not gone before the letter come, and to assure him that, if he give me time to assemble an army, I will march in person and set up my rest to free him, to have a revenge for my worthy friend, and especially to recover her Majesty's honour. You shall in your letters to him also require him from us to have special charge of the victual at Sligo, because by it we must relieve our army, and perform all the services in those parts. Lastly, you shall require him to advertise forthwith the state of the victual and of the shipping and troops with him.

1599

"You shall call to council in all services Sir Griffin Markam, Sir Jerrard Harvie, and Sir Tybbot Dillon, and, in those things which are not of secrecy, O'Connor Dunn and McSwyne a Do, and such other principal lords of the Irish as you shall have with you ; but especially you shall hear and confer with Sir Tybbot Dillon, because he both knoweth the country and the service of it exceeding well, and the late courses of Sir Conniens Clifford, with his designs and instruments, better than any other doth. You shall hold a continual correspondence with the Earls of Tomond and Clanricard, to whom I have given the several charges of the forces in their several countries. Lastly, you shall advertise me from time to time of all the proceedings and of all occurrents there, as often and as speedily as you can."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Aug.

311. WAR between ENGLAND and SPAIN.

Vol. 612, p. 114.

"A Project by Sir William Russell for the impeaching of the Spaniards' landing, expected in August 1599."

My opinion is that the enemy places his principal hope of success in the suddenness of coming upon us. Let us make use of the sea, and, with such ships as are in readiness, "wait and attend upon them to take such advantages" as occasion may offer, and to prevent their landing [in England], considering "the danger of discovering humours of ill-affected and discontented persons."

"I wish that the companies of trained men throughout all the counties should forthwith march towards the sea coast, and that to every company of foot there should be some 40 horse[s] appointed to be attending upon them, to mount so many upon any sudden as may be called upon by the commander ; and commissions sent away with all expedition to every shire to make provision of such horses and geldings with such furniture as cometh next to hand ; to th' end that by that means there might be, over and besides the main force for stand, a camp *volant*," ready to make head in any place where the enemy might attempt to land.

Although I will not say that I would repulse them from landing if their force be great, yet I will promise with small venture of men to make their landing hard and dear. In the execution of this service I do offer myself in all duty, "leaving to your grave wisdoms [the Privy Council] the consideration of the same."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Aug. 10.

312. SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL.

Vol. 612, p. 116.

Appointment (by the Queen) as General and Chief Commander in the Southern and Western Counties [of England],

1599.

except within the charges of Sir Ferdinand Gorges at Plymouth, and Sir Nicholas Parker at Falmouth.

Nonesuche, 10 August 1599.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Aug. 13. 313. SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL.

Vol. 612, p. 117.

Southampton, 13 August 1599, 41 Eliz.

"Sir William Russell, Lord General of her Majesty's army and forces of the sea coasts westward, was, the day and year above written, chosen and admitted to be one of the guild and burgesses of the town and county of Southampton, frank and free.

"Orat. admiss.; Jo. Friar, clericus."

Copy. P. 1.

Aug. 16. 314. MUNSTER.

Vol. 607, p. 143.

Instructions by the Earl of Essex for Mr. Justice Saxey, the 16th of August 1599.

Owing to the news of the Lord President of Munster's (Norris) dangerous sickness, which greatly grieves us, we send you and Sir Charles Willmott with directions for the government of that province. We have appointed that during the President's disability three at least of the Council there shall lie at Cork to direct all civil causes and the business of State. These are to be the Bishop of Cork, yourself, and Sir George Thorenton, or, if he cannot come from his charge of Killmallocke, Sir Francis Barckely, who is to come by sea from Limerick.

You shall have authority "to hear and order causes which, by interruption of the ordinary course of justice during this rebellion, cannot be tried in the courts of justice at assizes and sessions; to direct parleys with any rebels; to receive their submissions; to give safeconducts and protections, and to husband her Majesty's treasure, munitions, and victuals, so none of them be wastefully or unnecessarily expended, nor yet her forces broken or weakened for want of necessary relief."

All warrants for issues from the store or for cessing soldiers upon the country to be signed by you of the Council at Cork. Such commanders of garrisons as want means for their soldiers, and have no time to obtain order from you, may cess their men upon the towns or countries until your order comes.

You must be ready to hear all civil causes, but "you must with caution and tenderness order matters of importance and weight; for as the people of this kingdom are apt to start out upon all occasions, so they are in the opinion of the multitude justified when they do it upon any heavy burthen laid upon them, or severe course taken against them. Therefore, since there are so few good to be encouraged by seeing exact and extreme justice done in all things, you may do well

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to make as few as you can desperate, but when great and public considerations move you to it, and such, when you find you have wounded them, to watch to keep single out of the great herd of the rebels."

In parleys, receiving submissions, or granting protections, you shall rather use fit instruments "to sound and feel the disposition of such as offer to deal with you, than make any open parley or treaty with them, for that were dishonorable to her Majesty."

Treat with "men of living," and not with loose knaves; the former will cut off the latter.

Receive no submission but without condition, and with all the humble forms that can be devised; give safeconduct only until you may send the parties to us; and take pledges for their loyalty hereafter, as also of the Irish lords of countries and principal gentlemen whom you find wavering or not willingly engaging themselves in the service.

In giving warrant for the issue of treasure, "keep yourself within a list which you shall receive from the Treasurer."

As we purpose not to draw the forces of that province into the field, we have not given the sole command to any one. But though we do not give you authority to make wars, or to dispose of the forces, we have charged all commanders to acquaint you with all their proceedings. "If God should call the President, . . . you shall have this authority s[ent] down till we take further order."

"You shall have authority to perform all things above specified when four, three, or two of you shall be present and assent together."

Signed by Essex at the beginning and end.

Copy. Pp. 3. Endorsed.

Sept. 9.
Vol. 617, p. 327.

315. PROCEEDINGS of the EARL OF ESSEX.

"Journal of the Lord Lieutenant's Proceedings in the North from the 28th of August till the 8th of September."*

"The 28th of August the Lord Lieutenant departed Dublin with 100 horse; and having appointed all the companies of horse and foot that were to go into the field to come to the Navan and Kelles, he lodged himself at Ardbracken (at an house of the Bishop of Meath's), betwixt the two towns. And because the companies came not in till the 31st, his Lordship gave rendezvous to all the army on the hill Clythe, half a mile from Kelles, towards the Breiny, and encamped that night at Castle Keran, two miles beyond the hill. There also his Lordship was fain to stay one whole day till his victuals, that came from Dredaghe, overtook him. But that

* "1599" in the margin.

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day he spent in viewing the Lord Dunsanie's country and part of the Breiny, and appointed certain commissioners to view all the companies of horse and foot, that he might know the true strength of his army, and dispose them into regiments accordingly.

"This day also his Lordship debated it in council, whether it were fit to place a garrison in the Breiny or not, and if in any part of that country, where was the fittest place. It was concluded that no garrison could be placed in any part of this country. First, because both about the Cavan, and betwixt it and Kelles, the country is all waste, so as there is nothing beyond Kelles to be defended, nor to relieve the garrison. Secondly, because all the country of Cavan is so far within the land, and hath no port or navigable river nearer than Dredaghe, so as all the victuals as are sent to a garrison there must be carried on garrons' backs, which will be very difficult and subject to a great deal of hazard, the Pale being not able to furnish many carriages, and the rebels of those quarters being very strong. And the third and last reason was for that Tyrone was lodged in Ferny with an army, and prepared to enter into the Pale, and to have burned and spoiled to the gates of Dublin as soon as the Lord Lieutenant was gone as high up as the Cavan.

"And, therefore, being resolved that Kelles should be this next winter our frontier garrison towards the Cavan, the Lord Lieutenant marched with his army toward Ferny, and lodged between Robertstown and New-Castle, the 2nd of September. The 3rd he went from thence to Ardolphe, where he might see Tyrone with his forces on a hill a mile and a half from our quarter, but a river and a wood between him and us.

"The Lord Lieutenant first imbattled his army, and then lodged it upon the hill by the burnt castle of Ardolfe. And because there was no wood for fire, but in the valley towards Tyrone's quarter, his Lordship commanded a squadron of every company to go fetch wood, and sent 500 foot and two companies of horse for their guard. Tyrone sent down some foot and horse to impeach them and offer skirmish, but after directed them not to pass the ford, when he saw our men resolved to dispute it. Some skirmish there was from one side to the other of the river, but to little purpose, for as they offended us little, so we troubled ourselves little with them.

"The next day the Lord Lieutenant marched through the plain country to the mill of Louthe, and encamped beyond the river towards Ferney; and Tyrone marched through the woods, and lodged in the next wood to us, keeping his scouts of horse in sight of our quarter. At this quarter the Lord Lieutenant, being driven to stay for a supply of victuals from Dredaghe, consulted what was to be done upon Tyrone's army, or how his fastness might be entered. It was pro-

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tested by all, that our army, being far less in strength, was not to attempt trenches, and to fight upon such infinite disadvantage, but a strong garrison might be placed at Louthe, or some castle thereabout, to offend the bordering rebels and defend the whole county of Louthe; and, since we were there, we should one day draw out, and offer battle with our 2,500 foot to their 5,000, and with our 300 horse to their 700. According to which resolution the Lord Lieutenant first viewed Louthe, and found it utterly unfit, there being no fuel to be gotten near it, nor any strength to be made in short time.

"And the same day, being the 5th of September, he had a gentleman sent to him from Tyrone, one Henry Hagan,* his constable of Dungannon, and a man highly favoured and trusted by him. This Hagan did deliver his master's desire to parley with the Lord Lieutenant, which his Lordship refused, but told Hagan that he would be the next morning on the hill between both the camps, and if he should then call to speak with him, he would be found in the head of his troops. With this answer Hagan returned.

"And the next morning, being the 6th of September, the Lord Lieutenant drew out 2,000 foot and 300 horse, leaving a colonel with 500 foot and 20 horse to guard our quarter and baggage. The Lord Lieutenant first imbattled his men upon the first great hill he came to in sight of Tyrone, and then marched forward to another hill, on which Tyrone's guard of horse stood, which they quitted, and there our army made good the place till it was near three of the clock in the afternoon; during which time Tyrone's foot never showed themselves out of the wood, and his horsemen were put from all the hills which they came upon between us and the wood, by which occasion some skirmish was amongst the light horse, in which a French gentleman of the Lord Lieutenant's troop, and an English gentleman of the Earl of Southampton's, was all that were hurt on our side.

"After this skirmish a horseman of Tyrone's called to us, and delivered this message: that Tyrone would not fight nor draw forth, but desired to speak with the Lord Lieutenant, but not between the two armies. Whereupon the Lord Lieutenant, towards three of the clock in the afternoon, drew back again into his quarter, and after his return thither placed a garrison of 500 foot and 50 horse at Niselerathy, half a mile from the mill of Louthe, where there is a square castle and a great bawne, with a good ditch round about it, and many thatched houses to lodge our men in. The commandment of this garrison was given to Sir Christopher St. Lawrence.

"The next morning, being the 7th of September, we dislodged, and marched to Drumconroghe, but ere we had marched a mile Henry Hagan comes again to the Lord Lieutenant,

* "O'Hagan" in the margin.

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and, in the presence of the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Boucher, Sir Warham St. Leger, and divers other gentlemen, delivered this message: that Tyrone desired her Majesty's mercy, and that the Lord Lieutenant would hear him; which if his Lordship agreed to, he would gallop about and meet him at the ford of Bellaclinthe, which was on the right hand by the way which his Lordship took to Drumconroghe.

"Upon this message his Lordship sent two gentlemen with Henry Hagan to the ford to view the place. They found Tyrone there, but the water so far out as they told him they thought it no fit place to speak in. Whereupon he grew very impatient, and said, 'Then shall I despair ever to speak with him;' and at last (knowing the ford) found a place where he, standing up to his horse's belly, might be near enough to be heard by the Lord Lieutenant, though he kept to the hard ground. Upon which notice the Lord Lieutenant drew a troop of horse to the hill above the ford; and seeing Tyrone there alone, his Lordship went down alone. At whose coming Tyrone saluted his Lordship with much reverence, and they talked above half an hour together, and after went either of them to their companies on the hills.

"But within a while Con O'Neale, Tyrone's base son, comes down, and desired from his father that the Lord Lieutenant would let him bring down some of the principal that were with him, and that his Lordship would appoint a number to come down on either side. Whereupon his Lordship willed him to bring down six, which he did, namely, his brother Cormock, McGennis, McGuier, Ever McCowley, Henry Ovington, and one Owyn that came from Spain, but is an Irishman by birth. The Lord Lieutenant, seeing them at the ford, went down, accompanied with the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Warham Sentleger, Sir Ha[rry] Davers, Sir Edward Wingfield, and Sir William Constable.

"At this second meeting Tyrone and all his company stood up almost to their horse's bellies in water; the Lord Lieutenant with his upon hard ground. And Tyrone spake a good while, bare headed, and saluted with a great deal of respect all those that came down with the Lord Lieutenant. After almost half an hour's conference it was concluded that there should be a meeting of commissioners the next morning at a ford by Garrett Fleminge's castle. And so they parted, the Lord Lieutenant marching with his army to Drumconroghe, Tyrone returning to his camp.

"The next morning the Lord Lieutenant sent Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir William Constable, Sir William Warren, and his secretary Henry Wotton, with instructions, to the place of meeting. Tyrone came himself to the parley, and sent into Garrett Fleminge's castle four principal gentlemen, as pledges for the safety of our commissioners. In this parley was concluded a cessation of arms for six weeks, and so to

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continue from six weeks to six weeks till May Day, or to be broken upon 14 days' warning. It was also covenanted that such of Tyrone's confederates as would not declare their assents in this cessation should be left by him to be prosecuted by the Lord Lieutenant; and that restitution should be made for all spoils within 20 days after notice given; that for performance of the covenants the Lord Lieutenant should give his word and Tyrone his oath.

"This being concluded on the 8th day of September, on the 9th the Lord Lieutenant dispersed his army, and went himself to Dredagh, and Tyrone retired with all his forces into the heart of his country."

Copy. Pp. 5.

Vol. 621, p. 63.

2. Another copy.

Vol. 632, p. 177.

3. Another copy. *Dated by Carew, "1598."*

Sept. 17. **316.** The QUEEN to the EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 621, p. 143.

"By the letter and the journal which we have received from you we see a quick end made of a slow proceeding for anything which our forces shall undertake in those quarters which you pretended to visit, and therefore doubt not but before this time you have ended the charge of the last two thousand, which we yielded for other purposes, and of the 300 horse only destined for Ulster services.

"It remaineth therefore that we return you somewhat of our concepts upon this late accident of your interview with the rebels. We never doubted but that Tyrone, whensoever he saw any force approach either himself or any of his principal partizans, would instantly offer a parley, specially with our supreme Governor of that kingdom, having often done it to those who had but subaltern authority, always seeking these cessations with like words, like protestations, and upon such contingents as we gather these will prove by your advertisement of his purpose to go consult with O'Donnell. Herein we must confess to you that we are doubtful lest the success will be suitable with your own opinion heretofore when the same rebels held like course with others that preceded you. . . .

"It appeareth to us by your journal that you and the traitor spake together half an hour alone, and without anybody's hearing; wherein though we that trust you with our kingdom are far from mistrusting you with a traitor, yet, both for comeliness, example, and for your own discharge, we marvel you would carry it no better, especially when you have seemed in all things since your arrival to be so precise to have good testimony for your actions, as whensoever there was anything to be done to which our commandment tied you, it seemed sufficient warrant for you if your fellow councillors allowed better of other ways, though

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your own reason carried you to have pursued our directions against their opinions. To whose conduct if we had meant that Ireland (after all the calamities in which they have wrapt it) should still have been abandoned (to whose courses never any could take more exceptions than yourself), then was it very superfluous to have sent over such a personage as you are, who had deciphered so well the errors of their proceedings, being still at hand with us and of our secretest council; as (and ?) it had been one good rule for you, amongst others, in most things to have varied from their resolutions, especially when you had our opinion and your own to boot.

"Furthermore, we cannot but muse that you should recite that circumstance of his being some time uncovered, as if that were much in a rebel when our person is so represented, or that you can think that ever any parley (as you call it) was upon less terms of inequality than this, when you came unto him, and he kept the depth of the brook between him and you; in which sort he proceeded not with other of our ministers, for he came over to them. So as never could any man observe greater form of greatness than he hath done; then more to our dishonour that a traitor must be so far from submission as he must first have a cessation granted, because he may have time to advise whether he should go further or no with us.

"And thus much for the form; for you have dealt so sparingly with us in the substance, by advertising us only at first of the half-hour's conference alone, but not what passed on either side, by letting us also know you sent commissioners without showing what they had in charge, as we cannot tell but by divination what to think may be the issue of this proceeding. Only this we are sure (for we see it in effect), that you have prospered so ill for us by your warfare, as we cannot but be very jealous lest you should be as well overtaken by the treaty. For either they did not ill that had the like meetings before you, or you had done ill to keep them company in their errors; for no actions can more resemble others that have been before condemned than these proceedings of yours at this time with the rebels. For you must consider that as we sent you into Ireland an extraordinary person, with an army exceeding any that ever was paid there by any prince for so long time out of this realm, and that you ever supposed that we were forced to all this by the weak proceedings even in this point of the treaties and pacifications; so, if this parley shall not produce such a conclusion as this intolerable charge may receive present and large abatement, then hath the managing of our forces not only proved dishonorable and wasteful, but that which followeth is like to prove perilous and contemptible. . . .

"To trust this traitor upon oath is to trust a devil upon his religion. To trust him upon pledges is a mere illusory; for what piety is there among them, that can tie them to rule of

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honesty for itself, who are only bound to their own sensualities, and respect only private utility? And therefore, whatsoever order you shall take with him of laying aside of arms, banishing of strangers, recognition of superiority to us, or renouncing of rule over our uriaghes, promising restitution of spoils, disclaiming from O'Neale-ship, or any other such like conditions which were tolerable [before] he was in his overgrown pride by his own success against our power, which of former times was terrible to him; yet unless he yield to have garri-sons planted in his own country to master him, to deliver O'Neale's sons, whereof the detaining is most dishonorable, and to come over to us personally here, we shall doubt you do but piece up a hollow peace, and so the end prove worse than the beginning.

"And therefore, as we well approve your own voluntary profession (wherein you assure us that you will conclude nothing till you have advertised us and heard our pleasure), so do we absolutely command you to continue and perform that resolution; allowing well that you hear him what he proffers, draw him as high as you can, and advertise us what conditions you would advise us to afford him, and what he is like to receive; yet not to pass your word for his pardon, nor make any absolute contract for his conditions, till you do particularly advertise us by writing and receive our pleasure."

We wrote to you and that Council on the 13th, and wish to receive their answers as well as yours.

Under the signet, Nonsuch, 17 September 1599, 41 Eliz.

Copy. Pp. 4.

Sept. 22. 317. COMMISSION by the LORD LIEUTENANT and COUNCIL to
Vol. 617, p. 313. SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER and SIR HENRY POWER.

For the government of Munster they are to repair into that province; Sentleger to remain at Cork as a privy councillor, and to join with the Council there; Power to be sworn one of the Council, and to have the command of all her Majesty's forces. The Earl of Thomond, the Lord Viscount Buttevant, and the Lord Burghe have also been added to the said Council, which is to direct all causes, civil, political, and martial, in as ample a manner as the [late] Lord President's Council during the vacancy of the Presidency.

Dublin, 22 September 1599.

*Signed at the foot:** Adam Dublin., Thomas Midensis, George Cary, Robert Napper, Anthony Sentleger, George Bowrcher, Henry Harrington, Geoffrey Fenton.

Copy. P. 1.

* The signature of Essex at the top is omitted in this copy.

1599.

Sept.

Vol. 616, p. 56.

318. ABUSES in the PAYMENT of the ARMY in IRELAND.

"First, there are huge sums of money due to the inhabitants and corporate towns here in Ireland for dieting of soldiers, for which the captain gives his ticket to them who bring the same to the Treasurer's paymasters to be entered, to the end it may be stayed in his hands from the captains to their use. The paymasters have indeed made an *Intratur* upon such tickets, but have not, according to equity, set down upon what day they made entry thereof; whereby it falleth out that the subject[s] coming to make challenge of their money, . . . they make answer that either the captain was full paid or his reckoning made up before they came to enter their tickets, or else that they have paid as far as the Queen's money would reach." It will therefore be found "that the captain[s] and Treasurer have by this means taken between them that which the country ought justly require at the Treasurer's hand."

"In this doubtful case standeth at the least 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.*, and a great part of that even since the lendings, though it may be very well thought that the Queen cannot owe much since the lendings began." Sir Henry Wallopp's paymasters think "to get allowance of the Commissioners in England of so much as they have the captains' acquittances for; but it will not be found meet for her Majesty to give him allowance of those warrants . . . till it be thoroughly examined what bills and tickets ought to be charged upon those warrants, and then let his executors and paymasters discharge themselves as well as they can." All such tickets ought to be charged upon Wallopp's account; for they have either received a reward from the captain to tolerate the defalcation of the ticket, or else the money must remain in their hands.

"To look into this weighty point will be no small matter of importance for her Majesty's behoof, if it be well handled and the commissioners well chosen, that a first examination be had of all the corporate towns and the several baronies of the English Pale for a collection to be made of all the tickets, . . . and not to suffer the subject to be unsatisfied, not knowing whether the money be in his hands or no (which they constantly do believe), but being poor they are not able to follow it into England, and in seeking it here there is no money appointed for former times."

"Again, great quantities of beoves have been taken up in the English Pale and delivered to the Provost Marshal for the use of the army, which ought all to be charged upon his account." But this has not been taken, and "the English doth in the meantime deny to answer the Queen her composition of 2,100*l. per annum* until it may be seen how their reckonings stand for these beoves."

"Thirdly, not long before the last revolt in Monster there were 3,000 beoves or thereabouts levied in that province,

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. . . . and not then paid for; the clear benefit whereof ought to have come to her Majesty through their present rebellion, and ought to be defaulted out of the captains' and their soldiers' entertainment.

Fourthly, "the unmerciful buying of bills for these six or seven years past" is to be inquired into; "which for some trifling sums will be confessed by the parties that either sold them, or were acquainted with the selling of them, to whom, when, and after what rate; all which, as well bought by themselves as by their merchants and brokers, is or will be fully allowed by her Majesty upon Sir Henry Wallopp's account. 100*l.* or 200*l.* disbursed herein for intelligence would quit the cost 40 times told; or a fourth part to be allowed to them that will find them out will bring thousands into her Majesty's coffers."

"It is to be specially remembered that Mr. Wallopp be sent for over into England with his father's four chief clerks, Hopper, Hoare, Browne, and Carroll, before ever these causes be taken in hand. For though there be already a commission here to see whether any money remain in their hands since the time of lendings, which they might have ended in one month if they would, yet they still make delays, and all to gain time to get more bills and warrants of full pay into their hands that they may have choice enough. And that any money will be found in their hands it is not likely; for if they had 10,000*l.* in their hands, they would gain double by it.

"Also, it will be most requisite that the commissioners in England be not very forward in proceeding to determine their accounts," and that they see that for these two years past "he have made his payments according to the direction of the Privy Seals; for he hath paid many old debts, which he was specially charged not to do, but all for growing charges," and those only "according to special directions and dividends to be agreed upon at the Council table here by the Lords Justices and the Earl of Ormond." He has paid 20,000*l.*, "even since the lendings," whereby some companies are short paid above 400*l.*, some full paid, and some more than full paid.

"Pensioners and others that best might have forborne payment have been by this means for the most part full paid, and those that lay in places of greatest need neglected, whereby they were driven to raven and spoil the subject."

"Great sums of money have been remaining before these three last years upon the end of his account as General Receiver of the revenues in this kingdom." He "hath always thrust that remain in a confused charge into his account at the wars, which should have been kept by itself to have been disposed of by the governor for the time being; but the gain was too sweet by buying bills with those remains."

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"Lastly, touching the revenue causes, great sums are set off in *super* * upon many persons, who are now either in action of rebellion, or stand scarce firm; which must also be thoroughly looked unto, whether much of those arrearages be not paid or no."

II. The CASES of KELLs and the NAVAN.

"An instance apparent to the eye, whereby the fraudulent course in entering of the subjects' tickets for dieting the soldier may appear."

A captain and his 100 soldiers lying at Kells or the Navan hath due for a year's lendings from 1 Oct. 1597 to 30 Sept. 1598, 962*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* ster.; whereof defaulted to her Majesty's use—cheques within that time, 200*l.*; victuals from Newcome, 200*l.*; ready money from the Treasurer, 400*l.*; total, 800*l.* And so due to the inhabitants of the Navan upon the captain's tickets for victualling the soldiers in May and June, when there was neither money nor victual in the Queen's store, 162*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* These tickets being brought to the Treasurer to be entered within a se'nnight or fortnight after they were due, he takes notice of them in his book of entries. Money coming out of England in August, the captain deals with him or his paymasters "to tolerate the stay of the town's money for May and June until the next treasure comes." They, through negligence or for gain, full pay the captain till August, "who having once the fingering of the town's money, it is not easily come by again."

The subject comes to Dublin to receive his money, and receives answer that there came not a full proportion. Since Wallopp's death many have made complaints to the State, and the Lord Lieutenant has referred them to commissioners. They can prove that the captains were full paid, either to the day of their death or their discharge; and proclamation was made last summer by the Lords Justices that the soldiers' diet money should be paid.

"The service for her Majesty is to collect these tickets, whereby they may be charged upon his (Wallopp's) account to her Majesty's behoof, as of right they ought to be. And then they (the paymasters) are to discharge themselves thereof as they may by order of accompt."

III. COPY of a PETITION of the INHABITANTS of ATHERDIE to the LORDS JUSTICES and COUNCIL.

That whereas by special warrants from this (Council) table and from commanders of her Majesty's forces, they disbursed 153*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* ster. in money and victuals in January and Feb-

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ruary 1596, 99*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.* in August 1597, and from July to October 1598 (since the lendings), 53*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* ster., as appears by the several tickets; your petitioners have often been here and demanded the same, but have been "posted over till the next treasure." May it please your Lordships to grant warrant to Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Wars, to make payment of the sums before mentioned, as the corporation is "likely to perish and decay by means as well of the often spoils and preyings made on them by the traitors, as also by the great charge daily laid and imposed on them by relieving and victualling the soldiers."

13 December 1598.

Note.—"Many are the petitions to be found that have been made of like subject."

IV. "ANSWER of the LORDS JUSTICES to the PETITION."

"We require you, Philip Hoar, not only to deliver the petitioners the note of such tickets of the town of Atherdie as are already entered with you, but also to enter such tickets as shall be now delivered unto you for the said town.

"*Signed*: Adam Dublin., Robt. Gardynere."

V. ANSWER of PHILIP HOARE.

I have set down hereunder what tickets have been entered in my master's office for the town of Atherdy, and which of them are defaulted, and which not.

Captain Hugh Moston, per ticket dated 22nd Jan. 1596[-7], 20*s.* ster. This is her Majesty's debt, because it is entered and charged upon the said captain's reckoning ended 30th Sept. 1597.

Captain Roger Billings, per ticket of William Devrox, his lieutenant, dated 10 Feb. 1596, 30*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* This ticket is also good and due by her Majesty, because it is charged upon Captain Billings' reckoning ended 28 Feb. 1597[-8].

Captain Thomas Cheston, per ticket 7 Aug. 1597, 19*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*, good and allowable, for that it is charged in the said captain's reckoning ended *ut supra*.

Total of the bills due to her Majesty, 50*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Captain William Moston, per ticket 12 January 1596[-7], 1*l.* 10*s.* ster. "His check imposed after his death is so great, as I doubt little will remain good upon his reckoning, which none doth seek to have ended.

"Also he hath a ticket of Rice Ap Hughe's, dated ultimo Maij 1597, 47*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* ster., which I saw not till now. The said Rice's reckonings are already made, and therefore his executors are again to bring them in, whereby this may be charged; or else they, by your Lordships' authority, forced to pay the money."

Signed: Philip Hoare.

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VI. SUMS due to JAMES GERNON.

Captain Wm. Harvie, per ticket signed by Robert Old, his lieutenant, dated 5 July 1598, 1*l.* 5*s.* ster.; another dated 16 Oct. 1598, 12*l.* 19*s.*

Captain Wm. Roney, per ticket signed by Wm. Blacknehall, his lieutenant, 5 July 1598, 1*l.* 5*s.*; another of 26 Aug. 1598, 8*l.* 10*s.*

Sir Uryan Leigh, per ticket 28 Sept. 1598, 1*l.* 14*s.*; another of 6 Sept. 1598, 1*l.* 8*s.*

Captain Thomas Lee, per ticket signed by Thomas Quoder, his sergeant, 26 Aug. 1598, 2*l.* 1*s.*; another signed by his clerk, 24 July 1598, 19*l.* 15*s.*

Sir Henry Norrrys, per ticket signed by his cornet 5 Oct. 1598, for victualling 24 horsemen for three days and three nights, 1*l.* 10*s.*

"Upon which several tickets, amounting to the sum of 50*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*, I have paid to James Gernon 25*l.* ster., for which I have taken his acquittance," 1st January 1598[-9].

Signed: James Carroll.

Note.—"All these above sums was within the time of the lendings, and [I] had the Lords Justices' warrant for receipt of the same, but could not receive no more than this 25*l.* at Mr. Carroll's hand; and [he] keeps my warrant and tickets of the whole in his custody. What he meaneth, I know not.

"By me, James Gernon, agent."

VII. CAPTAIN PARKER'S ACCOUNT.

("A further instance to discover the practice of the Treasurer's Paymasters.")

William Crowe, gent., per ticket 26 Feb. 1596, 14 beoves. Richard Burke, per ticket 12 Aug. 1597, 12 beoves. Walter Fring, of Gallawaye, per ticket 30 Oct. 1596, 15 beoves. The inhabitants of Gallaway, per bill 15 Aug. 1597, 20 beoves. Connor McShane Moyle, per bill 5 January, "signed per John Parker, his lieutenant," 36 beoves. Anthony Brabson, per bills 2 June, 26 April, and 30 May 1596, 89 beoves. The inhabitants of Athenry, per bill 8 Aug. 1597, 1 beve. "Charged by John Ball, Provost Marshal of Conogh, 205 beoves in Sir John Norris his time; which beoves I have paid in a warrant of full pay, and cannot receive back any bill. More charged in gross per Phenis Cley, Provost Marshal in Conough, in the time of the government of Sir Conyers Clifford, 135 beoves, and cannot see nor have in any bill for the same. In all 527 beoves; and have not received any beoves in Conough without a bill.

"For all which . . . the paymasters for Sir Henry Wallopp, deceased, would have me deliver in my warrant of full pay, whereby they may have allowance thereof from her Majesty upon his account; and yet they refuse to return me in my

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particular bills which I have given to the country for the said beoves."

6 August 1599. "Captain Parker's—J. P.—mark."

"By these few particulars the whole may be considered, and therefore very requisite . . . that the reckonings and payments made by Sir Henry Wallopp and his paymasters may be thoroughly examined."

Pp. 12. Endorsed: "1599, Sept. A detection of sundry abuses in the payment of her Majesty's forces in the realm of Ireland."

[Sept.?] **319.** "ERRORS to be REFORMED in the GOVERNMENT of IRELAND."

Vol. 632, p. 171.

"Because by protections traitors have been nourished and increased, great combinations wrought, the country oppressed, and the kingdom endangered, many of the protectees having been put into bands, and some whole bands of them as her Majesty's waged soldiers, which against the appointed times of service be intelligencers to the traitors, and in times of service have turned their backs and bended their forces against their captains, as it hath been of late often found;" it is meet that henceforth no protections be granted to any persons, "unless to some special man upon judgment of a special intention and assurance of service for her Majesty, and in that case not exceeding 10 or 20 days."

"That after a pardon once granted to any that is or shall be in actual rebellion, if he fall again into the like offence, no pardon be granted the second time, unless it be upon special service first performed." No persons committed to prison for being or adhering to traitors in actual rebellion to be pardoned without her Majesty's warrant.

"As 2,000 soldiers are now sent for supplies, and — soldiers more, and 100 horse ready to embark for Lofoyle, that a continual prosecution be had, without stay, that her Majesty every month be certified of the success of the service."

"Whereas pledges be sometimes taken for the loyalty of the suspected or faulty offender, if any enter into rebellion after such pledges delivered, that then exemplary punishment by death of the pledge be had, be they of full years or under."

As her Majesty has been at a great charge for the wars, and the poorer sort have relieved the soldiers, the lords, knights, [and gentlemen] are to be commanded to attend on the Lord Lieutenant in person, with horse and foot well appointed.

"Whereas the traitor Donell Spaniolde, being now in action of rebellion with 300 or 400 of his followers in the co. of Wexford, and greatly annoying those parts, being (of all the realm) first planted with English, and living in the obedience of her Majesty's laws, did of late offer to the Lord Lieutenant (Earl of Essex) to come in, and to have his cause there heard touching the title of land; because the title he pretendeth

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concerneth some of that board, the seneschal of Wexford, and many others, if he be not in case to have a speedy overthrow, then, if he may be drawn to submit himself to have his cause heard here, and shall bring in his company to do any service, or to disperse themselves under the chief of their several septs, and seek to live in obedience of laws, he and they may have presently pardon." Though his demands presented at the Council table there were unreasonable, yet he may perhaps (if he may be persuaded to come hither) be brought to more reasonable conformity, and the better means left to prosecute the rest; many companies being now laid near about him, which attended no other service."

"After some service performed upon them and terror given, which her Majesty daily hearkeneth for," proclamation should be made in English and Irish, that the rebels of Leinster, Meath, Munster, and Connaught shall be pardoned if they come in within 20 days.

"Whereas 5 pair of English stockings are appointed yearly for every soldier, at 2s. 8d. the pair, amounting yearly to 13s. 4d., and 5 pair of shoes, at 2s. 4d. the pair, amounting to 11s. 8d., and a cap at 3s., being in total 28s.; the soldier may have three pair of Irish brogues for the price of one pair of shoes, viz., at 9d. the pair of brogues, and for every pair of English stockings two pair of Irish frize stockings, viz., at 16d. the pair, which will be far better for them, in the opinion of such as are well acquainted with the country, than the now apparel. And so out of the same, at the same charge her Majesty giveth allowance for an Irish mantle, which costeth but 5s., will be gained to him in the charge, and be his bed in the night, and a great comfort to him in sickness and health; for the mantle, being never so wet, will presently, with a little shaking and wringing, be presently dry; for want of which the soldiers, lying abroad, marching, and keeping watch and ward in cold and wet in the winter time, die in the Irish ague and in flux most pitifully. Therefore it were very meet that present consideration were had thereof against the winter."

As the traitors are relieved with powder and munition from hence, proclamation to be made that for one year no man shall transport into Ireland any powder or munition upon pain of forfeiting his ship and of fine and imprisonment; but all powder to be issued by the Master of the Ordnance in that realm, by direction of the Lord Justice (*sic*) and Council.

"As the captains there have often complained before the Council at Dublin that the cause of loss of their soldiers in skirmish hath been that the soldier hath been charged, by reason of the defalcation and want of some of his private clothes, to pay for his powder and munition, which is a principal cause that they take not out that proportion of powder in times of service as is requisite," the Lord Justice and Lord Lieutenant should be required to have due consideration

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thereof. In the late exploit by the Lord General against the traitors near Dublin, the 13th of June last, the powder failed at the first encounter, and the Lord Lieutenant commanded them to keep it secret.

The soldiers often sell and pledge their arms, and the captains and under officers sell, pledge, or exchange the powder and munition. Severe punishment to be inflicted on such offenders. This matter to be inquired into by the Commissioners for the Musters.

Dated by Carew, "1599."

Copy. Pp. 9.

[Oct.] 320. RETURN of ESSEX to ENGLAND. .

Vol. 617, p. 332.

"A Relation of the Earl of Essex, written with his own hand, being prisoner in England."

"I left with the Justices,* as also with the Earl of Ormond, order to keep this cessation precisely, and yet to stand upon their guard in every quarter; and in this cessation to see all her Majesty's forts and garrisons victualled for six months, they being most of them victualled for a good time already, and they having means left for the present supply to that proportion expressed.

"The authority of the Justices is expressed in the commission, whereof I here send a copy. It was drawn by Sir R. Napper and Sir Ant. St. Leger, according to the very words of the warrant. The authority of the Earl of Ormond is the same it was before my going into Ireland, though he have no new commission; but, as while I was present he was my Lieutenant General, so now he commands the wars in chief.

"I expressed in the treaty with Tyrone Sir Warham St. Leger, who is now sent into Munster; Sir William Warren, whom I sent to Tyrone at my coming away;† Sir William Constable and H. Wotton, my secretary, who sith are come over with me. And He. Wotton hath got the articles of construction (*sic*) signed by Tyrone, and the instructions I gave to treat, and is best able to deliver all circumstances, the whole business being chiefly left to Sir Warham St. Leger and to him.

"The conditions demanded by Tyrone I was fain to give my word that I would only verbally deliver, it being so required of him before he would open his heart; his fear being that they would be sent into Spain, as he saith the letter wherewith he trusted Sir John Norris was. I already told her Majesty and the Lords where the knot is, which being loosed, he hath protested that all the rest shall follow. But with those that have heretofore dealt with him, he pro-

* Archbishop Loftus and Sir George Carey.

† *Note in the margin*:—"The copy of Warren's instructions is amongst my papers, and the original was showed to the Justices."

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tested he would never deal with them in this free manner, nor, by his will, in any sort whatsoever, since he had no confidence that they could procure him that which would only satisfy him, or performance of all that was agreed on.

"The chief commander in Connath is Sir Arthur Savage,* in Mounster Sir He. Poore, in Ulster Sir Sam. Bagnall, and some other Sir Oliver Lambert; but all to give accompt to the Earl of Ormond, and to use the advice of such colonels and principal captains as were their assistants in their general charges. The governor[ship] of Connath I have assigned to Sir He. Dockwray, but would not place him in it, but brought him over to be confirmed, or otherwise bestowed as shall please her Majesty. Mounster is governed by a commission to the provincial Council, to which I added Sir Warham St. Leger. Amongst my papers there are copies of all those directions.

"To make a more full declaration of all things without help of my papers I am not able, being in that state of body that this which I have written is painfully set down. But I promised to send over daily advices and directions as soon as I had spoken with her Majesty and my Lords [of the Privy Council], and to give directions also and comfort to such of the Irishry as were principal instruments for her Majesty in that kingdom, and to return with all expedition. If only by my coming away and Tyrone's perfidiousness, any disaster had happened, I would have recovered it or have lost my life, for I have a party there for her Majesty besides her army. But now, when they shall hear of my present stay, and shall see no new hopeful course taken, I fear that giddy people will run to all mischief."

No date. The heading is in Carew's hand.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Oct. 3. **321.** RETURN of ESSEX.

Vol. 601, p. 243.

"The Earl of Essex his Answers to the Articles whereto his Lordship's opinion was desired, 3^o Octob. 1599, concerning O'Donnell and the dividing of the Army into the several Provinces."

[I proposed to Tyrone?] "that her Majesty should in Ulster have as much profit and obedience as ever she was answered; and in the other provinces all lords of countries and gentlemen that had land should yield her Majesty such rents and duties as had been usually paid to the Crown. And as he assured himself they would all do as he would have them, so, if any were unruly, he would not only abandon them, but assist their prosecution; but all upon this condition,

* Originally "Sir An. St. Leger," but corrected by Carew.

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that I procured him that secret and inward satisfaction from her Majesty which I have heretofore signified, and that I would give my word and protestation that I had received it from her Majesty.

"After he came from O'Donnell he made no new offer, but sent me word that O'Donnell and the rest would be ruled by him. . . . He urged that it might be general, for he said that it was best for her Majesty, and best for that poor country, but there should be no delay." He expects restitution to lands and livings for himself and all that shall be pardoned.

"I came over resolved upon the very knees of my heart to beseech her Majesty to accept of this opportunity to reduce that miserable kingdom; and if this band were once broken, I doubt not but to weaken them and break them by degrees, without any hazard or great charges." I purposed to reduce the army to 9,000 foot and 800 horse—in Leinster 3,000 foot and 300 horse, in Munster 3,000 foot and 200 horse, in Ulster 2,000 foot and 150 horse, in Connaught 1,000 foot and 150 horse; "and as I had daily grown upon the Irish, so I would have still more and more lessened her Majesty's charge."

"The disclaiming of his *wriaghers* and receiving of sheriffs are not things to be urged to him till her Majesty be stronger and he weaker; . . . but if this composition were once made there should be means enough to draw his *wriaghers* from him, and *arctiores imponere leges*. . . . He will admit garrisons, what there usually of late years hath been."

"I have his oaths and vows that, if there be no stop of her Majesty's side, he will give me any security, saving his own coming in."

I advise her Majesty to allow me at my return to Dublin to conclude this treaty, yielding some of these grants for the present, and when her Majesty has made secret preparation to enable me to prosecute, I will find "quarrels enough to break," and give them a deadly blow.

I crave pardon for this "confused style, which my present state of body causeth."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Oct. 3. 322. NEGOTIATIONS with TYRONE.

Vol. 617, p. 334.

"A Declaration of the Journey of Sir William Warren to Tyrone," 3 October 1599.

Sir William came to Ardmagh on Friday, 28th September. He sent a messenger in the night to Tyrone, to Dungannon, signifying that he would meet him the next morning at the fort of Blackwater, where accordingly Tyrone met him. "Sir William dealt with him according to such instructions as he received from the Lord Lieutenant."

Tyrone would not agree to any further cessation until he had spoken with O'Donnell, because O'Donnell was offended

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with him for agreeing to the last cessation before he had been made acquainted therewith. Tyrone promised to meet Sir William on the borders of Dundalk, and give his full resolution concerning a further cessation and Sir William's instructions, within ten days.

"Sir William did conceive a disposition in Tyrone to draw up all the force that he could make to the borders as near Dundalk as he could, and all his creats to bring thither with him, which maketh the said Sir William much to doubt of any good or conformity to be looked for at his hands."

Tyrone declared with an oath that within two months he (Sir William) "should see the greatest alteration, and the strangest, that he . . . could imagine or ever saw in his life." He hoped, before long, to have a good "shaire" in England.

"Sir William understood that they daily expected a cardinal to come over "to settle religion amongst them in this country."

"Touching the building of Togher-Croghan, the said Tyrone stood upon it, alleging that it was in the hands of those Connors of Ofaly, and that they were in possession of it before the cessation was agreed upon, and [he] did not yield his consent to the building thereof."

Tyrone said that another cause why he deferred their second meeting was, "that he received notice from O'Donnell that McWilliam was besieged by Tybbott ne Longe [Burke] and that the said O'Donnell was himself to go and remove that siege."

Sir William acquainted Tyrone with the disorders and spoils committed by the Connors in Ofaly since the cessation. Tyrone promised to write to them; and "if they did refuse to perform the conditions of the cessation, he said he would (if he might be licensed by the State) come into that country himself with 3,000 men, and compel them to make restitution to the last farthing; to which end he had written his letters to the Connors aforesaid, and also to the Mores in Leix to the like effect, and sent a messenger of his own with that letter in company with Sir William. But a secretary of Tyrone's, being on those borders of Leix and Ofaly, and meeting with the boy with the said letter, took the letter from him, . . . saying that it should not be delivered until he had spoken with his master, Tyrone."

The messenger had letters to the Mores in Leix, "that they should suffer the fort there and the castles to be victualled; but for furnishing them with wood, Tyrone said that the woods were in the possession of the rebels of that country before the cessation was agreed upon." That letter was permitted by the secretary to be carried forward.

Signed: William Warren.

Copy. Pp. 2.

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Oct. 6. 323.
Vol. 601, p. 183a.

The QUEEN to the LORDS JUSTICES, LORD LIEUTENANT,
and COUNCIL.

"You shall understand that upon the arrival of Essex from his charge, he hath delivered us particular relations of the state of our affairs. First, that he hath left the government of that kingdom to you two* as our Justices, and to you our cousin of Ormond as Lieutenant of our army, of which distribution we do allow, and hereby do confirm the same in manner and form as he left it by virtue of our commission.

"Secondly, he did impart unto us many particulars of the courses which our forces held, and of the ill success happened in his time to divers ill-guided and conducted troops of ours, wherein we took occasion to expostulate with him, his long tergiversation in the Northern action, whereby all opportunity was past, our army weakened, and the rebels grown strong and increased in their pride, and so our whole year's charge consumed to no purpose.

"He did plainly answer us, that whatsoever he did in that point, he did it contrary to his own proposition and desire, rather choosing to assent to so general a contestation in all you of the Council, who dissuaded it, than to venture to be taxed for a singularity in a matter whereof the success was doubtful.

"Lastly, he declared that upon a meeting with Tyrone he had found in him an internal desire to become a good subject, and that he had made divers offers and petitions, whereupon to be received to our grace and favour; which being examined by him, and appearing in many things unreasonable, he would no way conclude until our pleasure was first had, but suspended all final answer therein, and yielded to a cessation from six weeks to six weeks, if 14 days' warning were not given; which in effect is but an abstinence for 14 days. And therein also we do note that it had been an argument of more duty in Tyrone to have submitted that condition to a less equality, seeing he is to win our grace by lowly and humble conditions, and not by loftiness. Nevertheless, for that point of the cessation, our pleasure is that you do [no] way break it, for in whatsoever any word is passed from him that representeth our person, we will have no pretext to warrant any violation of that which we have ever held so precious.

"And yet to you we cannot hide that we are displeased that our kingdom hath been so ill ordered as that we must accept of such proceedings before the rebel had tasted somewhat of our power; neither could we like his [Essex's] judgment in coming over so suddenly to us in person, knowing well that upon this abrupt departure every ill spirit would fashion sinister conjectures, some that the State was despe-

* Archbishop Loftus and Sir George Carey.

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rate, others that himself (upon whose judgment it was likely that we would rely) would imagine it fit to have his offer taken in all points, or else that he would rather have written than come. In which consideration, to the intent that no man hereafter should leave such a charge so suddenly without making any end one way or other, we could do no less than sequester him from our presence for some time into the house of one of our Privy Council, as an argument of our mislike thereof. For although it be known to us that the treaty set on foot between the King of Spain and us taketh away any doubt that he will now give any succours to those rebels, yet was it more than he knew but that the remain of the forces at the Groyne,* being frustrated of other attempts, might have been sent thither; which, if it should have happened during his absence, could not but have wrought confusion in that State.

"Of this much we think fit that you be informed, lest it might be conceived that we misliked to hear of any submission, or that the traitor might think we meant to reject him. And, therefore, we would have him understand from you our cousin of Ormond, that although we mislike divers particulars in his offers, yet do we both allow of his desire to be forgiven, and are resolved (if the fault be not in himself) to restore him to our grace and favour. But forasmuch as his petitions consist of many considerable circumstances, wherein we must have regard to our honour above all things, we will defer our final answer for some few days, and then return to him our pleasure under our hand by some so confident personage, as when he looketh down into the centre of his faults, and up to the height of our mercy, he shall find and feel that he is the creature of a gracious Sovereign, that taketh more contentment to save than to destroy the work of our own hands.

"If you shall think good to choose our Secretary Fenton, with some assistant, to deliver them this much, and thereby to see how he stand affected, we shall well allow that election, or of any other that you shall think fit for our service, if sickness or any other sufficient cause do hinder his employment.

"It remaineth now that we command you, the Justices, to forbear making knights, granting of leases, wards, pardons, or pensions, and further to advise us what is the state of our army and of our treasure, and what accidents have happened since Essex his return; and whensoever you shall have heard anything from the traitor, to certify that also to our Council here. And where we have heard that some of our Council there are desirous to come over for their own private business, our pleasure is that you do not license any of them until you receive further order from us, or that

* Logroño in Spain.

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we shall have with some further time settled a more certain course in that State.

"At the Court at Richmond, the 6th of October 1599."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Oct. 20. **324.** NEGOTIATIONS with TYRONE

Vol. 617, p. 386.

"The Declaration of Sir William Warren, Knight, touching my second journey to Tyrone, since the departure of the Lord Lieutenant, according his Lordship's former commission," 20 October 1599.

On Tuesday, the 16th inst., I met with Tyrone three miles below Dundalk, "but through the great rain the waters were grown so high as we could not come so near as to speak or hear one the other."

On the 17th I met him again, and, the waters being fallen, we came together. He was unwilling to agree to any further cessation, because O'Donnell was not yet come, and he had been advertised that the Earl of Ormond had slain seven or eight score of his men. In the end he consented to a fortnight's cessation, and would not conclude upon any further time until O'Donnell came to him.

On the 18th we spent some time in conference. He was still unwilling to yield to any further time, alleging "that it was now winter time and our army weak, and therefore he being stronger than we, and able to keep the field, now was the time of his harvest, in which he made no doubt but to get the whole spoil of the country; alleging farther that he knew very well the Lord Lieutenant's tarrying in England was but to procure a great army to come upon him on all sides the next spring."

During this cessation a messenger came to us from O'Donnell with a letter or message to Tyrone, that he should proceed himself in this negotiation, and that though O'Donnell could not then come, he would stand to whatever Tyrone should conclude. Hereupon Tyrone, with a show of great unwillingness, agreed to a month more, making six weeks from the expiration of the first cessation agreed upon with the Lord Lieutenant.

I perceived an intention in him to go within a short time to the river of Shenon to confer with the supposed Earl of Desmond and others of his confederates, and, if they were desirous of peace, to learn what conditions they would stand upon.

Signed: William Warren.

Copy. Pp. 2.

[Oct.] **325.** "INSTRUCTIONS [by the QUEEN] for one to be sent into Ireland, 1599."

Vol. 632, p. 181.

By the coming over of our cousin of Essex upon a cessation taken with Tyrone, we find great cause to send over some

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discreet person, well instructed from hence, to acquaint the Council there with the causes of our removing him from the government.

We are displeased with his return, contrary to our commands, without licence from us, and with his small discretion in not concluding with Tyrone, but returning without any certainty as to what he desires at our hands. "For our honour's sake we can do no less than in some measure to chastise him." We are, therefore, determined to use his services there no further.

Bring us relation of the state of the kingdom, the state of our army, and the forces of the rebels. Also, "how the titular Earl of Desmond would be had, whereon depends the good of Mounster, and how the Moores and O'Connors in Lyeinster may also be taken in," for of both those countries we have passed estates to our natural subjects of English birth. If Tyrone and O'Donnell be drawn in, what forces are sufficient to overrun the other rebels. If Tyrone prove desperate, what forces will be sufficient to defend the frontiers of Ulster and preserve our possessions elsewhere. We have set down a memorial of such conditions as may be granted to the rebels without destroying our natural subjects.

Declare to the Council that we have lately received by our cousin of Essex a relation of his proceedings; and that we have "resolved to establish another government by authority from hence, which now is limited to the time of his absence only."* Our cousin pleads in his excuse "that in whatsoever he varied from the counsels set down before his going, and resolved by us, it was but to accord with the State there, and in most things of prosecution there following the advice of our cousin of Ormond; adding further that, although he did still protest in many things against their opinions, especially against his going into the North, yet, finding such an unity of contestation against him, he thought it more safe to use conformity." He was persuaded that if we resolved on "a course of remission" to those that had offended us (Tyrone especially), most of them would become loyal subjects. We had, however, given him ample authority to prosecute or to pardon.

The cessation he has concluded is upon such equal terms that Tyrone may break it off at any time within 14 days. Ormond is, therefore, to procure a meeting with Tyrone, and let him know that we do not reject his desire to become a good subject; that nothing shall divert us from him, if we find cause to receive him again to grace, but a clear proof of new disloyalties; "and that displeasure to our cousin of Essex is grounded upon this, that he would leave things so rawly, and bring over no certainty."

Copy. Pp. 6.

* Archbishop Loftus and Sir George Carey were appointed Lords Justices when the Earl of Essex quitted Ireland.

1599.
Nov. 5.
Vol. 601, p. 185.

326. The QUEEN to SIR JEFFREY FENTON, Secretary for Ireland.

When, on the return of Essex out of Ireland, we commanded you to confer with Tyrone in order to learn "in what sort he did crave our mercy," we promised to send over some person with authority to conclude. As the nobleman whom we intend to send to rule that kingdom cannot be ready so soon as we expected, we impart our pleasure to you.

"We do find by the manner of Essex his report that he (Tyrone) seemeth to have been much carried on to this course of submission in respect of the opinion he had of him, and the confidence he had by his mediation to procure all his desires; Tyrone professing, as it seemed by Essex his words, that such was his affection to himself for his father's sake, as he would not draw his sword against him, but he would do that for him which he would not do for any other. Herein we have thought good to require you to let him plainly understand that, although we do no more mislike that he should address himself to us by Essex than by any other that should hold his place (it being always proper for men in his degree to make their suits known by those to whom the Prince committeth the trust of her kingdom), yet we would have him consider and remember, that as he is our subject born, and raised to honour by us only, and not born to depend upon any second power (as long as he shall carry himself like a good subject), so if, after his offences known to the world so publicly, this submission [of] his shall not as well appear to the world by all clear circumstances to proceed simply out of his inward grief and sorrow for his offences against us, and from his earnest desire only to satisfy us his Sovereign, but that it must be bruited abroad, that for any other man's respect whosoever he takes the way, either sooner or later, to become a good subject, or that it shall be conceived that Tyrone would forbear to draw his sword against our Lieutenant rather than against us, we shall take ourself thereby much dishonoured, and neither could value anything that shall proceed from him on such conditions, nor dispose our mind to be so gracious to him hereafter as otherwise we might have been induced.

"And therefore we would have you assure him, first, if he be put in the head, that though we should vouchsafe to pardon him presently, yet there might be some courses of injustice or hard measure offered him hereafter by those to whom the rule of that kingdom should be committed, that he shall never see the day, whensoever we have vouchsafed to pronounce the word of mercy and pardon to any, have he been never so notorious an offender, that any subject living shall use him in other sort than for such a one as we shall have received him. And, therefore, if any such suspicion may be raised in his mind, let him distrust those that so tell him, to care more for their own particular ends than for his good.

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"And further, because we have understood that, in respect of our restraint of Essex here, it may be surmised or devised there that we have so proceeded with Essex because we mislike that he hath come over to persuade us to a course of mercy, as though we had a heart so hardened from compassion of the miseries of that kingdom, that we should be dealt withal to relieve the same by any other course than by the shedding of our people's blood, we would have you let him know from ourself that our displeasure towards him hath no such relation, but hath grown by his breach of our commandment in bestowing our offices and honours contrary to his instructions, for issuing great sums of money contrary to our warrant, and for divers other things, besides his last presuming to come personally over out of that kingdom where we had absolutely commanded him to stay till we had sent him licence under our hand, and sent over some other nobleman to take his place; all which we could not suffer to pass unpunished, unless we would have given encouragement to others to have offended us with the like presumption.

"So as to conclude: although there be some points in his petition to Essex concerning others his confederates in rebellion which we can neither clearly understand nor can accept in the form he seeketh (except he explain himself the better), it seemeth by Essex' own speech that the short time of their conference made him not fully conceive the particular meaning of Tyrone in divers of those articles; yet forasmuch as we have heard that since his meeting with Essex he hath showed no ill affection towards us (to our knowledge), but hath observed the cessation for his part inviolable, whereby in the eye of the world there is some show that he hath a desire and purpose to please us, which he hath not performed heretofore upon like occasions, our pleasure is that you confer with him more particularly at this meeting, and drive him from his follies by letting him know what we have been and may be to him if he deserve it, and by making him see what it is to trust to foreign princes that despise him but to serve their turns, and whensoever they should help him, would esteem him but as a traitor, where by returning to his Prince he might escape misery, which must be his end, as the condemnation of ingratitude hath been* for so notorious and unnatural offending her that made him what he is, and will at last make him feel her power, rather than to be still dishonoured. The remission of all which you may assure him by virtue hereof, if he shall give us just cause by such reasonable and dutiful offers to believe that he hath a remorse of his former errors, and a resolution to become and continue a good subject. Our purpose being, at his earnest and humble suit, notwithstanding so many his just provocations of our indignation, to receive

* Sic.

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him now at last into our grace and mercy, so to live and to be used by us as shall be for his greatest comfort, without any thought of taking other revenge towards him than Almighty God doth use after he hath forgiven the greatest sinners, upon their speedy and sincere craving of mercy."

Richmond, 5 November 1599.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Nov. 6. 327. The QUEEN to the LORDS JUSTICES, LORD LIEUTENANT, and COUNCIL.

Vol. 601, p. 186a.

"We have understood that you our Secretary (Fenton) are now to go to the borders to speak with Tyrone, and that Warren is appointed to assist you in this service, as one of whose person the traitor is not suspicious." If he present such offers as prove his intention to become a good subject, "we will rather vouchsafe mercy than spend the lives of our subjects one against another."

When Essex returned, he acquainted us with Tyrone's offers, which "are both full of scandal to our realm and future peril in that State." What would become of all Munster, Leyx, and Ophally, "if all the ancient exiled rebels be restored to all that our laws and hereditary succession have bestowed upon us?" It is probable that, "by the ill carriage of all our actions of late, he had discovered that the likelihood of prevailing by present prosecution or plantation of Northern garrisons was taken away, and therefore sought to possess our late Lieutenant with these demands."

Consideration should be had of the expense and charge at which we have been to so little purpose; but if we may do so with honour, and without raising him "to a greater exorbitancy, we will pardon his past faults." It would be an indignity that those who were always his enemies, until they united in rebellion, must now publicly work their good by him that wrought them into their treasons.

"For himself and the Northern traitors, if he did only seek to compound, so might the matter be carried,—as it was heretofore in Norries' time, which is well known to you our Secretary,—that he might be assured under hand that they should be pardoned upon their own reasonable submission, though in the face of the world they should be left single to crave our mercy. For any other personal coming in of himself, or constraint in religion, we can be content for the first that he may know he shall not be peremptorily concluded, and in the second that we leave to God, who knows best how to work his will in those things, by means more fit than by violence, which doth rather obdurate than reform. And therefore, as in that case he need not to dread us, so we intend not to bind ourselves further for his security than by our former course we have witnessed; who have not used rigour in that point, even when we might with more probability

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have forced others, then those* are so far from religion as they are scarce acquainted with civility.

"That the last cessation was kept by Tyrone we do understand, and therefore allow better of that point in him than before we had cause. For those things that were done by you our cousin of Ormonde, in revenge of them that brake it in Wexford, we think it done both valiantly and justly if it be as we do hear. Only this we must recommend unto you, as a matter of consequence, that you do not irritate nor oppress any such as have submitted themselves to us, and do continue obedient, in respect of any private unkindness of your own, as Mountgarrett, Cahyre, or others, if they do not fall from their duties again. Of both which we would know on what conditions they were received, and what surety they have given for their continuance; it being strange to us, even for honour's sake, that when Tyrone assented first to a cessation, that he did not, as in all former times men have done, put in pledges for the observation.

"For the secret satisfaction which he pretended by Essex to receive from us by him that was our Governor, we have written to our Secretary to make him know our pleasure, which we conceive he cannot be so senseless as not to esteem all one, though he hath it not by the mean he would receive it; for that were to make us think that he were more carried and addicted with private affection to our subjects and servants than with loyal and entire humbleness and love to his Sovereign. For what can any man's power be to do him, or any, good, which must not be derived from us?" He is not to pretend fear or doubt of our mercy, "because those who have deserved our displeasure for other things are not still honoured with our employments." On this subject we have written to our Secretary Fenton.

"Though we will not assent in other provinces to the restitution of all traitors to their livings, or the displantation of our subjects that have spent their lives in the just defences of their possessions which they have taken and held from us or our ancestors, yet if any of them, by voluntary encroachment, by packing false titles, or unjust oppression, have drawn any into misery or rebellion, we will see these things justly and duly with all speed reformed, and in the point of justice make no difference of persons when justice shall be craved by all in one fashion."

If we be driven to use our sword, "we do think all courses vain that shall be carried on with plantation of garrisons, thereby to make the war in another sort than it hath been; and therefore can we not but still challenge you all, and you especially, our cousin of Ormonde, that contrary to that counsel you did so strangely urge our Lieutenant against his

* Qu. mistake for "than those who," &c.

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own mind (as he protesteth) still to range so far from place to place in Munster, and to spend so long time as not to arrive at Dublin before July were a third part spent, whereby you know that all the forces he carried (which were the flower of our army) were tired and harassed, and it [was] accounted honour enough to bring them back again; whereof you saw this effect to follow, that in some corners whole regiments were defeated in many places, divers disasters happened, and in all places, wheresoever the army itself marched, some losses fell of our best commanders, which was to those base rebels an honour, though not a victory, and to our nation a discouragement, whilst the traitor triumphed, whom all you [knew we?] so earnestly wished to be first attempted, who contrarywise sat still and kept our army [in] play with the overplus of his loose men, which he was desirous to rid of himself.

"Surely we must still say that the errors were excusable in none of you that prolonged the time, though in him less than any other who best knew our pleasure in that and all other things, wherein he more directly and more contemptuously disobeyed us; and though we did not disallow it for some short time at first in all you when we heard of it, yet we dreamed not of such a prolongation as should make it impossible either to plant at Loughfoyle, or prosecute him in other places of his country, but that both the time and means should be so consumed and disjointed for such an action; for he that shall read any of his letters after he came last to Dublin shall only see great words, what he meant and wished to be done, but in the substance of his letters nothing appeared but impossibilities to do anything."

Should gracious dealing be unavailing, we will cause Loughfoyle to be planted, and make war upon Tyrone, "being now in great terms to compound the wars with Spain; wherein, to the intent you our cousin of Ormonde may see your mistress, after the old fashion, loveth rather to be sought to than to seek to, we have caused our Secretary by his particular letter to inform you, and to show you how the Lieutenant of the King of Spain's army in the Low Countries, being by the House of Austria his cousin, and a Cardinal, made the first overture of that peace, and still pursued since by letters and messages earnestly, until the King of Spain and the Archduke with his wife, the Infanta, have declared themselves in it so far as it is now reduced to the terms it stands on; so as the rebels of Ireland shall have little cause to look for help from him, nor we be distracted from a considerate and judicial proceeding to end that war."

"What will be the answer of the traitor for the last treason of the bridge where Esmond's company was defeated, we do attend by your next despatch, and what reason he will yield for usurping so unjustly in the time of the cessation to place Bremingham in the county of Kildare. But of these things

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we could wish that you would cause Fenton to expostulate as from you our Governor there, rather than to take it from us, because we are desirous—if there may be appearance of any good means to save that kingdom from the curse of continual war—rather to seem for a beginning to be ignorant for some offences, than by taking notice of them to make them desperate.”*

Although we purpose to send over some nobleman of this kingdom to make prosecution if there be cause, yet we repose so much upon the judgment and fidelity of you our cousin of Ormonde, that we wish you to make your greatest residence at Dublin in the meanwhile.

We hear of soldiers continually coming over, “not only sick men, but very able bodies.”

Richmond, 6 November 1599.

Copy. Pp. 6.

Nov. 13. **328.** SIR WILLIAM WARREN.
Vol. 632, p. 184.

“My Declaration touching my Journey to Tyrone, the third time of my going thither since the departure of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Essex), November 13th., 1599.”†

On Thursday last, the 8th instant, I (Warren) met Tyrone at Dungannon, and told him I was sent to know why he brake the six weeks’ cessation agreed upon at our last meeting. He answered that he had given 14 days’ warning, according the articles. His reasons were these: that he understood by letters from Scotland that the Lord Lieutenant (the Earl of Essex) was committed, and he was the only man in whom he put his trust to deal for him, for the Council here had deceived him, as by his letter to the Lord Lieutenant would appear.

He said he could not agree to any further cessation, having “resolved upon a course for O’Donnell into Connaught and others his confederates into other parts;” but I should shortly hear of him towards the borders of the Pale, and could meet him there, if I had anything to say touching her Majesty’s pleasure to be delivered to him by Sir Jeffrey Fenton. He was very earnest to know what her pleasure was, but I knew it not.

“Whilst I was there with him I saw a letter sent unto him out of Connaught with this superscription, ‘To the Right Honorable my very good Lord O’Neyle, chief Lieutenant of Ireland;’ at which I laughed; and he, perceiving me to laugh, asked what it was. I answered, ‘To see so strange a superscription.’ He then read the same, not marking it

* The following proverb is quoted here: “He goes far that never turns.”

† *Note by Carew:* “Sir William Warren was the messenger unto Tyrone.”

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before he opened the letter. I asked to whom the devil he could be Lieutenant. He answered me, 'Why should I not be a Lieutenant as well as the Earl of Ormond?'

He had sent O'Donnell with O'Rowark and all the Connaught men into that province to settle O'Connor Sligoe in his country, and to make a new O'Bryen or a Baron of Inchequin of some one of that name, to whom Tyrone had written to join with O'Donnell and go into Thomond, and to spoil all that country.

"He seemed to stand chiefly upon a general liberty of religion throughout the kingdom. I wished him to demand some other thing reasonable to be had from her Majesty; for I told him that I thought that her Majesty would no more yield to that demand than she would do to give her crown from her head." After some other idle discourses we parted.

Signed: William Warren.

Copy. Pp. 3.

Dec. 25. 329.
Vol. 632, p. 187.

The EARL OF TYRONE to SIR WILLIAM WARREN.

"Seeing the conclusion of cessations is so prejudicial unto that which I pretend, henceforward I will conclude none if present redress be not done. In this last concluded between the Earl of Ormond and me, there were sundry breaches by your side committed; for Sir Samuel Bagenall took a prey of O'Hanlen." One of my men was apprehended, one of my horsemen's sons killed, and a horse of mine taken away.

"And chiefly the cessation is greatly violated by the apprehending of Father Henry FitzSimons, a man to whom (as before God I protest) I am no more beholden than to an Irish Catholic that is restrained in Turkey for his religion, but undertake generally to plant the Catholic faith throughout all Ireland. According my often protestations, I must undertake, be it accepted or not, for all Irish Catholics; and do feel myself more grieved that any should be for his religion restrained in time of cessation, than if there were 1,000 preys taken from me. Wherefore, as ever you think that I shall enter to conclude peace or cessation with the State, let him be presently enlarged."

Dungenan, 25 December 1599.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Dec. 31. 330.
Vol. 632, p. 188.

The EARL OF TYRONE to the KING OF SPAIN.

Nothing can be more beneficial to a Christian state than to have men preeminent for learning and virtue to disseminate God's Word, instruct the people, and eradicate errors from men's minds. Of such men this kingdom is lamentably destitute, owing to continued war and the exertions of heresy; and we cannot obtain such men unless your Majesty, with your accustomed regard to the prosperity of this State, the

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exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the extirpation of heresy, grant some pension (*stipendium*) to our college of Douay, which contains almost 100 students, living solely on the liberality and alms of others.

Dungannon, the last of December 1599.

Your Majesty's most faithful subject, O'Neale.

Copy. Latin. P. 1.

Dec. 31. 331. The EARL OF TYRONE to the ARCHDUKE [of AUSTRIA].
Vol. 632, p. 188a.

Praying (*as above*) for an annual pension to the college of Douay.

I have frequently written to your Highness of the state of this war—how the English are daily becoming weaker, how I had concluded with them a cessation from arms, and how I revoked it for your sake, because the English intend, after the cessation is concluded, to send the soldiers whom they have here to the war in the Low Countries. I have therefore again taken up arms against them.

Dungannon, the last of December 1599.

Your Highness's friend, O'Neale.

Copy. Latin. P. 1.

332. VICTUALLING.

Vol. 607, p. 145.

"A brief Declaration of a Proportion of Victuals to serve 1,000 men for 28 days, as also what Shipping will serve for transportation of the same Victuals."

Beer, allowing one pottle to a man *per diem*, 58 tuns, 1 puncheon.

Biscuit, at 1 lb. each man *per diem*, 28,000 lb.

Cheese (for 14 days), at 1 lb., 14,000 lb.

Butter (for 14 days), at $\frac{1}{2}$ lb., 7,000 lb.

Shipping, "97 tons in stowage."

P. 1. *Dated by Carew, "1599." Endorsed: "1600."*

333. VICTUALLING.

Vol. 607, p. 147.

"A Proportion for one man his Victuals for a week," [by] Robert Ardern, 1599.

1 lb. biscuit or $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. loaf bread each day of the week. On Sunday, 2 lb. salt or $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. fresh beef. Monday, 1 lb. Holland cheese. Tuesday, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. butter. Wednesday, 1 quart of great oatmeal called cleas. Thursday, 1 lb. English cheese. Friday, the third part of a large dried cod. Saturday, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. butter.

"*Mem.*—The like proportion shall be served every second week; only in lieu of 2 lb. of beef upon the Sunday, 1 lb. of bacon or 1 lb. of salt pork is to be delivered, with one pint of pease."

P. 1. *Endorsed by Carew.*

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334. CAREW.

Vol. 607, p. 149.

"An old Prophecy of Carew, in Irish, called Carounagh."

There are two translations, as follow:

(1.) "It will proceed of Carewe's right, you will repent your present acts, when many [a] foreign voice unknot will be on brinks of Myathlaght."

(2.) "It shall come of Carewe his right, that you shall repent your doings; many a stranger's voice shall be about the river of Myalthagh."

*With an exposition of several Irish words.**Dated by Carew, "1599."**Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew.***335. "The CHARGE per annum of 100 FOOT."**

Vol. 607, p. 151.

For a captain, 4s. ster. a day; petty-captain, 2s.; ensign, 1s. 6d.; two sergeants, one drum[mer], and a surgeon, at 12d. each; and 100 footmen at 8d. Total for a year, 1,426l. 10s. 10d.; i.e., in "lendings," 971l. 3s. 2½d.; in apparel, 455l. 7s. 7½d.

The wages of a band of 100 footmen without captain and officers for one year at the above rate amount to 1,216l. 13s. 4d.

*Dated by Carew, "1599."**P. 1. Endorsed.***336. VICTUALLING.**

Vol. 607, p. 153.

"A Proportion of Provision to be made for 9,200 men upon an intended new voyage for four months."

Biscuit, 130,400 [c]wt. Canvas, 19,320 ells. Beer, 4,293 tuns. "Filling beer," 215 tuns. Beef, for 32 days, 2,930,400 pieces of 2 lb. each. Pork and bacon, 2,930,400 lb. Pease, 585 qr. Ling, for 40 days, 46,000. Butter, 46,000 lb. Cheese, 92,000 lb.

*Dated by Carew, "1599."**P. 1. Endorsed.***337. CARRIE.**

Vol. 607, p. 154.

"A Note of all the Plowlands in the country of Carbrie, in co. Cork."

Demesne lands of McCartie Reoghe.—Kilbrittane, 18 plowlands. Banduffe, 7 pl. Gortny-Cloghy, 8 pl. Down-danier, 3 pl. Montin, 10½ pl. Kilgobban, 4 pl. Cuilnepissy, 2 pl. Clan-Shane-Roe, 7 pl. Slught Owen, 6 pl. Slught Donoghe, 5 pl. Total, 70½ pl.

O'Maghon Fun and his sept.—Evaghe contains 105 pl., whereof O'Maghon Fun has 64½, spiritual lands 30½, and escheated lands 9. Slught Teg O'Maghonie has 36 pl., whereof spiritual lands 9.

O'Drischalls' lands.—Collimore contains 63 pl., the lord whereof is O'Drischall More. Collibeg is O'Drischall Oge's.

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land, and contains 34 pl., whereof 13 are spiritual. Glanbarraghan contains 5½ pl., whereof 1 is spiritual land, and the rest escheated.

O'Donevan and his sept.—Clanecahell, 65 pl., whereof O'Donevan is lord; 2 pl. spiritual. Clanloghlin, 54 pl., and Clanmoylin, 12 pl., possessed by the O'Donevans.

O'Dally.—Muintir-Vary, 36 pl., whereof 3 spiritual.

O'Crowlye.—Killshallow, 32 pl.

O'Murrihie.—Ballywiddan, 4 pl.

O'Mahon Carbry.—Kinalmekeghe, 63 pl., escheated.

Lands of the McCarties.—Clan Teg Roe, 18 pl.; 6 spiritual. Clan Dermoudie, 63 pl.; 23 escheated, 6 spiritual. Clan Teg Ellen, 27 pl. Glancryme, 52 pl. Clancromin, 32½ pl. Slught Cormocke Ny Kyllie, 13 pl. Twoghe Iniskene, 12 pl., escheated. Slught Glasse, 14½ pl. Twoghe Ny Killie, 16 pl., supposed to be escheated. Twoghe Bally Ny Deyghie, 13 pl. Beallnycareggy, 3 pl. Shanavoyghe, 3 pl. Killmorrow, 2 pl. Boihennaght, 3 pl. Slught Corckey, 9 pl. Kilbirri, 1 pl. Ploughlands belonging to the Crosse, 5, spiritual lands. The Island, 5 pl., spiritual. Slught Enesles McCrowin, 7 pl.

II. "A brief Note of all the Lands in Carbrie."

Demesne lands belonging to MacKartie Reoghe, for the provision of his house, 70½ pl. Lands remaining in the possession of sundry of the septs of Cartie that are followers, 299 pl. O'Mahon Fun and his sept, 141 pl., &c., *as above*.

"Total, 879; whereof there is spiritual lands belonging to the Bishop of Rosse, pl. 80; and also escheated to the Crown by sundry attainders, pl. 127; which, in all of spiritual and escheated, amounts unto pl. 207; which being deducted out of the sum of 879 pl. aforesaid, there remaineth in the possession of McCartie Reoghe and his followers the number of 672 pl."

In Carew's hand. Dated "1599."

Pp. 3. Endorsed: "A survey of Carbry."

338. QUEEN'S COUNTY.

Vol. 635, p. 110.

Names of the chief inhabitants, 1599.*

In Carew's hand. P. 1.

339. The KAVANAGHS.

Vol. 614, p. 141.

"A Note of the twenty mart lands which Donell Reogh Kavanagh, ancestor to Donell Spaniagh that now is, gave unto his son Art Boy McDonell Reogh."

Some of them are now possessed by Sir Richard Masterston, Sir Henry Wallopp, Lord Mountgarrett, and Sir Nicholas Walshe.

Art Beoy Kevanaghe possessed Enischortye, &c.

P. 1. Endorsed.

* Similar to No. VIII. on p. 191 *ante*.

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Jan. 2. 340. SIR JOHN DOWDALL to SECRETARY CECIL.
Vol. 614, p. 267.

At my last being at Court, I was a suitor for 1,800*l.*, laid out to support the men committed to my charge. After seven months' detraction I was despatched to Duncannon with a promise from you and the rest of my Lords that I should be paid, and commanded to leave an agent to follow my suit. My agent has prevailed little. By disbursing that money I have engaged my whole estate. I must again repair in person to renew my suit. Since I saw you I have paid 400*l.*, which I owed for victualling my soldiers.

"Take this much from me, which I have gathered by experience these twenty years and upward. This nation is proud, beggarly, and treacherous, without faith or humanity, where they may overcome by tyranny. They are best to be commanded when they are poor, as may well appear by the tranquillity many years after they were plagued by the Desmondes' wars, Boltinglasse's, the wars of Connoght, and the revolt of a great many of them in Leynister; by which peace they grew so wealthy that for these 400 years past they were never so rich." Thereupon a rebellion was plotted at Lyfford, the Holy Cross, and such like superstitious places, by sundry seminary priests, as McCrast, Father Archer, and many the like sent by the Pope and the King of Spain. They were assisted generally by the townsmen and the nobility and gentry of both kinds, and were permitted by our State to grow to a head.

This nation is very apt in corrupting with bribes; if not a deputy or president, then some one that is greatest with him.

The smoke of rebellion was first seen in the forerunner of the rebellion, Magweyre, next in Tyrone, and "sequelarily" in his confederates in all parts of the kingdom. At first they doubted their ability to maintain wars, and in the beginning 10,000 men would have vanquished them wholly.

They are maintained with powder, munition, and implements of war from Spain, Scotland, and the towns, and most of all from her Majesty's army.

"They grew strong by the faction between the Deputy and Sir John Norris, and proud by Sir John Norris his temporising and forbearance of wars. They were encouraged by the disgrace of the Governor of Connoght, enabled by the overthrow at Blackwater;—proud, for that no resistance was made by the President to withstand so small an incursion as was made into Munster; and again proud, for that so worthy a man undertook the wars and made so short an abode. They are greatly strengthened for that they hear of a faction in the English Court."

Why are the forces so weak and poor? One cause is the electing of captains rather by favour than desert, for many are inclined to dicing, wenching, and the like, and do not regard the wants of their soldiers.

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"Another cause is, for that the soldiers do rather meditate the disarmed companies that came out of Brittain and Picardy, desiring a scalde rapier before a good sword, a pike without carettes or burgennett, a hagbutteyre without a murreon, which hath not been accustomed in this country but of late." The captains and soldiers generally follow this course, "which is a course fitter to take blows than make a good stand."

Many of the captains and gentlemen are worthy men, but most of them are fitter for the wars of the Low Countries and Brittain, where they were quartered upon good villages, than here, on waste towns, bog, or wood, after long marches.

Some captains have by their purse and credit held their companies strong, but have neither been repaid nor rewarded, and have fallen into great poverty. Other captains, therefore, rather than spare a penny, will suffer their soldiers to starve, as is daily seen in this kingdom.

Another reason is, that supplies come so short, and so long after they are due, verifying the old proverb, "Whiles the grass grows the horse starves." The victuals are many times corrupted, as is thought, by the provant-masters, that go to the heap for cheap. And so with the purveyors of the apparel—often a suit valued at 40s. proves not worth half, yet is the soldier constrained to take it, some six or nine months after it is due, at the charge of the captain for transporting from place to place. Most part of the army, therefore, seem beggarly ghosts, fitter for their graves than to fight a prince's battle. The report hereof so works in men's minds that they had as lief go to the gallows as to the Irish wars.

The captains and soldiers "are constrained, upon their charges, with long attendance, to fetch by convoy their weekly lendings sometimes 30 or 40 miles."

Monthly musters are made by view of a commissary, and [the captain] is chequed "for insufficiency or not appearing."

If any soldiers die or run away before the end of the half-year's musters, and others enter in their places, the captain is chequed for so many suits, "and so the soldiers entertained must starve for want of apparel, except the captain bear the loss of it." These are accounted husbandry and gains for her Majesty!

The soldiers are compelled to carry muskets, which are very heavy. They should have calivers of a musket length, which will shoot further than muskets; "for muskets were first devised to encounter the heavy armed, and for defence of towns and fortresses, and not to answer so light services as these; besides the charge of powder and lead, the weight of which, together with the musket, doth clog and weary the bearer."

Why is the Irish rebel so strong, so well armed, apparelled, victualled, and moneyed? He endures no wants; he makes booty upon all parts of the kingdom, and sells it back for

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money. In this way the same cow has been taken and sold back again four times in half a year, by which they (the rebels) have all the money of the kingdom.

There is no soldier with a good sword but some Gray merchant or townsman will buy it from him. The soldier, being poor, sells it for 10s. or 12s., and if excellent good it is worth commonly among the rebels 3*l*. or 4*l*. A graven murreon, bought of a poor soldier for a noble or 10s., is worth among the rebels 3*l*. The soldiers likewise, through necessity and penury, sell their powder at 12*d*. a pound, and the Gray merchants or townsmen collect it and sell it again to the traitors at 3s.

It is not the sword only, but famine, that will make them fall, as in the Desmondes' wars and those of Connaught. It may be said the good shall perish with the bad. I hold there are very few but have deserved, both at God's hands and her Majesty's, such a reward. The enemy spares neither friend nor foe, and as long as there is any plough going, or breeding of cattle, he will be able to make wars, except against walled towns or fortresses. The army pays for what it takes; the enemy does not.

It is reported that her Majesty will receive them to grace by a pacification, — a dangerous example, considering the uncivil disposition of the nation.

Youghall, 2 January 1599. *Signature torn off.*

P.S. in Dowdall's hand:—"Sent by Mr. Henry Palmer."

Pp. 5. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.

Jan. 13. 341. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the COMMISSIONERS for MUNSTER.
Vol. 604, p. 222.

Take order that the 500 men now sent from hence be received into the town of Cork, and dieted there until the treasure shall arrive. The townsmen shall be satisfied for their diet. They are intended to fill up the bands that are weakest and most employed against the enemy. Captain Phillips conducts them. Apparel to be provided for them.

Richmond, 13 January 1599.

Signed: Tho. Egerton, C. S., T. Buckhurst, Notingham, G. Hunsdon, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortiscue.

Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.

Jan. 15. 342. The PRIVY COUNCIL to THOMAS WATTSON and the PAY-MASTER for CORK.
Vol. 604, p. 272.

"Forasmuch as her Majesty hath thought good to send her President of Mounster (Carew) to Dublin with the Lord Deputy (Mountjoy), and from thence to make his repair to that province, she hath commanded us in her name to take order, that of these 5,000*l*. which you carry into Mounster you do forbear for any occasion to issue any more than 3,000*l*. until his arrival. . . . And seeing her Majesty hath also sent a

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late proportion of victual, to move the Commissioners to see it well and orderly issued to the soldier."

Richmond, 15 January 1599.

Signed: T. Buckhurst, Ro. Cecill, Jo. Fortescue.

Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.

[Jan.]

343. INSTRUCTIONS for LORD MOUNTJOY, Lord Deputy.*

Vol 632, p. 194.

We commit to you the government of Ireland, wherein we have received dishonour and consumed infinite masses of treasure through the errors of those to whom we formerly committed it.

We have resolved to maintain an army of 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse, and appointed money to be sent thither to defray the expenses of other officers and servitors. You are not to exceed these numbers, except for prevention of some notorious peril to the kingdom. Abridge superfluous charges.

Deliver our letters to the Justices (Loftus and Carey), receive the sword, and take your oath. Then assemble the Council, and inform yourself of the state of our forces, of the strength of the rebels, and what persons are wavering from us. Of these last you are to take pledges.

"We do recommend unto your special care to preserve the true exercise of religion amongst our loving subjects; and though the time doth not permit that you should now intermeddle by any severity or violence in matter[s] of religion until we have better established our power there to countenance your actions in that kind, yet we require you that both in your own house and in your armies you foresee that no neglect be used in that behalf."

Assist our officers of justice in the several courts.

Although that kingdom is so distressed that most of our revenues are lost and wasted, yet because time may daily revive former losses, and the distribution of our forces will enable the tenants to make profit of their lands, we have given you authority with others to proceed therein for the benefit of our service.

We are deceived and our kingdom endangered "in the matters of musters," which we impute chiefly to the bad choice of captains, of whom divers are so needy and ill-disposed that they seek to deceive or corrupt the commissaries of musters; and they are rather suffered to take pride in their practice than punished for example.

As it is a common abuse of captains to entertain Irish, that they may suddenly fill up their companies on muster days, see that abuse reformed by avoiding as much as possible the entertainment of Irish, who may run away armed to the

* Appointed 21 January 1600. (See Morrin's Calendar of Irish Patent Rolls, II. 564.)

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rebels, or upon days of service "turn their swords into their fellows' bosoms."

For the employment of our forces upon the rebels, "there is no course to be taken but by plantation of garrisons in the heart of the countries of the capital rebels. . . . You perceive that we do sort our garrisons both for numbers and places, to make a mixed war."

You are not to distribute our forces into unnecessary and petty wards. For favour to private men, "their houses and castles have been made wards in our pay to no use but for their commodity;" insomuch as during the time of our late Lieutenant (Essex) a proportion of 5,000*l.* for concordatums for extraordinary charges was quickly expended, for in addition to our royal army our governor raised other forces by virtue of concordatums. The sum allotted for "extraordinaries" is to be expended in necessary disbursements. Upon any just occasions we will increase your allowance.

We have given order for great provision of victuals. Consider what garrisons must be victualled, and what can provide themselves victuals if they have their "lendings." As complaints have been made of the bad provision of victuals and apparel, take order that both be examined there, in order that we may be certified with whom the fault lies, "for things have hitherto been so carried and shuffled by posting errors one from another, as the uncertainty of the offender hath excused the offence." Although the merchants are greedy of gain, the captains and commissary are judges of what they receive, and if their mouths be not stopped by corruption, upon their complaints to you the offender must receive correction. Select two or three councillors of discretion to hear complaints in this matter. The victual to be taken in all places by the soldier from the victualler, and the soldier to take half victual and half "lendings." The Treasurer (Sir George Carey) to account for the great sums allowed this year for building storehouses.

We have also made large allowances of powder, artillery, materials for fortifications, and such like. "For this matter . . . depute some of the Council (besides the Master of the Ordnance), because it seemeth that the Earl of Essex, who carried over all those things, did not make him his assignee for the receipt, but committed it to other new officers." There was also great store of arms, besides numbers of swords, for which defalcation ought to have been made. These things to be examined by commissioners and the auditors whom we send over.

With regard to the order concerning defalcation of powder spent by the soldier, though it is reasonable the soldier be found his powder in day of service, "yet in other times and places there is no reason but the same should be defalkable," saving an allowance for his training.

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"You shall also take order that there be an indenture exactly kept between the captain and the Treasurer of what numbers of arms and what quality are delivered to the soldier, whereby he shall covenant to send certificates of the true state of the arms, the same to be testified by the clerk of the band; for although the soldier pay for his arms, yet may he neither sell nor give them, because thereby the public service may be prejudiced."

Give strict order in all ports of Ireland that no owners of barques shall ship any persons with[out] the privity of the officers of the ports, who are not to suffer any soldier to pass without licence of the captain. No captain to give licence, where there are more companies than one, without the knowledge of the colonel or commander.

Because many of our people perish "for want of good keeping," provide hospitals with all furnitures belonging to them, and appoint officers and orders for their government.

As "the captains and men of war are much encroached upon by unreasonable fees of clerks and others, even when they are to have warrants that are only for our service," depute "some councillors, such as have no interest in them, to examine those abuses, and to settle a mediocrity in that behalf."

We are informed of great decays in our horse companies. Last summer we levied 400 horse at a charge of 12,000*l.*, and now again 200 more at 6,000*l.*; and we have long paid 1,200 and 1,300 horse. We cannot suffer "this abuse, that our own horses should be returned hither, or otherwise made away, but that those that had them out of England, and have received so large pays for them, shall see them forthcoming." Discharge those who fail to supply them, and make stay of their entertainment for that purpose; and if those "that have raised their horse in Ireland" do not make them up, you shall transfer them to such others as will. Above all, give no small broken companies of horse, which are given for rewards, but never maintained, "howsoever they are showed against a day of muster." Reduce them all into bands.

The Earl of Essex was allowed 400 carriage horses—200 bought in England, and 200 allowed upon checks. Make inquiry of all these, that they may be employed for our service.

We have heretofore made grants of pensions to "old maimed soldiers and servitors;" but when these pensions fell our Deputies granted them to followers of their own. In times of politic and moderate governors, whenever our pensioners had employment, they were checked of their pensions.

As we have given pensions to McSwyne Ne Doe and one Fox, if any pensions fall, you are not to complete the number "until so much be diminished by their vacancy as these two last amount unto."

None to be suffered to sell powder or arms in any corporate town but known and well-affected persons, who are to "put in

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sureties to give a monthly account to the colonel in that town, or principal commander in that province." The principal governor to see what goes out of every port.

As the corporate towns and walled cities have received great benefit by the treasure that has come to their hands since the beginning of these wars, they should maintain some soldiers for their own defence, and, in case of extremity, to attend the principal governor of the province, notwithstanding their charters. As there is frequently a dearth of victuals, every householder should "be moved to make provision of corn for himself and his family for half a year at the least, and, if it may be, of butter and cheese likewise."

A survey to be made of the number and burdens of the shipping belonging to the ports of Ireland, "that we may make a judgment what is there to be had at any time" for our service.

"We do find daily many reckonings sent over, some in the name of towns, which are due to particular men that have bought bills and debts unwarrantable, but yet subscribed corruptly by the Treasurer's clerks; so it [is] likewise common with principal governors and commanders in forts to make up great demands with pretence that they have laid it out, or the soldiers have taken up beoves for our service, or such like; to whom when we have caused great sums to be paid, it falleth out afterwards that other poor men's reckonings are passed in their gross accounts, whose clamour we are cumbered withal." We have therefore appointed two of our auditors, Goston and Sutton, to attend you; and you are to cause proclamation to be made in the towns, warning all persons within two months to repair to Dublin, there to produce their bills, whereby a perfect reckoning may be made, wherein, if they fail, their bills shall be no more received.

As we have ordered that apparel and treasure for remote places shall be shipped to them directly from hence, the paymaster in each province is to be well instructed by the Treasurer.

We refer all other things of this nature to yourself and the Council.

To avoid bloodshed we have given large authority to our governors to receive even those that have most notoriously conspired against us; but this has been so indiscreetly used that in showing mercy we have punished our best subjects and dishonoured ourselves; for, whenever we might have distressed Tyrone, he, by general offers of submission, caused a suspension of his prosecution until the opportunity was lost, though his followers, over whom he usurped, were like to have left him when our arms approached. He won their love in seeming to care for them; and it was from him that "all these late foreign and dangerous practices were derived." Take heed that we be no more abused in that kind, but "use all means possible to cut him off as a reprobate to God; and leave him to

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the force of our sword." If he offer to submit, upon his first offers, except they carry with them great probability of good intention, "give him no other answer than as to an abject person to whom you condemn to lend an ear." But if his overtures continue, and you think a good opportunity may be lost in sending to us, then, if he simply submit himself, you may receive him. Keep secret this liberty, and notify to the world that you will only receive those who will leave him and make their submissions. So long as his adherents see that he is heard for them, they will stick unto him, and not make any offers underhand for themselves, though they joined him at first for fear of his oppression. Upon overture of any principal men whose coming in may be of consequence, receive them upon such conditions as by the advice of our Council you find convenient, provided that they come in personally, and give security for continuing good subjects "by such pledges as are likeliest to bind, and all other good means, and specially by making them draw blood one upon another, if you can." Make a great difference between the Northern rebels and those of Munster and Leinster.

In dealing with the Northern rebels, you are not to seek at first to strain them to any matter of profit, saving to answer some composition and rising out; and the Council is to acquaint you with the memorials sent to Norries when he dealt with the Northern traitors, "that you may tie them to as many of them as you shall think most convenient." But in Munster, and in other places where our English subjects are planted, you are not "to yield to any conditions that may displant them, or bind us to give away to traitors any matters of value." As persons who have been protected harbour the persons and goods of rebels, or desired protection only to gather in their harvest, be very sparing in granting protections; and when you give either pardon or protection, labour, besides their pledges, "to enjoin them to make some draughts each upon other."

Whereas in many towns, as Newry, Dundalk, Kells, and other seats for garrisons, allowance of entertainments are made to the commanders there, as governors of towns, and yet they are subordinate to some captain or colonel, you are not "to make any such allowance to any governor, but that those colonels whom we have allowed in the list, and have given entertainment in that kind, may be appointed governors in those places of trust, seeing we have allowed you the number of 12, in which both the Earl of Thomond and the Lord Dunkellyn are included; otherwise, that some old captains may take provisional charge of those places." Let us not be further charged, "unless it be to the Earl of Kildare and the Baron of Dunsany, who for some time may be helped, if they do continue in our service."

"In respect of the good service now lately of the Earl of Clanricard and his son, we are pleased to give to the Lord

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Dunkellyn the commandment of the forces" in Connaught, "until we shall settle some governor there of English blood, or find cause to change our mind." You shall therefore grant him a commission with this reservation, that they shall not remove the company at Galway for any service but with the consent of the mayor and captain, nor dispose of the garrison in Athlone but with the consent of the Chief Justice and Council. The entertainment of Lord Dunkellyn as a colonel would be sufficient "with other help he hath by his company of foot," yet he shall have 100*l.* yearly as of our favour. The Chief Justice and Colonel of Connaught are still to have sole authority in all civil causes; but, for his better reputation, the Lord Dunkellin "may, as a justice of peace, come to any place of sessions or such like meetings to join with them." As there have been heretofore allowances for a President and Council, the Chief Justice is to have 40*l.* more allowed him, and the Clerk of the Council 20*l.* besides his fee.

"Sir Samuel Bagnall had 20*s.* by the day, under the pretence he was to be Governor of Lough Foile;" but as we have appointed Henry Dockwraye, knight, to command there as colonel, that entertainment is to cease.

Our cousin, the Earl of Thomond, residing in Clare, is to have the command of such forces as shall come into his country, and to be continued in the entertainment of a colonel. In no case shall the Lord Dunkellin appear to have commandment over him, but they are both to co-operate in our service.

The quieting of that kingdom must principally be effected by the good management of our army, but mercy may be showed upon the conditions aforesaid. And because "we have lost the best part of our possessions by the rebellion in Munster, where there are plenty of good cities and towns which are likeliest to be shot at by the common enemy," you shall give all furtherance for the reducing of that province, and "see the President* to his charge as soon as you can dispatch him."

You are not to bestow knighthood upon any person without asking our permission. The excess which other governors have used has made that degree so common as to be contemptible, and created jealousies here. When you recommend any person we shall not deny you authority to confer the honour on him, except we know some notorious cause to the contrary, "provided always that you make none that are not of years, because our right in the wardship of their bodies is often called in question thereby."

We have written to our cousin of Ormond, taking notice of his good services. "In respect that he hath been much toiled now in his latter years, . . . we have left unto him the

* Sir George Carew was appointed President of Munster 27 January 1600. (See Morrin's Calendar of Irish Patent Rolls, II. 539.)

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choice whether he will retain the place of Lieutenant under you or no." He is a nobleman so well deserving of us, "as we would have himself and all the world know, that we make extraordinary estimation of him."

Dated by Carew, "1599."

Copy. Pp. 30.

Jan. 30. 344. The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, Lord Admiral, to SIR
Vol. 615, p. 12. GEORGE CAREW, Lieutenant of the Ordnance.

As I understand you take with you to Munster some of the gunners of the Tower, whereby some places will be void, I pray you to sign a patent for this bearer for a scholar's place in the artillery yard, that the same may the easier pass her Majesty's hand.

From my house at Chelsey, 30 January 1599. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Feb. 13. 345. TYRONE and DESMOND to the LORD BARRY.
Vol. 615, p. 2.

"We have, for the maintenance of the Catholic religion to be planted in this realm, as also for the expelling of our enemies from their continual treachery and oppression used towards this poor country, undertaken a journey to visit these places which as yet have not joined into that godly enterprise. And for that your Lordship, by sinister persuasions, is altogether seduced to hold with the Queen of England, and to serve against us and the Church, we thought fit to write unto your Lordship, and to entreat you withal to add your helping hand in the accomplishing of our said enterprise, and to meet us at Glanmoyre on Thursday next, or so soon as you may, with a good pledge for performance. Otherwise we will fytt that course which shall be little to your liking and your country. And also urge not, we pray, the ruin of your followers, which we would be loghe (loath) to work."

Tipperary, 13 February 1599.

Signed: O'Neylle, Ja. Desmond.

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 13. 346. DERMOD, BISHOP of CORK, and OWEN HOGAN, VICAR
Vol. 615, p. 2. APOSTOLIC, to VISCOUNT BARRY.

"We have received an excommunication from the Pope against all those that doth not join in this Catholic action. The same was first published in Ulster and in the North, and upon receipt thereof by us we have accordingly published the same. This much we thought good to certify unto you beforehand, and do wish you therefore to consider of the same like a good Christian, Catholic, and obedient child of the Church, as hitherto you were; otherwise it will redound both to your

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soul's destruction and your country's ruin, of which we would be sorry."

13 February 1599, from the Catholic camp, in haste.

"Consider not the secretary's his imperfection."

Signed: Der. Cor. Episcopus, Eugenius Hoganius, Vicar. Apostolicus.

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 13. 347. TYRONE and DESMOND to CORMOCK McDERMOD.
Vol. 615, p. 2a.

Similar to the letter to Lord Barry.

Arlo, 13 February 1599. *Signed.*

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 21. 348. TYRONE and DESMOND to the LORD ROCHE.
Vol. 615, p. 2a.

"Be it known unto you that the Lord Bishop, the clergy, the Earl of Desmond, and we are come near you hither, and that we are all of one resolution and mind, to entreat you to take our part in the behalf of God, and for our conscience and country's sake, and to appear presently before us to yield sufficient security (as you ought) henceforward to be at our counsel and direction. And we will likewise secure you to spend with you henceforward as becometh. And if you do not so, then, in respect we intend to erect the Catholic religion and further the general good of the realm of Ireland, with God's help, we and all our partakers will labour against you if you adhere not unto us.

"At Glananeire this certain day. And to perform our wills from Muskericureke, this 21st of February 1600."

Signed: O'Neyle; Ja. Desmond.

Addressed: Deliver me to my Lord Roche with honour.

Copy. P. 1.

Feb. 23. 349. TYRONE and DESMOND to EDMOND and THOMAS FITZJOHN.
Vol. 615, p. 4.

"Commendations from O'Neyle unto John FitzEdmond and his sons. O'Neyle desireth you to come unto himself, and to fight for your conscience and the right. And if you do not so, be well assured by the will of God that O'Neyle and all that taketh his part will come and sojourn with you for a time."

From the Abbey of Ballynegalle, 23 February 1600.

Signed: Ja. Desmond; O'Neyle.

Addressed: To Edmond FitzJohn and Thomas FitzJohn.

Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.

Feb. 26. 350. The COMMISSIONERS and COUNCIL of MUNSTER to the LORDS JUSTICES (LOFTUS and CAREY).
Vol. 615, p. 1.

We despatched some letters by sea in January, which had not come to your hands the 9th inst. They were driven

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into Waterford. Since then there have arrived money and victuals, without which our garrisons would have been in exceeding distress. There arrived 5,000*l.* with command to reserve 2,000*l.* till the arrival of the President (Carew). We could not do so, because 4,000*l.* was owing, and we have two garrisons that cannot be victualled but by money, Killmallock and Malloe. All our soldiers are naked, not having received one rag of clothes for this winter, and some not for summer.

Tyrone has been in this province 12 or 13 days. He lay three or four days in the Lord Roche's country, who, it seems, has agreed with him, for he (Tyrone) did little or no hurt to him, except to two or three gentlemen of that country, Roche's enemies. The Lord Roche sent presents of wine and aquavite to the traitors, and had James FitzThomas (the pretended Earl of Desmond) in the house with him.

Cormock McDermody, Lord of Muskerry, came into this town and stayed here, but his brother and all his country repaired to the traitors, and have given them pledges. And, what is most suspicious, his brother's pledge, which was delivered to Cormock's keeping, and was in his house of the Blarney, was delivered out and given to the traitors; for which we think good to make stay of Cormock. His rival, young Charles, is likewise here with us, and expects to be employed in that country. He has likewise stayed in this town with his wife, and has delivered us a notable traitor, with protestation of great loyalty. "If he will, he may be a better instrument than the other, and so consequently a worse."

After the traitors had agreed with Muskerry, they suddenly and unlooked for returned upon my Lord Barry and Mr. John FitzEdmonds, and have utterly spoiled them. They have entered the islands all, and not left a house unburnt, saving such as were under defence of a castle, to which we had sent 100 soldiers. My Lord thought he could have defended his great island by that means, but they found another entrance. Upon the first coming of the traitors he came hither, and left both his sons in this town. Every man of account within this province—at least in the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry—is "either joined with them or patcheth with them," except these two, who deserve to be cherished.

Some say the traitor will return home, some say to Kerry, and some to the west, to O'Driskoll's country, which is not likely. We send you copies of the traitor's letters to the several lords of the province, and of one to me, Sir Warham Sentleger;* "for I sent a man thither to bring me a true report of his forces, and what men were with him; by whom he returned me that letter."

"We must still be suitors for direction to the paymaster for those extraordinaries that we have been enforced to disburse

* See 13, 21, 23, and 28 February.

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for the transporting of the soldiers and other important occasions; without which we must make bold to help ourselves."

Cork, 26 February 1599.

Signed: War. St. Leger; H. Power; William [Lyon, Bishop of] Cork and Rosse; G. Thornton.

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Feb. 28.
Vol. 615, p. 3.

351. TYRONE to SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER.

Upon the coming hither of this bearer, Henry Geye, I thought good to let you understand that inasmuch as upon sundry meetings with you and others, touching conclusion of peace, I could not answer for the Earl of Desmond and others of Munster, I have taken the pains to visit them to know their resolution, "the which I will reserve to be used according as occasion shall be offered."

This last of February 1600.

Signed: O'Neill.

I pray you commend me to your bedfellow.

Copy. P. 1.

Feb.
Vol. 615, p. 498.

352. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW, President of Munster.

The commissaries of musters are to be increased to 20 in number, who are to have allowance only of 3s. 4d. *per diem*. Direction is given to the Lord Deputy for their employment. Besides Jones, who is there already, Hugh Cuffe, Joshua Aylmer, and Philip Norcotte are appointed for that province.

Richmond, — February 1599.

Signed: Jo. Cant.; Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; Nottingham; G. Hunsdon; Ro. North; W. Knollys; Ro. Cecyll; J. Fortescu.

P. 1. Endorsed: Received 25^o April 1600.

Vol. 604, p. 224.

2. Copy.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 17.

3. Another copy.

[Feb.]
Vol. 632, p. 208a.

353. "ORDINANCES to be OBSERVED during the WARS in IRELAND, 1600."*

(1.) No merchant or other person to sell powder, armour, or munition, but all furniture of war to come out of the Queen's store only.

(2.) No protection to be granted, but rather a pardon.

(3.) The horsemen to be better disciplined and armed.

(4.) A third of the horse to be "shot" on horseback. "The mean horses will be as serviceable as the greatest that way."

* "By the Lord Deputy (Blunt, Lord Montjoy)" is added by Carew.

1600.

(5.) No gentleman or freeholder of Ireland to be entertained in any band of horse, because, being appointed to garrisons, they go to their own houses, and cannot be speedily assembled.

(6.) "That the lendings be duly paid according to the ordinance and allowance of powder given to the soldier, because the raw soldier cannot else be trained, and the old soldier will unwillingly spend his powder, though in time of most need."

(7.) No Irishman to serve in any company, except those of the Pale, because of the general revolt.

(8.) No nobleman of Ireland to have charge of horse or foot in the Queen's pay, because they seldom do service, but oppress and impoverish their neighbours, better subjects commonly than themselves. Yet may her Majesty reward them with yearly pensions.

(9.) That all who have castles on the borders be compelled to dwell upon them, because the letting of them to husbandmen and farmers, who maintain neither horse nor foot, gives free passage to the enemy.

(10.) "That there be not above 12 muskets in a company, because the soldier, being weak and ill fed, will not be able to carry them in his long and continual marches."

(11.) "That every soldier be enforced to wear a murrion, because the enemy is encouraged by the advantage of arms to come to the sword, where commonly he prevaileth."

(12.) That four guest houses or hospitals be erected for sick and hurt soldiers, who, being recovered, will be better than three times so many newly levied; and besides that course will prevent the immeasurable consumption of subjects, which otherwise will be so great as all England will hardly be able to supply.

(13.) A general prosecution to begin in March, and strong garrisons to be placed near the enemy, which "will eat out the rebel within 12 months if the captains be men of worth and diligent."

"I humbly present to your Majesty's consideration these few ordinances, to be kept during the wars of Ireland. They proceed from my own observation."

Copy. Pp. 3.

March 5. 354.
Vol. 615, p. 10.

The COUNCIL in MUNSTER to the LORDS JUSTICES (LOFTUS and CAREW).

Tyrone removed on Tuesday last out of the Lord Barry's country, and encamped with all his forces near the Blarney. On Saturday next after he sent out 100 horse and 200 foot to burn the country of Kierichurhie. Sir Warham St. Leger and Sir Henry Powre, with some horsemen, "did reese forth," to meet any stragglers. They descried a cornet of horse, and, "knowing the same to be MacGowire," charged upon them.

1600.

Sir Warham encountered Magowire and shot two bullets into his breast; "he with his staff strake Sir Warham into the brain." They both died of their wounds. Twenty of the rebels' horsemen were slain, and many hurt and unhorsed. None of ours was hurt or unhorsed saving Sir Warham.

Tyrone is now near Kinsale, and threatened to win the town, but the garrison there is 250 foot, besides the townsmen. Florence McCarty has been with him these six days; has "waived the benefit of her Majesty's patent for Desmond, surrendered his right therein to Tyrone, took the same back by Irish tenure, sware to deliver his eldest son unto him as pledge, and to join with him in this rebellion to the end."

Cormock McDermody, Lord of Mouskry, is here, but all his country are revolted, and his brother and the rest gave pledges to Tyrone to hold of his side. Young Charles is here, and all his tenants are spoiled.

It is expected that all the rest of the McCarties of Munster and their followers are to deliver pledges to Florence, as McCarty More, chief of the Irishry, and his pledge as chief to remain for them with Tyrone. All the McCarties' lands are preserved from spoil saving young Charles's and his brothers'; but the rest of the subjects' countries are destroyed.

Last night the winter clothes arrived.

Cork, 5 March 1599.

Signed: W. Saxey, G. Thornton.

P.S.—May it please your Honours to bestow upon me the place and allowance that Sir Warham had until the Lord President come.—G. Thornton.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

March 5. 355. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW, Lord President of Munster.

Vol. 604, p. 7.

This bearer, Mr. Cambell, Dean of Limerick, came hither with recommendation from that State, to represent to her Majesty the misery to which he is reduced by the rebellion in Munster. Her Majesty has given order for an allowance to be made him by the Lord Deputy, such as others of his profession have, until he be restored to his living. She also commands me to recommend him to you.

From the Court at Richmond, 5 March 1599. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

March 7. 356. "EXTRACT of a LETTER out of MUNSTER."

Vol. 604, p. 228.

"These fourteen days my Lord of Ormond hath been drawing forces to the borders of Cashell and Clonmell, and on Monday last, the 3rd of March, his Lordship came in person to Cashell, accompanied upon the towns of that frontier with 3,000 English foot and 300 horse—foot of all sorts, 5,000, and 300 horse.

1600.

"The traitor Tyrone removing himself from the borders of this town to the westwards of Cork, there was presently sent out of this garrison 150 shot and 50 armed pikes complete by poll, of 300 resident here. So your Ho[nours] may note that assistance goes to him from all parts where the passage is clear either by day or by night.

"This traitor with his confederates must pass back the same way he came, by reason of two rivers—the one the Shannon by Kyllalow upon the said river, and the other Gouldinge bridge upon the river of Shoewer; which two places are distant 16 miles. To the north-westwards is the strong country of Kilguige. Joining to that is McBrinarie's country and McBrinagownagh's country. Joining to Gouldinge is O'Dyre's country.

"All these countries are sunken with bogs and woods, [and] the passages are very strait passes and fords up to [the] saddle skirts in sundry places within a mile, which is very h[ard] and difficult for an army to pass. I do hear surely that my Lord of Ormond hath plished and trenched all those passages, and strengthened them with men; upon which advantage he purposeth to fight with these rebels. If he do, by the assistance of God (who putteth them into his hands), he shall make them repent that ever they came into these parts.

"The traitors are in number 7,000 foot and 500 horse, good and bad. They are greatly dismayed by some sickness amongst them, the death of Macgwyre, and a bruit amongst them that O'Donnell is slain in Connaught. So they curse Tyrone that ever they came out of their country.

"This present day, being the 7th of this month, the traitor's army passed the river of Youghall, called Blackewater, at the fords of Formoy and Hildes (?) Castle into Cundons' country, and so into Edmund McGibbonye's country, called the White Knight; which way leads to Typerarie and the Holy Crosse, where my Lord of Ormond now lieth. If they make no stay, within these four days there is no doubt these two armies will meet, to the advancement of God's glory and her Majesty's honour; for the time and place of their retreat offers no other but their overthrows; doubting nothing but the commanders of this province will draw a head of all the forces out of the garrisons (which will be, with their assured assistances, 2,000 foot and 200 horse,) to follow them upon the rear.

"This incursion of the Northern traitors hath done the Queen more service than hurt. The reason is, that they have wasted and spoiled such as her Majesty's forces could not do with honour, for that they were not in open action; yet did the enemy daily command their goods and cattle for victualling.

"If it shall please your Ho[nours] to give instructions to the Deputy and commanders here, as the traitors have wasted here by fire and sword all such as were under her Majesty's

1600.

obedience, so likewise that without favour or respect the like waste be made by her Majesty's forces upon all traitors and temporising subjects, and all the goods of such subjects as cannot defend themselves under the strength of towns and castles; and wheresover an enemy shall be taken to eat meat by violence upon a subject, that subject shall presently remove or be wasted by the forces;—this being truly executed, a famine must needs ensue, as is well known by former examples. Then the rebellious rout must of force starve in a short time, and her Majesty's forces strengthened in their several garrisons by victual out of England. So those garrisons [will] consume the whole kingdom in a very short time, except such as are under their protections and sure defence; taking none of them to mercy or protection, for the more they are in number, the sooner they will starve.

"To make this war short is not only to raise great forces, but to force famine by all means possible, which is easy to be done as aforesaid. And when they begin to quail in all parts, then may the garrisons be brought to a head, to make incursions into the North by land and sea in time of harvest; and the more the enemy is forced to keep together in great numbers, they shall be the cause of their own ruins and waste. When the plough and breeding of cattle shall cease, then will the rebellion end."

Copy. Pp. 3. Endorsed: 1599, March 7. Extract of a letter out of Munster.

March 7. 357. By the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 600, p. 27.

"A Proclamation to be published in the Province of Munster."

Whereas the Queen has of late been greatly importuned on behalf of towns corporate, baronies, and divers persons, demanding sundry sums of money for beoves, diet of soldiers, and money delivered for her service, she has appointed Commissioners (to her no small charge) to repair into this realm, to be joined with some of the Privy Council here for three months, from the 1st of April next. They are to examine what sums are due as aforesaid from the first day of Sir William Russell's government, whether any bills and tickets for debts of that nature now demanded, or any already delivered to the late Treasurer (Wallop) or his men, have been satisfied, and whether any have been bought, by whom, and for what sums. By letters from the Lords of the Council dated 21st February her Majesty requires us to give the country warning.

We therefore charge all subjects within that province (Munster) that have any money due to them, to bring their tickets and bills before the Commissioners. You, the Lord

s.

A A

1600.

President of Munster (Carew), are to cause this proclamation to be published.

Dublin, 7 March 1599.

Signed at the top: Mountjoy; *at the end:* Ad. Dublin., Tho. Midensis, Robt. Gardener, G. Bouchier, Anthony Sentleger, Henry Harrington, Geff. Fenton.

"God save the Queen."

Copy. Pp. 2.

March 9. 358. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the COMMISSIONERS for MUNSTER.

Vol. 604, p. 230.

For the good service performed upon McGuyre and divers of his followers her Majesty commands us to give you her thanks; "it being a great contentment to us to see this change from receiving news of losses and disasters on her Majesty's side, that one of the first traitors hath received that end, which we doubt not shall befall the rest of those monstrous rebels. Of the Earl of Ormond we have heard little, but that he attends about Cashell to meet the traitor, whereof we daily hope to hear good news."

"Her Majesty, having been moved of you, Sir Henry Power (of whom she is now to dispose upon the arrival of her President), . . . hath written to the Lord Deputy to reserve that command for you which Sir Warham St. Leger had in Leix, with the fee belonging to it."

"It seemeth very strange unto us, considering the complaint we hear that the victuals is spent, how the 5,000*l.* should be also issued, considering the moneys defaultable for victual and checks." Let us know what victuals may be provided there, "seeing so many losses and dangers depend upon transportations;" also what munition you have.

Richmond, 9 March 1599. *Signed.*

Copy. P. 1.

March 9. 359. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 133.

William Parcell, of Waterford, complains that William Wallinge, Paul Sherlocke, and others have by force dispossessed him of certain lands, and refused to appear before commissioners appointed by the Lord Chancellor there. Summon them before you, and see justice done.

Richmond, 9 March 1599.

Signed: Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C. S., T. Buchurst, G. Hunsdon, Ro. North, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 17.

2. Copy.

1600.

March 10. 360. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY and the COUNCIL to SIR
Vol. 615, p. 8. GEORGE CAREW.

As you are appointed to repair to Munster, to take charge of the government there, we require you to make search for such utensils as belong to that place, and to receive them by indenture from those who now keep possession thereof.

Dublin, 10 March 1599.

Signed : Mountioye, Ad. Dublin., C., Tho. Midensis, Ro. Gardner, Anth. Sentleger, G. Bowrchier, Geff. Fenton, Henry Haringtone.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 1.

2. Copy.

March 16. 361. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (MOUNTJOY).

Vol. 604, p. 226.

"We do well allow of your beginnings, and see so much of your care as we can be content (seeing the circumstances are changed since your arrival) to change our counsels and directions in some things. We do see you feelingly behold our great dishonour toward, if this traitor pass home to his den unfought with; and we do also see how resolute you are to give all furtherance to the plantation of Loughfoyle."

"The question therefore principally is, whether, by forbearing the present planting of Balyshanon (which may hereafter be effected), the services to be done upon Tyrone in his retreat may be performed." We leave this to your discretion. "And for the sending away all munitions presently to Knockfergus, as you write, and taking 500 old soldiers from thence (to proceed on to Loughfoyle), we do very well allow it."

We are glad you are pleased with the assistance of our President of Munster (Carew). "We did ever hold him fit for our service, and found he loved you; and do interpret your good usage and estimation of him as a confirmation of that honest and good disposition which we ever noted in you."

Richmond, 16 March 1599.

Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.

March 24. 362. LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 6.

Requiring him to give order for making a new mace for the sergeant-at-arms in Munster at her Majesty's charge.

Dublin, 24 March 1599.

P.S.—The sergeant to be bound by sureties that the mace be always forthcoming.

Signed as above, with the addition of "R. Wingfelde, F. Stafforde."

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 1.

2. Copy.

1600.

March 26. 363.

PETITION OF ANDREW BARRETT to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 615, p. 143.

In right of his wife Katharine Barrett he is lawful inheritor of the castle of Ballincolly and a small cantred of land, called Barretts' country in Munster; yet, "by sinister practices and supportation of many backfriends," one Edmond Barret, deceased, and his son William Barret, now a notorious traitor, were long maintained in suit against him for the premises without any colour of title, and he was forcibly dispossessed by them and one Robert Coppinger, who took the same in mortgage of them for two years, before this last rebellion. At the beginning of it William Barret burned the castle and 60 houses, and corn to the value of 200*l.*, murdered certain soldiers, and entered into rebellion. He has since spoiled your suppliant and his tenants of all their goods and cattle. On the withdrawal of the garrison placed in the castle your suppliant re-entered it, and has repaired, warded, and defended it these 12 months to his great charge. He therefore prays—

(1.) For that William Barret is strengthened by usurping a name of chieftainry or captainry, contrary to the statute, that your Lordships will grant your suppliant such name and authority as his wife's father and grandfather had.

(2.) That he may have her Majesty's pay for 16 footmen.

(3.) That you will recommend him to the Lord President.

P. 1. Endorsed.

March 28. 364.

The PRIVY COUNCIL to the COMMISSIONERS for MUNSTER.

Vol. 604, p. 238.

"Although we find it strange . . . that the sum of 5,000*l.* was issued with that speed and for by-reckonings, when it was only apportioned to pay the lendings of the army, yet have we sent over again 9,000*l.* to serve (by estimation) for three months." If it arrive before the Lord President, you are to issue it only for lendings; and no part is to be paid for any lendings claimed before the Earl of Essex's arrival in March last. As Mr. Treasurer (Carey) has received so great sums in full pay of the lendings ever since, we wonder to hear that Munster was so far behindhand.

We think it strange "that the Queen hath so poor checks raised in that province, where you certify that it is so hard to draw any strong head of an army. Surely, if the Queen have had 3,000 foot and 350 horse in Munster, as well as she hath paid so many, . . . the rebels should not have been all this while so absolute commanders, even before Tyrone came into that province."

We have given order for victual to be sent, half to Cork and half to Limerick, for 300 (*sic*) foot and 250 horse for three months.

Richmond, 28 March 1600. *Signed.*

Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.

1600.

March 28. **365.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW, President of Munster.

Vol. 615, p. 139.

We have returned to you the commissary for victuals. Neither Munster nor the North are to be provided from Dublin but directly from hence. To this the Deputy agreed before his departure. We have directed victuals to be sent to Cork and Limerick, to serve 3,000 foot and 250 horse for three months, and will send munition. We have sent 9,000*l.* for the army's lendings. The paymaster is to pay no old debts, but employ that sum for the lendings due since the Earl of Essex was made Lieutenant. We have moved the Deputy to allow you 1,000*l.* for all extraordinaries for one year.

Above all things you must take care that her Majesty be not abused by false musters, for which we have sent you divers commissaries.

Instructions respecting the commissaries of victuals, and the "extraordinaries."

Richmond, 28 March 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 604, p. 236.

2. Copy.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 19.

3. Another copy.

March 28. **366.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 141.

We send you a petition of Andrew Barrett,* alleging that he is in possession as right heir of a castle called Ballincolly, and a country called the Barretts' country, wherein he is disturbed by William Barrett, a notorious traitor, who usurps the name of chieftain of that cantred. He desires to be appointed captain of that country, as his wife's father and grandfather were. We refer him to you.

Richmond, 28 March 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 19.

2. Copy.

367. BARRETS' COUNTRY, CO. CORK.

Vol. 635, p. 146a.

Explanation of the claims of Catharine Barret, daughter to James Keoghe Barrett, and William FitzEdward Barret ("now living in anno 1600") to Barrets' lands in co. Cork. It is stated that the late Earl of Desmond established the said James and subsequently his brother John as lords of that country.

The statements of the said William are "denied by Andrew Barret, his adversary."

II. Pedigree of the Barrets.

Pp. 2. In Carew's hand.

* See 26 March.

1600.

March 31. 368. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 145.

This gentleman, Charles Cartie, has been commended hither of late. Her Majesty has let him taste of her liberality. Afford him all lawful favour and countenance in his controversy with Cormocke McDermot, which you are to determine.

Richmond, the last of March 1600. *Signed and sealed.*

P. 1. *Addressed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 20.

2. Copy.

March 31. 369. THOMAS DENHAM to SECRETARY CECIL.

Vol. 615, p. 173.

Sir Warham St. Leger's lady—he that was slain in a late conflict with McGwire—is now preparing herself for the Court, to be a suitor "for her husband's entertainment for his service in Munster, his two charges at Loughfoile, and the new fort in Lease, and for his several companies allowed him in his lifetime." The suit [is] most reasonable, "especially being the price of a gentleman's blood shed in the service of his sovereign." But "it is to be doubted lest, yielding to reward his service to her, you reward treachery in her who was greatly suspected thereof when in his lifetime." This lady, being in Cork in the time of her husband's government, wrote to an archtraitor, James of Desmond, without the governor's knowledge, addressing him thus,—“Right honorable, her loving cousin, and Earl of Desmond.” I am a stranger to her, never wronged privately, whereby I might incur any suspicion of revenge or malice; but no stranger to my country, the weal whereof was my welfare, and the destruction my ruin.

Cork, the last of March 1600.

Copy. Pp. 2. *Endorsed.*

March. 370. LOUGH FOYLE.

Vol. 632, p. 189.

Instructions by the Lord Deputy and Council to Sir Henry Dockwraye, appointed chief commander and governor of the forces assigned for Loughfoile and the parts mentioned in her Majesty's letters patent, dated — March 1599, 42 Eliz.

“Considering the principal foundation of all good government resteth in the due service of Almighty God, . . . you shall before all other things provide that your preacher appointed to you for that purpose may be diligent in his charge to instruct and teach all those that are under your rule in the true understanding of God's holy word, and to beat down amongst them all vice, as swearing, adultery, fornication, unlawful playing at dice and cards, with all other impieties and blasphemies.”

Justice to be distributed sincerely and uprightly among those under your charge, as well English as Irish.

1600.

Be careful to have all the companies complete in men, arms, and furnitures, and see that frequent and exact musters be taken by the commissary, in order that the fraud heretofore used may be reformed.

You are to build an hospital for sick and hurt soldiers, for which her Majesty has sent provisions and necessaries out of England.

As by your letters patent you have authority to prosecute with fire and sword all rebels and malefactors within the limit of your commission, which will require great foresight and counsel, you are, upon any great occasion, to call so many of the best experienced captains and officers as you think meet to confer with you, as a council of war.

You are to give directions to certain ships called "crompsters," which with other barks and barges have been assigned for that service.

John Travers has been appointed commissary for the victuals. Touching the rates at which they are to be issued, and the issuing of victuals to such of the Irish as you may have to engage, he brings the copy of an act of Council made here.

The powder, munitions, and arms to be laid up in stowage under the charge of such ministers as the Master of the Ordnance has appointed, and to be issued for training the companies, or for their actual employment against the enemy. Defalcations to be made according to the rates set down by the Master of the Ordnance. No powder or munition to be "embezzled or underhand sold, whereby it may come to the use of the traitor."

As it is intended to plant a garrison at Ballishannan, Asheroe, or Donegal, of which I, the Lord Deputy, have appointed Sir Matthew Morgan commander, frequent intelligence is to pass between you and him.

Some of the Irish within your jurisdiction "may make means to you to be received in, both upon pretence to do service and upon conditions." Before taking them in, inquire into their qualities and means to do service, and take good pledges of them. Draw in as many as you can; "in which course you are to use faithful instruments, and, if need be, to send them amongst the Irish to labour and work them, if of themselves they shall not make offer." Make the conditions as honorable to her Majesty as you can.

For that some of the Scottish galleys trading with those parts bring victuals and other necessaries to the rebels, give order to your "crompstres," barks, and barges to do their best to stop those Scottish galleys and boats, making booty of them, if you find them trading with or bringing relief to the rebels; but favour and countenance those that trade with the subject. You are to do nothing to the breach of the league between her Majesty and the King of Scotland; and

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you may treat with and protect such of that nation as you think good.

As Sir Matthew Morgan has jurisdiction over Fermanaugh or Magwire's country, and there may be occasion for you to deal therein, signify to him your proceedings in that country.

Castle of Dublin, — March 1599.

Copy. Pp. 10.

March. 371. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREWE.

Vol. 604, p. 9.

I recommend to you this young gentleman, Mr. Stafford, who has chosen that province (Munster) "for the affection he hath to be commanded by you." His friends, "being both of place and quality," will requite any favour shown to him.

"Your affectionate friend and ally, Ro. Cecyll."

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed.

Endorsed: Received in March 1600.

April 1. 372. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 113.

Although I am not willing to intermeddle in disposing of the garrisons of your province, I entreat that the Lord Audley's company may remain at Yoghall, as he desires "in regard of that commodity it affordeth of hearing out of England from those parts where he hath most to do."

Dublin, 1st April 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 2.

2. Copy.

April 5. 373. SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 213.

This gentleman, Mr. Charles Carty, in regard of former service having tasted of her Majesty's bounty, and being recommended to you by the Lords of the Council, I add my best testimony of him, though he is better known to yourself than to me.

From the Court at Richmond, 5 April 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

April 7. 374. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 149.

We have been importuned by divers corporations for licences to transport powder and munition for the defence of their towns; but we are informed that the enemy is ordinarily furnished with powder and other habiliments of war from the townsmen. Therefore, having of late given licence to the agent of the town of Limerick to transport a certain quantity of powder and munition to that town, we advertise you thereof. They are to make due account to you of the issue

1600.

of the same, and bonds have been taken of their agents (*sic*) to that effect.

Richmond, 7 April 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 21.

2. Copy.

April 7. **375.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 111.

As the treasure coming over for the soldiers' lendings is to be employed to no other use, make stay of all back reckonings of anything due before the 1st of March last, when I entered into my authority, until I receive further supply from England.

Dublin, 7 April 1600. *Signed.*

P.S.—I am commanded by the Privy Council to require you to look to the abuses of musters, and that the commissaries discharge their duties.

P. 1. *Sealed and addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 2.

2. Copy.

April 7. **376.** The SAME to the SAME.

Vol. 615, p. 110.

I have given warrant to the Master of the Ordnance to appoint a clerk at Cork to take charge of the munition and artillery there in the hands of Michael Hewes. Appoint two or three sufficient men to make an inventory thereof.

Dublin, 7 April 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 3.

2. Copy.

April 7. **377.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 108.

"I have granted an increase of 50 to Sir Gerard Harvy, for the raising of his company to 200, out of such companies as hereafter shall fall void in that your province."

Dublin, 7 April 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 3.

2. Copy.

April 8. **378.** The SAME to the SAME.

Vol. 615, p. 106.

I have granted a company of 100 foot to Captain George Kingsmell in your province.

Dublin, 8 April 1600. *Signed and sealed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 3.

2. Copy.

1600.

April 11. **379.** The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 100.

The enclosed petition was lately presented to us by the Lord Baron of Kahir. Hold such a course for his satisfaction as you think meet.

Dublin, 11 April 1600.

Signed: Mountioye, Ro. Gardener, Robt. Napper, Anth. Sentleger, Geff. Fenton.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 5.

2. Copy.

April 11. **380.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 102.

This gentleman desires to take advantage of the White Knight's absence to repair his castle. Give order to the next garrison to assist him.

Dublin, 11 April 1600. *Signed.*

P.S.—He craveth also an allowance of some few men in his castle in ward, with a strange condition, that in lieu of such warders as shall be allowed him in pay, he will of his own charges maintain elsewhere in the province as many more to serve her Majesty. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: In the behalf of Ed. Fitz Harrys, &c.

April 11. **381.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 104.

Sir Anthony Cooke desires me to write to you by him. I will despatch your captains from hence. "We still hear news of some good beginnings, amongst the which Con Mack Coll's head hath brought some with it to Divinga." Florence Mack Cartye desires to come to me, but I have referred him to you. Sir Anthony Cooke desires leave to come into these parts, but I should be sorry to deprive you of his services and of his company and conversation, "being as you are a courtier of the better sort."

11 April 1600.

Holograph. P. 1. Sealed and addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 4.

2. Copy.

April 12. **382.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 98.

I will send Sir George Bowser to comfort my Lady (Ormond), of whose misfortune I am grieved to hear. I hope he will be at Kilkenny by Monday night. I think you should stay at Kilkenny and have special care of my Lady and her daughter, who may be otherwise in some danger. Sir Christopher St. Lawrence shall come down with his company of horse and foot. If you can spare him a company of 100 for a time, that country may be assured, and myself not diverted

1600.

from my purposes. The chiefest assistance in the course to be taken in those parts must proceed from you "that was present to the accident." God be thanked for your happy escape. I hope we may repair this loss.

12 April 1600.

Hol. P. 1. Sealed and addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 5.

2. Copy.

April [14?] 383. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 96. -

"I have now despatched Sir George Bowser, with whose directions you shall be fully acquainted from himself, unto the which if you think anything fit to be added or altered, I pray let me hear. . . . I do conceive of this accident that it is a more specious than a material evil. I am sorry for my Lord's* sake, and it will a little blow up the spirits of these rogues that were before somewhat falling, and in England the news will much amuse them. But I know no reason why the fortune of our wars should stagger upon his well or evil doing; for if my Lord continue, as I hope he will, we are able to defend his country; if not, I assure myself we may quickly waste it, and make an end of their might, if not of their malice. For after the garrisons are planted at the back of Tyrone, I shall be at leisure to meet you at any time with a force sufficient to do that or a more difficult service. And if this keep some out that otherwise would have come in, it may as well do good as harm, . . . for they will never be sure till they know not how to subsist without us."

In England this will make them more careful of us. We deserve no imputation, since this parley was contrived without your privy. I wrote of the Earl's surprise and taking to Mr. Secretary (Cecil) in England.

Garrat Mack Murtaugh has his protection, and shall have his pardon. I do not much believe in Donell Spania, but he has sworn to be here on Friday next, to submit without conditions and receive pardon; and afterwards he desires but to have the justice of a subject. I have sent you a long letter from Florence McKarty. I directed the messenger to apply to you. It were not amiss somewhat to bear with his fault. If there be occasion to look after Tipperary and Kilkenny, spare some few of your troops till I have victualled the forts. I will draw into the North as soon as I can. When your Lordship has set Sir George Boucer in some good way for the affairs there, I could wish you in Munster, though I desire nothing more than to enjoy your company.

P.S.—"The Commissioners are come over, and have desired me to write to your Lordship to divulge their coming in your

* The Earl of Ormond.

1600.

parts, according to the proclamation I sent heretofore. If Sir Harry Poore do account [*i.e.*, accept] of the government of Leyse, [I] would you would send him presently hither. If Brian McDonnaugh come to me, I will make him know how much I love him for the service he did you."

Holograph. Pp. 2. Sealed and addressed. Endorsed:
Received the 16th of April.

April 18.
Vol. 620.*

384. SIR G. CAREW, Lord President of Munster, and the EARL OF THOMOND to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

"Although I, the President, have by my letters advertised in what sort the Earl of Ormond was taken (which I think is by his Lordship sent unto you), yet we think it our duties to make relation thereof unto your Lordships, and to make known to your Honours how accidentally we were witnesses of his misfortune. On Monday, the 7th of April, we departed from Dublin, and upon Wednesday at night we came to Kilkenny, where we found the Earl of Ormond. In our company we had 100 horse, dispersed in the country 10 or 12 miles distant from us by the Earl's officers.

"As soon as we came unto him, he acquainted us that he had appointed the next day to parley with Owney McRorye. We told his Lordship that we would attend him, and I, the President, desired his Lordship that my 100 horse might be sent for, to go with us for his Lordship's better guard, which he refused, thanking me for my offer, saying that he had no need of them.

"The next day, being the 10th of this present, his Lordship, not having in his company above the number of 17 horsemen of his followers armed, and not a little above the like number of all sorts, whereof we were part, and the rest lawyers, merchants, and others upon hackneys, with no other weapons than our swords, rode out to the place of meeting, eight long miles from Kilkenny, called Lorranedaffe, upon the borders of Ydoughe, leaving his own company of 200 footmen short of the assigned place of parley above [—] English miles.

"The place where we met with the rebels was upon a heathy ground, descending towards a narrow strait, having on either side of us a low, shrubby, hedgey wood, within three pike length, at the furthest, from the place where we parleyed, and the like distance from the strait aforesaid; the choice of which ground we much misliked.

"Owney McRorye, when he came unto us, brought with him a troop of choice pikes, leaving in a little plain beyond the strait, within half a caliver shot of us, in our sight, all his gross, being in all to the number of (as Redmond Keting, one

* At the beginning of the MS.

1600.

of the rebels, did swear unto me, the President) 500 foot* strong and 20 horse, the best furnished men for the war and the best apparelled that we have seen in this kingdom.

"At our first meeting, and so during the parley (which was appointed for some good causes best known to his Lordship), they stood as close as they might, every one trailing his pike and holding the cheek of the same in his left hand ready to pass. The Earl himself was upon a little weak hackney, unarmed (as all we were that were about him), standing with the side of his hackney so near to the rebels as they touched him.

"After an hour and more was idly spent, and nothing concluded, we and others did pray his Lordship to depart; but he, desirous to see that infamous Jesuit Archer, did cause him to be sent for. As soon as he came, the Earl and he fell into an argument, wherein he called Archer traitor, and reproved him for seducing, under pretext of religion, her Majesty's subjects into rebellion.

"In this mean time the gross of the rebels had left their standing in the plain, and some crept into the shrubs aforesaid, and others so mingled themselves amongst us, that we were environed, and stood as if we had been in a fair, whereof divers did advertise his Lordship. And at last I, the Earl of Thomond, willed Owney to put back his men; and I, the President, desired his Lordship to be gone, for that I did not like their mingling with us. Wherewith as his Lordship was turning his horse, at one instant, they seized upon him and us too.

"His Lordship was in a moment drawn from his horse. We had more hanging upon us than is credibly to be believed; but our horses were strong, and by that means did break through them, tumbling down on all sides those that were before and behind us; and, thanks be to God, we escaped the pass of their pikes, which they freely bestowed, and the flinging of their skeynes, without any hurt, saving that I, the Earl of Thomond, received with a pike a wound in my back.

"The Earl's horsemen, which were armed, were far from us, for every one was dispersed and talking with particular rebels about their bordering business; so as we do protest unto your Lordships in all we were not above 10 unarmed men near unto him; and as soon as the alarm was raised every man of his followers ran away without looking once behind them.

"After we had cleared ourselves within a butt length at the most, we made halt, and called for the trumpet, and cried unto the Earl's men for a charge, but none stood by us save Captain Harvey, Captain Browne, Mr. Comerford, a lawyer, and three of our servants, which was all the company we had there, and all of us without armour or other weapon than

* In the margin:—"Whereof 300 were bozagh's."

1600.

our swords ; so as, for want of more company, we were forced by the enemy's shot to leave them the ground. . . .

"The place wherein we parleyed was of such advantage to the enemy that 500 foot would not have cared for 500 horse ; and therefore (his Lordship having no foot with him) it was not possible to do the enemy any harm with horse.

"This treachery (for so [we] must term it, in respect of his Lordship's confidence in the valour of his own men, and also in his own opinion that the enemy durst not show him this foul measure) was contrived by that villain Archer, and none was made acquainted with it but Owney McRorye, two Leinster men, and four bonnaghies ; for if more had been trusted, there is no doubt but that his Lordship should have had knowledge of it.

"Owney McRorie laid his hands on me, the President, as they report, and, next unto God, I must thank my Lord of Thomond for my escape, who thrust his horse upon him. And at my back a rebel, newly protected at my suit, called Brian McDonoghe Cavanaghe, being a-foot, did me good service, and wounded one of the traitors that laid hands on the Earl of Ormond. For the rest I must thank my horse, whose strength bare all down about him.

"On our side there was but one man slain, not above five hurt, whereof Pierce Butler, a kinsman of the Earl's, was one, who behaved himself valiantly, and 14 taken prisoners. And of the enemy one was slain and a few hurt. The prisoners were taken by their own negligence, being a-foot grazing their horses.

"The taking of this great Lord breeds unsettled humours in these parts ; for all the gentlemen of the country, whereof some of them were his true followers, for want of a defender, are wavering. Others, which of their own dispositions were naught[y], and contained themselves as subjects but for fear of his power, are now at liberty, and we fear will shortly declare themselves. To keep them from present uproars I, the President, did immediately send for 600 foot of the Munster companies which were at Waterford, and the 100 horse which were in the country, to the town of Kilkenny, which hath wrought good effect and stayed their unsettled humours.

"Besides, thereby it did assure the Lady of Ormond and her daughter, who otherwise had been subject to many dangers. So sorrowful a Lady in our lives we have not seen, and do believe that if it had not pleased God that we at that time had been there, she would hardly have undergone those griefs which did oppress her. For besides the loss of her husband, in being prisoner with those rogues, she beheld the apparent ruin of herself and her daughter, with danger of both their lives, the guard whereof she committed unto us, not being assured of those that served her.

"For there are divers that pretend to be the Earl's heirs by sundry titles. First, Sir Edmond Butler, his second brother ;

1600.

which Sir Walter Butler, the Earl's nephew (whose blood is not attained), will not yield unto, because his uncle Sir Edmond is not restored in blood. And the Viscount Montgarret, for many reasons which he pretends, thinks he ought to be Earl of Ormond.

"This controversy could not but breed great danger to the Countess and her daughter, for that every of these would be glad to possess themselves of the Earl's horses, and the doubt who is to succeed him breeds distractions in the gentlemen of the country that were followers to the Earl, every one addicting himself to the party he affects; which would have broken into dangerous rebellion, if the forces and we had not been here to have kept them in awe. Besides, we did not neglect to send for all the lords and gentlemen of the country of the best quality; with whom we have temporised so, as we hope the dangers which were like to ensue will be for a time well appeased.

"Also, understanding that Ballynaggett, a house of the Lord of Mountgarrett's, in the which there is a ward for the Queen, kept as a pledge for his loyalty, was attempted to be won by the Viscount's sons, who are in rebellion, and, immediately upon the Earl's taking, lay before it, in hope to starve the soldiers (for their last day's victuals was spent), I, the President, upon my credit did take up in Kilkenny victuals, and with a strong convoy of horse and foot have victualled it for six weeks; whereof the Lord Deputy is advertised, praying him to be careful to supply it before that victual be spent.

"And because all things might be continued in good order, we thought good to remain in Kilkenny until the Lord Deputy should determine of some course, so to hold it for her Majesty's benefit, the country's good, and the Countess and her daughter's safety; wherein we were enforced to make large disbursements of our own small stores, for dieting in that town of our horse and foot troops, whereof I, the Earl of Thomond, defrayed the charges of my own company, and I, the President, of all the rest during our abode there, which was eight days.

"In this mean time, we understanding that Mountgarrett's sons, which are in rebellion, did come to spoil the country near to Kilkenny, we sent out some part of our troops, who lighted upon some of their men; and amongst them which they slew there was one of the Butlers, a near kinsman to Mountgarrett, and a leader slain, and the traitors driven to their woods, being forced to leave their enterprise.

"The 16th of this present Sir George Bouchier and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, sent from the Lord Deputy, came to Kilkenny; Sir George for chief commander of her Majesty's forces there, and to take charge of the Countess, her daughter, and the Earl's horses; and Sir Christopher to be directed by him. The forces there left are 200 foot of the Earl's, other 200 of Sir Christopher's, 30 of my foot left in a ward in

1600.

Mountgarrett's house called Ballinaggett, [and] 85 horse, whereof 50 of the Earl's, 25 of St. Lawrence's, and 10 of Sir George Bouchier's.

"Since the Earl's taking, we have kept the rebels from doing any hurt in the country, neither as yet is there any in rebellion in the same, but Mountgarrett's sons, whose force is not such, but in our opinions (unless they call strangers to assist them) her Majesty's forces there are much too strong for them. The 17th we left Kilkenny. . . .

"This accident hath withheld me, the President, from my peculiar charge longer than I purposed, but therein I hope your Lordships will hold me excused. . . . Tomorrow we proceed in our journey towards Corke, from whence, with the rest of the Council there, we will advertise your Lordships in what estate we find the province."

Waterford, 18 April 1600.

Signed: G. Carew, Thomond.*

Copy. Pp. 4.

April 21. **385.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 94. Requesting that Captain George Blunt and his company may remain in the castle of Cahir.

Dublin, 21 April 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 6. 2. Copy.

April 24. **386.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 147. We perceive by the Lord Deputy's writing and your own opinion, how necessary it is to bridle the insolence of the town of Limerick. We understand you would cause the castle of Limerick to be surveyed and repaired, to make it lodgeable for the President, and for a magazine of munition and victuals, under colour whereof some guard might be put in it without charge to the Queen. Her Majesty doth allow of this. It was meant to be done in the time of Sir Thomas Norreys. Order shall be given to pay such moneys as are necessary.

Greenwich, 24 April 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 21. 2. Copy.

April 29. **367.** The SAME to the SAME.
Vol. 615, p. 92. The Lord of Cahyr complains against you for delivering his castle of Darenlare to the custody of Richard Power. I wish

* These signatures are both in Carew's hand, the document being a copy, as specified above.

1600.

you would give him some contentment, or acquaint me with the ground of your proceeding.

Castle of Dublin, 29 April 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 6.

2. Copy.

April 29. **388.** The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 151.

This bearer, Captain Manwaringe, being well known to most of us here for the good service he has done, is now to repair to your Lordship. As he is experienced in the service of that province, and a dweller there also, we recommend him to you to be employed.

Dublin, 29 April 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 8.

2. Copy.

April 30. **389.** SIR G. CAREW, Lord President, and the COUNCIL of MUNSTER to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 620, p. 1.

The 24th inst. I, the President, arrived here. I find that the confusion and distemper of this province is greater than ever. There are 7,000 provincial rebels and buonaghies, "able weaponed men." We cannot hope for any assistance from the lords of the countries, "who are only in personal shows subjects, as the Lord Power, the Lord of Dunboyne, the Lord Roche, the Lord of Caher, Cormock McDermot, chief of Muskery, McCarty Reough, chief of Carbyr, Gerald Fitz-James, chief of the Deasyes, Patrick Condon, O'Calloughan, and all others, except the Lord Barry, who of late hath done good service." Most of them have either brothers or near kinsmen in actual rebellion.

"Florence McCarty (if he continue in his disloyal course which he hath begun), whereof as yet we have no other hope, by his friends, as both the O'Sulevans, McFynin, the Carties of Desmond, O'Donevan, O'Crowlye, O'Mahun Carbyr, O'Mahun Fun, sundry of the septs of the Carties of Carbyr, the McSwynes, most of the Carties of Muskry, all the Carties of Dowalla, O'Kief, McAulyne, and many of the O'Callaghans, with his and their followers and kinsmen, . . . is now the strongest and of greatest force of any traitor in Munster." 1,500 of her Majesty's forces must be employed against him, "which otherwise might have been disposed toward the prosecution of James FitzThomas."

"The priests have in their devilish doctrine so much prevailed amongst the people, . . . as for fear of excommunication very few dare serve against the rebels;" and even in the cities and corporate towns the chief magistrates and mayors "refuse to come to the church, which at no time heretofore hath been

1600.

seen." It is to be feared that if the Spaniards make any invasion, as many of the rebels expect, the cities and towns are in danger to be lost by revolt.

"The late taking of the Earl of Ormond hath much distracted the hearts of sundry of those that were inclined to subjection, and greatly animated the traitors." Piers Lacy, who was upon his Lordship's protection, is now relapsed, and become a more dangerous traitor than heretofore. Others have done the same.

We send certificates of the money, munition, and victuals remaining here. We pray for a speedy supply of munition and victuals, one half to Cork and the other to Limerick. The victuals to be only biscuit, butter, and cheese. This country growing scant of victuals, it will be as expedient to have the same as money. "Only the garrisons of Killmallocke and Moyallo (where must be evermore 1,000 men at least) must be victualled with money, for that this country will afford no horses for carriage."

Captain Kinge, who should have brought over 500 foot, delivered to Sir Henry Power but 335, whereof sundry are unserviceable. He yielded no reckoning of the remain of their arms and apparel, "pretending that for part thereof he was by a composition to send some targets from Dublin." That he made a gain thereby is manifest; for he denied not the sale of 31 muskets to the Lord Barry. Without acquainting Sir Henry with his instructions, he fled secretly to Waterford, where I, the President, meeting him, required him to return with me to Cork, but he stole away and went to Dublin. For example's sake, take some order with him.

The victuals for three months and the munition mentioned in your letter of the 28th ult. have not yet arrived; and whereas you directed Captain John Woode to send 500 quarters of oats, only 269 have arrived.

As the Earl of Thomond's company is now consigned to Connaught, and may be relieved more conveniently from Limerick than any place in Connaught, I, the Earl, beseech you to add a proportion for them to the next treasure for Munster.

For lack of a Chief Justice I, the President, was forced to entreat Sir Nicholas Welshe to accompany me hither. I have received great furtherance from him. Justice Saxey should be returned, or some other appointed. It is a custom of these cities and corporate towns (whose duties we much suspect) to have agents there, and the lords and chief gentlemen of countries "do and daily intend the same." We pray you, "in respect their hearkening from thence doth much harden them here," to refer their suits hither, or defer them.

We request a speedy supply of munition, for we intend "to follow the prosecution with some more vehemency than hath been heretofore," and "many castles are to be attempted, against which we must be constrained to use the cannon."

1600.

We also request supplies of men, and that better care be had in the choice of them, "for that they, being weak before their arrival, do presently after grow sick and altogether unserviceable." Also, that the swords to be sent may be specially chosen, for those hitherto sent have been so bad that little use could be made of them.

We recommend the Lord Barry to be relieved with some entertainment. His poverty is now such, chiefly through the spoils which Tyrone did upon him, that he is not able to keep his men together either to attend the army into the field, or to preserve the country from further spoils. Also Charles McCarty, son to Sir Cormock McTeige, of the best blood and alliance of this country, has done and is willing to do service, but the like poverty disables him. Of the enemy he has had large offers, "but the young gentleman, of his natural inclination to remain a subject (and hoping to be considered of with a company of foot of his own country birth), will not hearken to their persuasions." If the Lord Barry and he be not somewhat comforted with relief, we dare not promise a perseverance in them.

Shandon Castle, the last of April 1600.

"Signed by the Lord President, the Earl of Tomond, the Bishop of Corke, Sir George Thornton, and Mr. Hugh Cuff.

"Sent by Captain Browne."

Copy. Pp. 4.

April 30. 390. SIR G. CAREW to LORD [BUCKHURST?]
Vo 620 p. 143.

In our general letter we write for munitions, victual, and apparel, and for supplies of men. I pray your Lordship to grant my demands for powder, as the garrisons will be great and remote. I must use the cannon to batter certain castles of importance held by the enemy.

"Florence McCartie's entering into actual rebellion, having been personally in the field against her Majesty's forces, doth much distract me." By his revolt the rebels "have the spending of all Carbaye and Desmonde," whereby they abound in victuals. If messages and letters may be believed, Florence means to come to me and submit himself. I will draw him in, or temporise, so that he shall not give impediment to the prosecution of James FitzThomas; for 1,500 men would be too little to prosecute the war in Carbay and Desmonde, which countries are by nature strong, full of people, and by Florence strengthened with 1,000 "bonies."

In my judgment "the King of Spain intends to send forces to aid the rebels; for I know him to be too witty to be a partaker in an Irish rebellion without a better back than the force of Ireland; and, if the Spaniards do come hither, I know no part of the kingdom that will hold for the Queen; and the cities themselves will revolt with the first. For it is incredible to see how our nation and religion is maligned, and the awful

1600.

obedience that all the whole kingdom stands in unto the Romish priests, whose excommunications* are of greater terror unto them than any earthly horror whatsoever. Until now of late (although the townsmen have ever been obstinate Papists), yet *pro forma* the mayors and aldermen would go to the church. But now not so much as the mayors will show any such external obedience; and by that means the Queen's sword is a recusant, which in my judgment is intolerable. Yet, nevertheless, I do not think good to insist much upon it in this troublesome time."

"As for masses and such slight erraunts here, they are of no great estimation. I am not over-curious to understand them, so as they be not used contemptuously and publicly in derogation of the Queen's laws. But the mayors of the cities and corporate towns to be let run in so manifest contempts I do not wish."

Captain Wood has sent hither part of his complement of oats. I pray your Lordship that he may be commanded to send the rest.

"As occasion may serve, I will be ever bold to trouble your Lordship, being one of my best hope, to give me assistance to enable me in this tough business, which, with exceeding toil of body and mind, I undergo." I join my Lord of Thomond in his suit touching his band of 200 foot and his entertainments.

Shandon, near Cork, this last of April 1600. *Signed.*

Copy. Pp. 2.

May 5. 391.
Vol. 615, p. 84.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Recommending Captain Moyle for the command of a company.

Dublin, 5 May 1600. *Signed.*

P.S. (*in Mountjoy's own hand*).—You shall hear from me at large as soon as I come to Thredauh.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

May 15. 392.
Vol. 615, p. 90.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

On Whit-Sunday last I passed through the Moyrye, wherein Tyrone had made his brags to fight with me. I was then some 1,200 foot and 150 horse. Yesterday the Marshal came hither to the Newrye with some 500 foot and 100 horse, and towards the end of this week I look for the Sergeant-Major with 500 foot more, and some few horse, with the Earl of Southampton. Tyrone is now within eight miles of this place, whither he came this morning. Tomorrow I will go as near him as the strength he is in will give me leave; and when the Sergeant-Major comes up I will encamp at Armagh. "If, before I am driven to rise for want, any victual come out of England,

* "Examinations" in MS.

1600.

I will leave a garrison there," as the chief use of Loughfoyle will be lost except that be done.

From Loughfoyle I have not heard as yet, but they are gone from Knockfergus, and I have made there a fair way, for Tyrone, with most of his forces, attends me; and I will seek him in any place out of his strength. I have many messengers out to bring me word of the success of Loughfoyle, but none are returned. Sir Arthur O'Neale has declared himself, and has been exceedingly prosecuted by Tyrone, but he holds out, and attends the fleet's arrival, with full resolution to join with them. The rebels all attend the success of that plantation, which if God prosper, they will speak in very humble terms.

As soon as I received your letters, with Donell Mack Brian's, I gave order his pardon should pass as you desire.

If you will cast either Masterson or O'Reyley, do so, and bestow one company where you will. Respite the other.

There be some that have followed me out of England, and do now in this journey, whom I am bound to pleasure; and if none fall in these parts I would fain bestow one of those Irish companies on them.

Send me any news you receive from Spain, for Tyrone doth fill all these parts with strange lies; although some part be true that there came some munition and a Spanish priest that calls himself Archbishop of Dublin.

The Newrye, 15 May 1600.

P.S.—I will send you 200 men for Sir Henry Poore. When I recommend any man or matter to you, I pray you hold the like course you direct me. Captain Flower's service deserves much commendation.

Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

May 16. 393. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 88.

Thanks for your continual advertisements. I send you a copy of the martial laws, which you desire. I have granted Captain Sheffield "allowance for his overcharge in victualling of Ballyraggett," but cannot satisfy him for the remove of his company out of that ward, "not knowing any other company whereon to raise it." It cannot be "erected on my Lord of Ormond's own company," as I have allowed 26 men thereout to the castle of Artloe; and the Countess has solicited me to make stay of the matter. I have granted him the increase of his company to 150 men. I have received letters from the Lords of the Council that your commissary, William Jones, is to receive 3s. 4d. *per diem* above the ordinary entertainment.

The Newrie, 16 May 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 7.

2. Copy.

1600.

May 18. 394. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 11.

This gentleman, Mr. Saxey, is returning with satisfaction in some small suits he had, especially for money matters. He has been the better favoured by me in regard of your recommendation, wherein you desired to have him returned for your assistance. "In those things which have been moved here by any, wherein there might have grown any prejudice to your authority, he hath been very ready to inform and remember the Lords and myself." You will find him useful, he being both religious and of experience; and I doubt not but you will give him more comfort than the last commissioners of that province.

From the Court at Greenwich, 18 May 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed:* "To my honorable and loving kinsman," &c. *Endorsed.*

May 19. 395. SIR G. CAREW, Lord President, and the COUNCIL of MUNSTER to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 5.

According to your letter of the 7th ult., I, the President, at my late being in Waterford, "made strict proclamation that no merchant, upon pain of death, should sell any powder, munition, or other habiliments of war, and that no merchant should buy any, but should forthwith acquaint the mayor of the town with the quantity upon his oath; but that the whole store of that town, as well that with the merchants as the store for the defence there, should be delivered up wholly to the mayor, and kept in his private charge, and no part thereof to be issued but by special warrant; which order we have also here taken with the mayor of Cork, having since apprehended some for buying of powder, whom we will accordingly see executed." In Limerick I will observe the same course. The mayors of Waterford and Cork have undertaken with all diligence to look into the restraint of these merchandises, and to prevent any further relief being given to the rebels. Herein we can only use proclamations, which "be of little force against merchants, for that they pretend their charters to free them from any danger thereof, inferring that the martial law hath no force upon any merchants selling the same within the corporation."

The directions in your letter of the 24th ult., touching the survey of the castle of Limerick, we will perform upon our coming thither. We will be very careful not to expend more than shall be urged by the occasion. As the season for this work will quickly overpass, we purpose after our survey, if we find the charge reasonable, to cause some work to go forward. Direct the mayor "to see all needful carriages by land and water performed by the town, and the townsmen assistants to the work."

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Here is lately arrived a proportion of victual, being part of that which John Woods undertook to make. We have, with the mayor of Cork, appointed Joshua Aylmer, one of the commissaries of musters, to view the same. The like shall be appointed for the survey of the victual in Limerick. We again request a supply of biscuit, butter, and cheese, for 3,250 men for three months, before the end of July, as mentioned in our last sent by Captain Thomas Browne, with further relief for six months during the winter, and a supply of munition. The summer suits have arrived.

As the soldiers "do daily infinitely decay," we pray for a supply of 500 men. Your Lordships should signify to the lieutenants of the counties where and by whom the choice is to be made. Great abuses have been used in sending men altogether unserviceable, "being most of them either lame, maimed, or so weak with lingering loathsome sickness before they arrive, as we are ready still upon their landing here to return many of them." The gentlemen authorised for these services should consider the hindrance that accrues to the service by their negligences and frauds.

Our treasure will last until about the 14th of June.

The 20th of this month I, the President, intend to be in the field and to begin my march to Limerick. Many that now attend the rebels are desirous to be taken into subjection. The White Knight, so soon as the army comes to Killmallock, has promised to submit himself, and to deserve grace by very acceptable services. The enemy have gathered to impede our march, but we intend to force a passage. By reason of the want of meet carriage horses, we have put into one of the crompters 3,000*l.* and half the munition, to be transported to Limerick. We have only 100 barrels of powder. The rest in this store will hardly serve to fill up each soldier's flask before he go hence.

Command Captain John Woods to expedite the rest of the oats to this port of Cork.

Shandon Castle, by Cork, 19 May 1600.

"Signed by the Lord President, the Earl of Thomond, the Bishop of Corke, Sir George Thornton, and Mr. Hugh Cuffe.

"Sent by Mr. Smythe."

Copy. Pp. 3.

May 19. 396. SIR G. CAREW, Lord President, and the COUNCIL of
Vol. 620, p. 7. MUNSTER to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

"I, the President, have received lately sundry intelligences touching a preparation in Spain intended before Midsummer next for these parts of Ireland, which hath come from the traitor Tyrone to Desmond and others here, to animate them with constancy to continue in this wicked course, and the same much confirmed by an advertisement from the mayor of Waterford unto me, wherein he manifesteth, upon the exami-

1600.

nation of a merchant lately arrived from Andoloza, that the preparation still holdeth." A copy is enclosed. If these intelligences agree with such as you receive from thence, furnish us with means to prevent the same.

Shandon Castle, 19 May 1600.

"Signed and sent as above written."

Copy. P. 1.

May 20. **397.** SIR JOHN POPHAM, Lord Chief Justice, to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 227.

"I am moved by this bearer, Mr. Saxie, Chief Justice of Munster, to recommend him to your favour. The man I know to be learned, and never found him to be dishonest in his actions;—somewhat in nature given to be impatient of conceived injuries, which I doubt not his experience in the world and your good advice will easily temper in him." I wish you success.

At Serjeant's Inn, 20 May 1600. *Signed.*

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

May 21. **398.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 620, p. 147.

The commissary of the victuals, who lately arrived here, has importuned me to have his accounts audited and allowed, but I have deferred the same till my return from this journey.

Moyallo, 21 May 1600.

Copy. P. 1.

May 21. **399.** SIR THOMAS EGERTON, Lord Keeper, to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 225.

I recommend to you the bearer, Mr. Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster. He has ever had a willing and careful mind to do justice and to advance her Majesty's service.

At York House, 21 May 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 23.

2. *Copy.*

May 22. **400.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 153.

We send you a schedule of weapons, munition, and other habiliments of war taken out of a ship set forth by the Estates of the United Provinces a year since. Happening in her return to be cast upon the coast of Waterford, these parcels were taken by direction of the Earl of Ormonde, and some part by order from you. As the ship appertains to those that are in amity with her Majesty, and direction has been given for your supply with such provisions, we have written to the mayor of Waterford to certify by what authority he took

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those provisions, or has disposed of any part of them, and to make restitution of such as shall not be necessary for her Majesty's service. It appears great shot have been taken, which are of no use there. Consider what is fit to be retained, that like quantities may be returned for the same.

Greenwich, 22 May 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 22.

2. Copy.

May 25. 401. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 157.

The agents for the city of Cork have been humble suitors to her Majesty for the renewal of their charters and for other concessions. Those cities and towns that feel the hurt of this rebellion ought rather by loyal service deserve her Majesty's favour than choose this time to insist upon demands, but she has been pleased that consideration might be had of these requests, whereof, with the answers, we send you a copy. Though they have given occasion, by their want of respect to the former Commissioners [for Munster], of reprehension, we doubt not they will respect you, their governor, "of whose service her Majesty hath made special choice."

Greenwich, 25 May 1600.

Signed: Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, Nottingham, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, J. Popham, W. Waad.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 22.

2. Copy.

May. 402. CORK.

Vol. 615, p. 155.

An Abstract of the Requests of the City of Cork to her Majesty; with the Lords'* Answers.

"To be incorporated by the name of mayor, sheriffs, and commons; to be made a county within themselves, as Waterford and the town of Drodaghe; and to have their liberties extend four miles compass as Kinsale hath.—*Their Lordships think the service of the citizens of Cork so necessary for trial of treasons and other offences within the county, as their loyalty and fidelity in service cannot well be spared. But hereafter, upon the re-establishment of the country, her Majesty may be moved herein.*

"To be exempted of the wardship of the bodies of their heirs; and that their lands in the country may be only in ward, and not the lands in the city or franchises, their freeholds being but very small."—*The like has not been granted*

* The Privy Council in England.

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to any city in England or Ireland; "therefore the enlargement of their charter in this point is respited."

To have arrearages of wax forgiven, being 20 lb. wax per annum, since 18 Eliz.—"Letters shall be written to the Lord Deputy and Council to discharge their arrearages by concordatum, and the growing rent to be continued."

To have a grant of two brass pieces remaining in that city since King Henry VIII.'s time.—"Letters are to be sent to the Lord Deputy that the Master of the Ordnance do not remove them, "but that those things to be left to the discretion of the Lord President."

"To have the mayor for the time being made one of the Council of the province, and in all commissions to be sat upon within the said franchises."—The first part is thought inconvenient; and as for naming of commissioners, the Deputy and Chancellor are to have special care that the mayors of Cork be trusted as they have been.

"To have 200 men in pay for the apprehension of the rebels offending within the franchises and without the walls by night; of whose charges her Majesty to bear the one moiety, and the city the other."—Their Lordships will not increase her Majesty's charge at this time.

To have soldiers offending other subjects dealt with by the civil magistrates, and not by their captains.—"Murders and felonies, and such like misdemeanours, and causes of debt" due by soldiers shall be determined by common law, the chief officer there being advertised thereof.

"To know the mayor's places within the city and liberty, being her Majesty's lieutenant there, and carrying her royal ensigns, as a hat of maintenance, a sword, and maces.—Their Lordships wonder to have it doubted that in all commissions of gaol delivery and oyer and terminer the Lord President should have his superiority, and the Chief Justice . . . on the right hand, and the mayor . . . on the left hand."

To give order that no process be sent to the mayor to stop the ordinary course of justice in the Tollsell, being a court of record.—Granted, as reasonable.

That, agreeably to our charters, all captains and officers pay for their lodging, candlelight, stables, and all they take; and that all others do the like.—Ordinary soldiers to pay nothing for lodging, candlelight, or stable; but if any take a chamber for himself in another man's house, to pay for the premises. But because there are few inns, the mayor must see that reasonable prices be established.

To grant the city such further privileges in civil and criminal causes as Waterford has.—"For allowance of herrings, their Lordships will in that point stay any resolution until they hear from the Lord President; and touching trial of treason, their Lordships will therein be advised, as of a matter of high nature."

"Concordat cum originali W. Waad."

Pp. 2. Endorsed: May 1600.

1600.

May 26. 403. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 604, p. 17.

I formerly wrote to you in behalf of one Mr. Smythe, about to commence a suit against one James O'Moylen for some wrongs done to him by Sir Warham St. Leger, as he pretendeth, in a controversy between them concerning Gillye Abbey. As the letter, arriving after the death of Sir Warham, was not delivered to you, and as he (Smythe) is the son of an ancient servant of the Queen's, to whom I am beholden, I again request you to yield him justice.

Greenwich, 26 May 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

May 26. 404. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 82.

This bearer, James Spenser, one of the 20 commissaries appointed by the Lords in England, I could not place, because all the garrisons out of Munster were provided, and in Munster there may be but four; and because you sent back my man Turner, I could not send him to you for any place. In any other thing I doubt not but you will show him favour.

From the camp at Carickbaine, 26 May 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 8.

2. Copy.

May 28. 405. "EXTRACTS of LETTERS out of IRELAND."
Vol. 604, p. 234.

"*Lord Deputy, 8 May, from Tredaghe.*—That he shall deliver Sir Ha. Dockwray from Tyrone; for Tyrone doth attend his Lordship, and saith assuredly that he will fight with him in his passage through the Moyrey.

"*Sir Ha. Dockwray, the 11th of May, from Carickfergus.*—That the rebel standeth amazed what course to hold, Sir Arthur O'Neale and Sir John O'Doharty having betaken themselves to their guard, with promise to do some service on the rebel.

"*Sir Jeffrey Fenton, the 18th of May, and the 14th.*—That the Earl of Ormond is at Sir Terence O'Dempsye's house, at more ease than before, for that he lodgeth in a castle, but is as straightly guarded as ever he was. That notwithstanding there is some hope that his Lordship's liberty may be wrought from this house.

"That the Jesuits are grown to a faction concerning the Earl; the best of them affirming that, as he was treacherously taken, so it is not lawful for them to detain him.

"That some of the principal confederates of Leinster do stomach it that his Lordship is so long detained against public faith.

"That the Lord Deputy passed safely to the Newry upon Whit-Sunday, making his way through the Moyery without impeachment.

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"That Tyrone, being much distracted with the rumour of forces to land at Loughfoyle, is suddenly posted to Strabane; and that Sir Arthur O'Neale is either come already, or on his way to the Lord Deputy.

"That the Deputy purposeth to plant a garrison at Ardmaghe.

"*From the Commissioners at Bulloigne, the 20th of May.*— That they arrived there the 16th of this month about noon, and that the next day about that time the Commissioners of the other side arrived, who excused their stay by reason of the sickness of the Audiencier."

P. 1. *Endorsed*: 1600, 28 May. Extracts of letters out of Ireland and France.

May 31. 406. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 615, p. 63.

We send you a petition preferred to the Queen by Allison Dalton, widow. You are to place a ward in her castle of Knockmone, near Waterford, if necessary; and to respite the rent of the parsonage of Dungarvan, 30*l.*, the lands being wasted. Her demand concerning the forfeiture of a bond of Garrett FyJames may be granted when the country is reduced to obedience.

Greenwich, the last of May 1600.

"Signed by the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, Mr. Controller, Mr. Secretary Ceecill, Mr. Chancellor of Exchequer, Lord Chief Justice."

*Copy.** P. 1.

[May.] 407. PETITION of ALYSON DALTON.

Vol. 615, p. 66.

"The lamentable and humble Supplication of Alyson Dalton, a poor widow, and eight orphans, driven out of Ireland by the rebels, to the Queen."

As she has for two years defended her castle of Knockmoan, co. Waterford, at her own charge, and is not able so to do any longer, she prays to be allowed 20 warders and four horsemen in the Queen's pay, as Henry Pyne, Edmund Colthurst, William Southwell, and others thereabouts have.

All her living, to the value of 3,000*l.*, being wasted by the rebels, she prays that her parsonage of Dongarvan, which she holds of your Majesty at 30*l.* rent *per annum*, may not be forfeited for non-payment thereof. She hopes you will not suffer her to be displanted by her adversaries, the cunning Irish, out of that which her late husband dearly bought of Sir William Hatton.

* This copy was enclosed in the letter from Mountjoy to Carew, dated 10 August 1600.

1600.

Garrett FitzJames, her spiteful neighbour, was bound in 500*l.* for the loyalty of his base brother, Thomas FitzJames, to whom was committed her castle of Cappoquinne, to keep from the spoil of the rebels, but he treacherously razed and burned the castle and divers her goods, whereby the said bond was forfeited, which she desires to be granted to her.

Endorsed by Mountjoy.—"Referred to Mr. Treasurer (Carey) and Sir Francis Stafforde.—Mountjoy."

Endorsed by Sir George Carey and Sir F. Stafforde.—Touching her rents, your Lordship (the Deputy) may give warrant to me the Treasurer and the Barons of the Exchequer that no forfeiture be taken. Your Lordship may write to the Lord President of Munster (Sir George Carew) to allow her 16 or 20 foot. Touching her last petition, we wish your Lordship to write to the Lord President to inform you fully of the matter.—George Carey, F. Stafforde.

P. 1. *Endorsed.**

June 13. **408.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 80.

In confirmation of my Lord of Essex's grant, I bestowed on your kinsman, William Harvy, the office of scout-master. His paymaster signifies that you will not allow him his entertainment. I pray you to revoke any such command.

13th June 1600. *Signed; with a postscript in the Lord Deputy's own hand.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 11.

2. Copy.

June 14. **409.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 78.

The bearer, my Lord Burgh, has lately come out of England recommended to me by her Majesty. I have promised him the first company in that province after those I have already granted, which I pray you see performed.

Dublin, 14 June 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed:* In the behalf of the Lord Bourke.

Vol. 624, p. 12.

2. Copy.

June 17. **410.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY (MOUNTJOY).

Vol. 604, p. 250.

Her Majesty has been advertised by the Lord President of Munster (Carew) of the good service done by the Lord Barry and Charles McCarte. "She is well pleased to hold them worthy of some present favour for a beginning of recom-

* This document was evidently forwarded to Carew.

1600.

pense." You are to grant a commission to the Lord President to assign to each of them a foot company, when he shall find two Irish companies void, "or the captains of the same meet to be cased and removed."

Greenwich, 17 June 1600. *Signed.*

Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.

Vol. 604, p. 270.

2. Another copy.

June 17. **411.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 159.

Touching the fortifying of the Castle of Limerick, we approve of your judgment not to defer that work until a declaration of the charge had been sent hither and answer returned to you. Her Majesty trusts you will make her charge as easy as possible. We have required the Lord Deputy to give you commission to appoint foot companies for the Lord Barrye and Charles McCarty. We have given order to the Treasurer (Carey) that the Earl of Thomond's entertainment for himself and his company be paid in Munster, where he is most employed.

Greenwich, 17 June 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 23.

2. Copy.

June 17. **412.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW and the COUNCIL of MUNSTER.

Vol. 615, p. 161.

We have received a despatch from your Lordship and the Council, dated Cork, 30 April. We are sorry to find such great confusion in that province by the increase of the rebels' forces, and the small assistance given by those not wholly declared evil subjects. "It appeareth that you do earnestly require a supply of treasure, seeming to collect that the former sums of 9,000*l.* will be all issued by the 14th of June." We think it strange, considering what quantities of victual we sent, that so much thereof is spent. Nevertheless you shall receive 10,000*l.* in money and victuals for 3,250 men for two months. As the oatmeal proved not of such use as was supposed, we have ordered butter and cheese instead. The victuals shall be delivered half at Cork and half at Limerick. We have sent you five lasts of powder. Your other demands shall be granted.

The soldiers are only to be furnished with powder for days of service; for any otherwise spent they shall answer upon their lendings. As her Majesty is usually charged with new supplies of arms "when the soldiers have made away and sold very disorderly their old," cause better reckonings to be yielded of the arms by the captains. "For the number of 500 men we hope to obtain her Majesty's favour."

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It is no small comfort to us to find the good you, the Lord President, receive by the assistance of you, the Earl of Thomond, whose merit doth augment her Majesty's favour towards you. Be careful not to license any captains or other suitors to come over in this time of action. Dissuade the Lord Barrye from coming over. His agent shall be heard with all favour.

Greenwich, 17 June 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 24.

2. Copy.

June 17. 413.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 8.

"After I had taken order with the chieftains of Barrie's country, Muskery, and Carrebry, to contain those parts in some quietness till my return, I assembled together her Majesty's whole forces in this province, and with them the 21st of the last began my journey towards Lymerick, marching the same day near Moallo, where I encamped; and the next day I lodged within five miles of Killmallocke, and the third day within a mile of that town, where the White Knight (according the last joint letter sent from hence) made his humble submission, and attended me from thence to Lymericke. . . .

"By reason he had some pledges taken by Tyrone at his late being in Munster, and referred to the charge of Redmond Bourke, who still holdeth them, he humbly entreated respite to see if in some short time he could procure their safeties, and then to satisfy me on her Majesty's behalf, which if he find to be anything tedious or difficult, conditioned me not to defer time therein, but to leave them to God; for the performance whereof he took a corporal oath upon a *Pius Quintus*. . . . The time within 14 days will be expired. In this mean while he hath behaved himself exceeding dutifully, and is a good neighbour to Killmallocke, taking equal care with her Majesty's garrison for the defence of the castle of that town.

"From Effyn, the encamping place aforesaid near Killmallocke, I marched the 24th to the Bruffe, a castle which was sometime Sir George Thornton's, but since the war held by the traitor Piers Lacy to annoy the passage between Killmallocke and Lymerick; which I finding to be of good strength, and well accommodated to annoy the traitors in the castle of Lohgerr (lying somewhat near unto it), I placed therein a ward, without charge to her Majesty, and saw them furnished with all means, to serve till I had taken the said castle of Lohgerr, which, upon the view I took thereof in my passage by, saw that by the cannon (though with some difficulty in the approach) I might carry it, went directly to Lymerick (the army encamping two miles distant from the town), where

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I busied myself in mounting the cannon, wherein I found many impediments, being enforced, out of many [—] and unserviceable mountures, to make one to serve my turn. And as for the gynnes and other habiliments, I was constrained to make all new, having none in the store. And that which troubled me most was want of workmen and gunners, this town yielding none that were practised in that art, nor yet capable of directions when the same was given; but yet at last I performed the service.

"In the mean time, the rebels understanding of my preparation to visit them, one Owen Groome, a stranger of the North (to whose charge Desmond had referred the castle of Loghgerr), quitted the place, and delivered it, upon condition that I would grant unto him her Majesty's gracious protection until his pardon might be passed, into the hands of one Ulick Browne, a freeholder of this country, of whom I have as good assurance for the safe keeping of it for her Majesty as may be required, and without charge unto her.

"The castle of Loghgerr and the castle of the Bruff are of very great import for the service, for that they give the better liberty to the cattle of Killmallocke (which is the greatest prey appertaining to any town in Ireland) to graze abroad, and have so cleared the passage between Lymerick and that town, which before no man could pass without a great convoy, as that two and three horsemen do daily pass that way, and the trade between this city and that town is now open, which before was shut.

"After I had some three days a little rested, and refreshed the army with drink and fresh victuals, and given in that time some directions for necessities to be prepared to answer other occasions, I dislodged, and with the army marched into Clonwilliam, a country of the Bourkes, where two of the best of them submitted themselves,—one of them, called John Bourke, being of good strength both in castles and followers, and half brother to the traitor Piers Lacy; and from both of whom I have since taken good assurance. Where I took a castle of one of the Bryans, called Ballytarsny, 8 miles from Lymerick, a place of no less strength and worth than Loghgerr, for that . . . it stopped the passage between Lymerick and Cashell. . . . I have upon good pledge and assurance delivered it to the safe keeping of McBryan O'Gonough. . . .

"The day following I sent forth 500 footmen . . . into the O'Mulryans', a strong and fast country, and notorious traitors, being in the cantred of Owghny, to burn and spoil the same; which with the killing of some of the traitors, they did in short time, and with good safety returned. By which course having well cleared that part of the country at my back, upon my return to Lymerick again, I thought fit for a time to divide the army, as well to refresh the soldiers, who, by reason of foul weather, . . . did begin to fail of health, as to provide all other necessities fit for the battering of certain castles upon

1600.

this river, which of necessity must be taken in ; and so laid garrisons, viz., at Lykadowne, a place of good strength bordering upon Conolough, the traitors' chiefest fastness, at Killmallocke, and at Asketon. . . . But in placing this garrison at Askeyton, I found myself encountered with many difficulties, wanting necessary means to supply them from time to time of boats and such like. . . .

"These garrisons . . . on the borders of Conolough will constrain the enemy (having there gathered together all the strength he can possibly make) to break and disperse, by reason they cannot have means to keep so many as they are, over and above their fighting men, long together. By which course they will be subject to many ruins, and the way for my purpose to besiege Carygofoyle and the castle of the Glan the better made open unto me ; which, so soon as I have somewhat cleared Conolough as I have done Clonwilliam and the other parts as I marched, I do purpose to undertake, which will be ere long (God assisting me).

"I do find from amongst the rebels that they begin very much to stagger, and are possessed with very many wavering humours, rather seeming now to fear all than to trust any ; and would make little doubt or question but to satisfy your Lordships very shortly with a very good account and reckoning of these wars, were it not for Dermot O'Connor, captain of their buonaghes or hired men, who hath under his command 1,400 men, besides others with less numbers, which are the greatest strength the rebels have, and will prolong the same very much. For that himself, being a poor man in the beginning of his fortune, and not owner of two plowlands in Connaght, knoweth not better how to spend his time than to be resident where he gaineth so much, and commandeth absolutely ; and thereby is grown to such a reputation amongst them, as he is able to bring unto them above 2,000 men more, were they as able to give them content and satisfaction.

"This will be the greatest means of the continuance of this rebellion ; for of the natives of Munster I make no reckoning, having means sufficient, by such instruments as I have found, to set division amongst them ; wherein I have already sowed such distrust in their wavering humours, as it appears unto me they have no great opinion of any good success.

"Of late I have been importuned by the Knight of Kerry, the Knight of the Valley, and John O'Connor, men of this province of best means and quality amongst them, to be received to grace and favour, and whom I doubt not will perform their offers, if they be not changed by observing of Florence McCartie's neutral humours, which I find to be doubtful, and more bent (as by his actions appeareth) to combine again with the traitors than to manifest any desire to become honest.

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"These rebels have so rateably laid down and proportioned their number of buonaghies, as that the burden of them doth not pinch them so much as is supposed; and now in the summer season they have no feeling of any charge, living upon the milk and butter of their kine grazing on the mountains and in fastnesses, which holds this rebellion longer on foot than otherwise it would. But of their harvest, wherein their chief hope remaineth to live in winter, I purpose, God willing, to frustrate their expectations, in burning and consuming the same; and in the mean time will not be idle in winning of castles and attending such other services as occasion shall offer. I wish they had more strangers amongst them to make them weary; and yet (as in our former joint letters) there is no less than 4,000.

"So soon as I have reduced Canolough into some better terms by taking the two castles of Carryfoyle and the Glan aforesaid, I do intend . . . to descend into Kerry, to see into what state and conditions I may reduce the country, from which I purpose to return to attend the harvest causes—for now the whole burden of the service lieth in these parts, which maketh me more hopeful that they have retired into their fastnesses.

"At my coming into this province they lay in great strength about Lysmore and Youghall, and up and down altogether between that and Waterforde, and likewise in the county of Corke; which so offended those passages daily, as the townsmen of Waterford could not with safety pass into the country a mile from the town, nor any at all between Corke and Youghall, or Corke and Moallo or Killmallocke. They lay purposely in those places to intercept passengers, and to stop the intercourse; which now is so well cleared and freed, as from Corke to Waterford that way, and from Corke to Lymerrick, and from Lymerrick to Waterforde the passage is daily used, and so little danger therein to annoy them, as that six horsemen may safely travel, only troubled with straggling persons, but none of them able to keep 20 men after him. . . .

"Were it not for the certain intelligence I daily receive, as well of the traitors' being and moving from place to place, as of their strength and number, I should hardly be persuaded here were any at all in Munster; for that since my setting forth at Corke (notwithstanding their great brags, uttered in their pride, that before I came to Moallo they would give me a welcome, and that I should make my passage over their bellies, which was spoken by James McThomas) they have not hitherto showed themselves, . . . but have betaken them into the woods, where they mean to live till some greater famine and scarcity pinch them, which I hope more and more to bring upon them.

"Here arrived before my coming the proportion of victual for 1,600 men for three months, sent by Captain John Woods."

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I am now constrained to send one of the crompters to Corke for victual and powder. As my stay here will be long, direct to Limerick two parts both of victual and munition, and the third to Corke, with money.

I retain the other crompter here, to aid me in the besieging of the castles aforesaid. With one of them I had to waft victual from Corke to Gallwaye. Their being here has freed these coasts of Irish pirates, and cleared the Shenan of the traitors' galleys, "wherein they begin to abound, being now grown very perfect seamen, and practise the same in greater number than ever they did before, [so] that they had blocked up the head of the river, and thereby restrained the merchants' traffick of this town altogether." These crompters will also "prevent the frequent use of their galleys, who heretofore have done very great spoils and outrages therewith upon such as they were able to overcome." License me to continue one of them in wages; the other shall be returned.

"According your Lordships' late direction to have her Majesty's castle in Lymerick repaired, as well for the storing up her Majesty's munitions and keeping of her prisoners, as to be a bridle over this insolent town, I have appointed Justice Golde and Joshua Aylmer to view and survey the same, and, with the advice of the workmen, to lay down an estimate."

Whereas you have allowed 1,000*l.* per annum for extraordinary disbursements, I shall, for want of garrans and carriage horses, have to use water carriage, which also is so scant that the expense will be great. "Here is not so much as one boat belonging to this town other than small cots, which will contain very little." I therefore beseech you to augment the sum allowed for extraordinary services.

Lymericke, the 17th of June 1600.

P.S.—Since the "perclosing" hereof Justice Golde has returned his estimate of the charge of the repairs in the castle, which I send herewith.

"Sent by the ordinary post."

Copy. Pp. 5.

June 18. 414. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 162.

As her Majesty has sent over two of her auditors from hence to take the accounts of corporations, captains, and other officers, and, amongst the rest, of the commissaries of victuals, give direction to Allen Apsley, the commissary for Munster, to leave a sufficient deputy there and repair to Dublin with all his books and accounts.

Greenwich, 18 June 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 25.

2. *Copy.*

June 18. 415. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 76.

My Lord Bourke desires to obtain a pardon for divers of his followers, his brothers, soldiers, and servants. I am willing

c c 2

1600.

to grant it, but as they are unknown to any here, I have referred him to your certificate. In the meantime they are to be protected by you.

Dublin, 18 June 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 12.

2. Copy.

June 23. 416. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 74.

I perceive my despatches to you have run the like fortune as yours to me; yet some I sent by sea, and know not how they could miscarry. I understand by Mr. Coomberfoorde that some of my letters were taken and the messengers hanged. I have more than once written to you to swear him and Sir Charles Willmott of the Council. I am glad you have such good success in Munster.

Safe planting of the garrison of Lough Foyle, who found no opposition. "Since their landing they are busy to fortify, and in many light skirmishes have ever the better." Tyrone, in one of his attempts, lost 20 horsemen. Sir Arthur O'Neale is at Lough Foyle. Both in the North and here they are confident of the coming of the Spaniards, yet I have overtures from most of the principal rebels to come in; but I wish to give them a good blow this harvest, and then we shall give them our own conditions. Sir Geoffrey Fenton is gone into England, to let the Queen understand how necessary it will be to make a prosecution in all parts this next harvest.

Being now at the Earl of Ormond's in Kilkenny, I cannot write as I would, "being full of many businesses of these parts." I should think it a great happiness to speak with you. If I knew when you would draw nearest these parts I would meet you. "The Earl of Ormond, to deliver himself out of so miserable a fortune, hath somewhat entangled himself by pledges, but I protest, as I think, retains a true English and loyal heart. The chief end of my journey to him was in time to know how far he was engaged, and to advise of the best means to free and assure him; and I presume, if he were once well quit with his pawns, he would bear a greater mind of revenge than ever."

I will never leave Onye Moore or Donell Spania till I have beaten them out of their countries. "In the North we have had many skirmishes by Sir Arthur Chechester [and] Sir Samuel Bagnoll; and our men have ever prevailed, and killed many of their best men."

"In my absence the Pale lost many cows, but no blood. In my journey I lost but two men, yet fought with Tyrone himself, where, believe me, he was well beaten." I desire to beat that gallant out of his country.

"If the Spaniards come you must look to your towns." Send me word what you hear of them. "I hold it the next way to

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give a final end to these wars to have those braggadocios come hither."

[Kilkenny], 23 June 1600.

Holograph. P. 1. Sealed and addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 9.

2. Copy.

June 29. **417.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 72.

I am informed you have made stay of such captains' entertainments as are absent from their charges, and bestowed them on their lieutenants. I rather believe you have stopped them for a time until you might be assured to whom I have given licence to be absent. Sir John Bartly and Captain Blunt I retain here. To Sir Gerard Harvy and Captain Clare I have given passport to England; and if they return not within the time limited, they are to be checked of their entertainment. To Captain Clare I have assigned Captain Kingsmel's company at Lough Foyle, and have turned over his company to one Spenser, by direction from England.

My former letters to you have miscarried.

Dublin, 29 June 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 15.

2. Copy.

418. "The MAIN STRENGTH of the REBELS in IRELAND, 1600."

Vol. 632, p. 217a.

"The main strength of the rebels in Leinster, as it is collected out of the particular numbers of every one of them, 4,000 foot, 200 horse.

"The main forces of Ulster, as they are gathered out of every particular chieftain of a country, is 9,000 foot, 800 horse.

"The main forces of Munster, . . 6,000 foot, 300 horse.

"The main forces of Connaught, . . 4,000 foot, 250 horse.

"Sum total, 23,000 foot and 1,550 horse."

Copy. P. 1.

July 1. **419.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 68.

I perceive by your last of 17th June that none of mine are come to your hands. I have written four times since your departure. Upon notice of our fleet's departure from Chester, I drew to the North, which removed Tyrone from about Strabane to Lough Curkin. One day in the Moiry, "Tyrone did think to have taken a great advantage over the Earl of Southampton and the Sergeant-Major in their passage, but by the valour of them two especially, and by my drawing out the forces at the same time to meet them, he departed with loss." The rest of the time we had not even an alarm. Our men landed without opposition, first at Kilmore,

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afterwards at the Derry. They have banished O'Doherty out of his country and taken his castles.

I then drew back to the Pale, which the rebels had spoiled, though I had left great forces behind me. The day I left the North, Tyrone turned his course to Lough Foyle, where, not long after, Sir Arthur O'Neyle yielded himself without capitulations to her Majesty. He is a great help to the garrison there, and by this time I hope they are planted at Dunelong.

O'Don[nell] has preyed Thomond and Connaught, whither I am despatching Sir Arthur Savage as Governor. Sir Arthur Chichester has enriched his garrison with from 700 to 1,000 * cows, and has taken in Brian McErtoe with all his creaghts and family. The rest of his neighbours are more ready to come in than he to receive them.

"Sir Samuel Bagnall was of late stirring among his neighbours Turlagh McHenry and Art McBaron, whom he sent away with loss of six leaders, two of the McDonnells, Neale McArte, Art McBaron's son, and betwixt 60 and 80 men hurt and slain. On our part three were killed and some 20 hurt." Brian-a-Saugh, whom I took in at the Newry, has burned Monaghan. Neale McHugh has burned Turlagh McHenry's town and house.

Sir Geoffrey Fenton has gone to England to move her Majesty for more supplies, with which I mean to draw into the North again. I sent you warrant for swearing Sir Chas. Willmot and Mr. Comerford of the Council there.

This bearer † is recommended by my Lord Admiral (Earl of Nottingham) and Mr. Secretary (Cecil). I have bestowed Captain Clare's company on him, and turned Captain Clare over to Lough Foyle. "I am also to request you, in the behalf of the lady for whose benefit this exchange is intended, that if any companies continue in that garrison, this company may be one of the residents there."

Dublin, 1 July 1600. *Signed.*

P.S., in Mountjoy's own hand:—I will write more freely with my own hand when I am sure to have it safely delivered.

Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 13.

2. Copy.

July 1. 420. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 70.

"By order out of England I have bestowed Captain Francis Kingsmel's company upon his brother George."

Dublin, 1 July 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 15.

2. Copy.

* "10,000" in MS.

† Spenser; see 29 June, No. 417.

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July 4. 421. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 166.

We have received your letters of 17 June touching the good beginnings of your government in Munster. We hope you will ere long reduce that province to a far better state. We send you victual, powder, and munition. For the fortification of the castle of Limerick we have written to the Treasurer (Cary) to direct his deputy-paymaster in Munster to pay the sum of 345*l.* 17*s.* specified in your certificate, out of the allowance for "extraordinaries."

Greenwich, 4 July 1600.

Signed: Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; Notingham; G. Hunsdon; Ro. Cecyll; J. Fortescu.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: Received 23^o ejusdem.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 26.

2. Copy.

July 8. 422. The GLIN.

Vol. 625, p. 142.

"A Description of the Castle of the Glin," besieged and taken by Sir George Carew the 7th and 8th of July 1600.

A pictorial map, showing the barricade before the gate; the breach under the window of the hall, entered by Captain Flowre; the colours of the Earl of Thomond, Sir H. Powre, Sir G. Harvey, and Captain Bostock, displayed on the battlements; the entrance into the hall; the entrance from the hall into the castle; the flanker where the saker did batter; the second battery of the cannon; the battlement on the top of the castle where Captain Flowre received his hurts and forced the rebels to leap into the water; the town burnt by the rebels at our approach; the key where the boats did lie; the trenches; the Queen's ship commanded by Captain Gawin Harvey; our scouts; the horse quarter; and the Knight of the Glin standing to behold the battery.

"The castle containeth in breadth 92, in length 102 foot."

Endorsed by Carew.

July 11. 423. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 13.

"Your letters were not so pleasant wherein you advertised the taking of Desmond, but that these brought by Power were as displeasing." At first her Majesty had scarce patience to distinguish in whom the fault was, but she is now satisfied it was only in Dermott himself. As it was not knavery, but fear and jealousy, she desires his reduction upon any reasonable terms, "though here are some fine wits that will not believe but that Dermott made this flourish only to get to be trusted by you, and at length to do some notable exploit."

Sir Wa. Raleigh was here at the instant, "who hath joined with us in the strong counsel that James FitzGerald should be sent into Munster, to whom her Majesty had given liberty to go abroad before in the town, as soon as it was bruited that

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he (Desmond?) was taken. Much ado we have had now to persuade her to have sent him, because she feareth that when he shall be there, it is not unlike that he and his cousin may be reconciled, the rather if the counterfeit Earl shall pretend that he never meant to hold it against him, but against the Queen. But of these things her Majesty is now content." I am glad that you were not "overtaken to have paid money and have gotten nothing."

"Here hath been a motion made from the Deputy that he might call 1,000 of your men out of Munster to assist him in other services. Out of that you may pick some English; but we have answered it very well, that your province is too far from the condition to spare any, much less to do it at this time, when all the service is to be done; neither can we think that he should need it, seeing we send him 2,000 new supplies. Since he understood that, he hath made a motion that he may have 1,000 of your men, and you 1,000 of his supplies; but we . . . still denied that proposition. You need take no notice hereof further than you please, for it is dead; only . . . I suspect the Deputy may be jealous that you neglect him, because you write not to him; from which error though I know you are free; yet have I used this caution, both upon your last letters and the precedent, to send him the extracts of the news, and to let him know that I have done it by your entreaty, because you had written unto me that you did continually advertise him, but feared that your letters were intercepted."

I have written to you by those that carry the treasure, and by Smith, my servant. In our late supplies of horse I found means to send you 30 to supply yours. See that the commissaries for victuals continually advertise us of their receipts.

"It will not be amiss that you do sometime write a private letter to the Lord Chamberlain (Hunsdon), and in those matters which touch not some very private design, to direct your letter to the Lords" [of the Council].

Her Majesty approves of your proceedings with Dermott and of your keeping the crompters. What land or what portion should the Queen confer upon the Earl of Desmond when he comes to you? "As it were unsafe to give him all the superiorities which puff up the Irish, so I do verily believe that, except they see him settled to dwell among them, they will never follow him. Sometime methinks it were not amiss to place him at Killmallock,* and to give him some land there, which may be done with some composition with the Lady Norrys. Sometime methinks it were not amiss to place him at one of his own houses, as Loughgeare, with some ploughlands about it. Divers Undertakers have lands, you know,

* *Note in Cecil's own hand* :—"I do not think, upon better consideration, that Kyllmallock is fit, being a town."

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which the Queen may well resume, because they have not fulfilled their conditions." If you write of this by your private letter, "it shall fashion counsels accordingly; for as no man is better able to do it than you, so you know I will believe no man better than you." If you think a pension fitter than lands, which I do not, acquaint me with your mind.

"Her Majesty doth now determine to create Sir Arthur O'Neale Earl of Tyrone, who doth very good service at Lough Foyle, and is a gallant fellow." She liketh well of your resolution to use severity to pledges; "but it were better to begin it upon a man than upon a youth."

I should be glad to know whether the report is true, "that the Lord Barry was not spoiled so much by the Earl of Tyrone as was said, but that loss which he received in the Great Island was belonging to some of his followers; next, that his brother John Barry did set upon a person protected with a dozen or sixteen swords drawn, hacked him and hewed him, and all quietly passed over by you without punishment. It is said that one John FitzRedmond lieth about Youghal with not so many as 100 swords, and yet good Sir John Dowdall, with all his garrison, for some particular respect, lets him alone, which if he were reduced, it is said, you have made the way passable between Youghal and Limerick."

The rest is in Cecil's own hand.

"Although we have won 2,021 [the Queen] to send 1,076 [Desmond] to 2,049 [you], as 2,049 [you] desired, yet we do say that 1,076 [Desmond] shall be at first day. Till we hear from you next, I think good to tell you that her Majesty stayeth the going over of the Earl in the Tower. I pray you, therefore, make haste and write to me what you would have done. I send you the letters open which James doth write. You may use them as you find cause. I gave Poor 12*l*. He shall have as much more now to go. My Lord of Cobham and Sir W. Raleigh are stolen over to Dunkirk.

"From Court, this 11th of July 1600.

"Yours affectionately, Ro. Cecyll"

Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew: Received the 11th of August 1600.

July 12. 424. SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 211.

I would sooner have answered your letter but I have been all this spring almost troubled with sore eyes. I hope Mr. Secretary supplies you with news from hence.

"The late good success of the army of the States in the Low Countries, where our English won great honour, and the now going over of the Earl of Northumberland and Rutland to follow those wars a while, accompanied with my Lord Cobham and Sir Water Rawley to Newporte, and so presently they two to return again, I think you have heard at large. The

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French King's going first to Lyons to receive of the Duke of Savoy the restitution of the Marquisate of Saluzzo, and from thence to go to Marseilles to receive his new Queen, the Duke of Florence's niece, who already is so proclaimed in Florence, and takes her place accordingly. She is expected there in September, accompanied with the Pope's kinsman, the Cardinal of San Albrino, and other great states of Italy; and there shall be the solemnisation performed with the greatest pomp that can be imagined.

"Your good successes in Munster I am very glad of, and wish . . . Florence (McCarty) may prove a mannerly subject, and that country quiet.

"Cousin, I have a poor young kinsman called Cowte, in Sir Charles Wygmote's (Willmot's?) company; I pray you grace him for his friend's sake, if he deserve it; and command me here as your assured friend and kinsman."

Green[wic]h, 12 July.

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: 12 July 1600.

July 13. 425. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 167.

The losses and distress that this gentleman, Arthur Hide, has been put to by the wicked rebels in Munster, would receive better help and relief if her Majesty had the means to help all those (being many in number) who are in the same condition. But he must expect some better opportunity. Meanwhile as he, with his son and three servants, is willing to follow the service there, we require you to put them into pay, and help them as much as possible.

Greenwich, 13 July 1600.

Signed: Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, Nottingham, G. Hunsdon, Ro. North, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 27.

2. Copy.

July 18. 426. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 13.

Since my last of 17 June I wrote to Mr. Secretary (Cecil), by one John Power, from Killmallocke on 27 June. On the 28th I returned to Limerick, and on the 29th I marched with the army into the heart of Conoloughe, and encamped at a town called Ballyngary, being desired so to do by Dermott O'Connor, who was besieged in a castle (called Ballyallynane) by the enemy. Upon my arrival the enemy dislodged.

"In my march the castle of Crome, which was held by Piers Lacy (being now part of the Countess of Kildare's jointure), upon sight of the army, the ward which Lacy had left in it quitted the place, where some spoil fell unto the soldiers, and by mischance the house was burned, but the loss thereof is not great, being but old thatched houses, and the walls

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thereof standing good and firm as they did before. This place gave great annoyance unto the subject, being seated at the entry into Conologhe, which is the chief receipt and storehouse for all the rebels.

"The last of June I marched to Askeaton through a fast country (being the way I went from Ballyngary ten miles), where I remained three days . . . for the victual, which was to come from Lymerick by water. The 4th of July I rose from Askeaton, and lodged upon the midst of the mountain of Slighlogher, at a place called Ballyntare, 12 miles from Askeaton; the enemy all that day marching in my view, and our camps lodged not two miles asunder. The day following the enemy, as before, marched in sight, and left us not until we came unto the Knight of the Valley's castle, called the Glann, five miles distant from Ballyntare, where, as soon as we were encamped, I caused the cannon to be unshipped, and that night we entrenched ourselves about the castle. The day following we planted our ordnance, which was one demi-cannon and a sacre; all which was done without any loss of men by entertaining of the time with parley.

"The 7th of this present the Knight of the Valley came safe-conducted to the camp, and desired conference with me, which I refused without his absolute submission to her Majesty and relying himself upon her mercy; whereunto he would not yield unto but upon conditions, notwithstanding that he saw the cannon placed ready to play, and his son in my hands there threatened to be presently executed. Immediately being safely conveyed out of the camp (himself standing upon a high mountain not far off) we began to batter, where the small shot did so incessantly burn powder, as the ward durst not to stand to their fights, until a breach was made assaultable into the cellar under the great hall of the castle.

"In all this time we lost but one man, and before night we were possessed of three towers of the house; the enemy retiring himself into the fourth, being the strongest of all; the cellar whereof being also that night won and fired, they were driven to so great an exigent, as divers attempting to escape were taken and slain.

"The morning following Captain Flower, being the Sergeant-Major, with other officers and gentlemen got up into that tower, and pressed the enemy for their last refuge to run to the top, from which many of them leaping down were there cut in pieces, and the rest slain within.

"In winning of this castle we lost 11 soldiers, whereof one was an ensign, and 21 hurt; of which number (of men of account) the Sergeant-Major (whose valour I cannot but highly commend) had four wounds, but none mortal, the Earl of Thomond's lieutenant, and likewise Sir Henry Power's hurt. Of the enemy of all sorts there was slain and burned towards 80 persons, amongst them 24 natural, and of the best followers

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of the Knight of the Valley, in whom his greatest strength consisted, and by whose loss he is utterly ruined.

"The reasons that made this traitor to be so obstinate was the confident opinion he had grounded upon oaths and protestations from James FitzThomas and the buonaghes, that with his whole force he would give him relief and raise the siege; who evermore lodged (during my abode there) not above a mile from me, and yet never attempted to give one alarm. Of his scouts and spies every day heads were brought unto me by our horse, as also the advertisements which he received from men of this town of Limerick (whose names I cannot yet discover), that the cannon-carriage (being old and rotten) could not serve more than one shot.

"His son, being an infant (for humanity's sake), I did commiserate; of whom his unnatural father had no regard. Such pledges by experience I find unmeet to be received; and therefore if your Lordships by a strict commandment shall prohibit all commanders throughout the kingdom to receive infants, (under correction) I think it very convenient; for there is in this province many the like, who were received before my coming, whose fathers are now in action, and no whit regard them.

"This castle of the Glan is a place of great importance, seated upon the Shenan; in the which, during the rebellion, a merchant of Limerick (called Anthony Arthur) hath evermore remained, who was a general factor for all the other merchants of this town to issue their commodities to the country, to the great relief of the rebel.

"To make this place guardable, I was constrained to remain there five days, in repairing the ruins which the cannon made, without the which it could not be taken, being (in my opinion) one of the strongest holds in this kingdom. And for the guard of the same I left Captain Mordant constable . . . and 21 men. . . .

"O'Connor Kerry (whose country is next adjoining to it), understanding that I had the like intention to batter his castle of Carrygofoyle, being likewise seated on the Shenan, and the strongest castle in all Kerry, made suit to be received into . . . protection, and for his loyalty did surrender into my hands the said castle, whereof when I had taken possession I left for the guard of that place Sir Charles Willmott's company. The Earl of Thomond, . . . to assure O'Connor more firmly to the State, hath given him in Thomond, during these wars, a castle with 13 plowlands, for him and his tenants to dwell on, which is a better pledge upon him than any he can else give, for that thereby all his cattle will be continually at her Majesty's disposition.

"Likewise, to keep the enemy more busied in Kerry, I sent a party of 50 soldiers by water, who there have surprised a castle called Lysrahane, killing the ward, burning the

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country round about it, and do hold the same for her Majesty. This castle is seated within little more than a mile from Traly, and was in the possession of Mr. Edward Graye.

"The Lord McMorrys (who is the most obstinate and malicious traitor within this province), understanding of my being at Carrygofoyle, fearing my neighbourhood, brake a castle of his called Bewly, seated likewise upon the Shenan, but two miles distant from Carrygofoyle.

"The 14th of this month, contrary to my desire and intent, I was enforced through want of victual, which daily I expected from Cork, . . . to return for these parts, marching from the Glan through exceeding great fastnesses, and lodging that night by a castle of Trencherde's, the Undertaker, held by the rebels, called Corgrage, seated upon the Shenan, and of strength sufficient to withstand any force but the cannon. But the example of the Glan was so fearful to them, as upon summons they presently yielded the same with safety of their lives, which I thought meet rather to give than to be at the charge to compass it otherways. In the which I have left for constable one Oliver Stephenson, who at his own charge maintaineth the same.

"From thence I marched the 14th by Askeaton to Athdare, a manor-house of the Countess of Kildare's, but wholly ruined by Piers Lacy, and there lodged, being from Corgrage 12 miles, from whence I sent back to Askeaton to ingarrison there 700 foot and 75 horse, being a place exceeding convenient for service.

"The day following (having intelligence of a castle held by the enemy called Rathmore, three mile out of my way to Limerick) I marched directly unto it, and upon summons it was in like sort (as Corgrage) delivered up unto me, in the which I will establish a ward, which shall keep the same without charge to her Majesty; and so that night came from thence to Limerick, having sent from Rathmore 450 foot and 50 horse to Killmallock.

"The residue of the army I brought hither with me, with a purpose together with Sir Charles Willmot's company, which I left in Kerry, to plant in that country a strong garrison of 1,050 foot and 50 horse under the command of Sir Charles (who is a gentleman of great sufficiency, valiant and discreet); which troops will make a short work of the wars in those parts, for, by the enemies themselves and her Majesty's forces, that country, which now aboundeth with victuals and is the chiefest relief that the rebels have, will be soon destroyed.

"And as for Conoloughe (in the which the Earl of Desmond's greatest command and relief evermore hath remained, and which at this instant is more obedient and beneficial unto James FitzThomas, by reason of the strength and goodness of the soil thereof, than any country in this province), the two garrisons of Askeaton and Killmallock will so harass the same, as before this next winter I doubt not it shall be merely

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wasted; towards the which this army already hath given a good beginning, having left nothing unspolled, and burnt that was within our reach. Scarcity already begins, and when famine shall succeed, there is no means for the rebel long to subsist. . . .

"The gentlemen of this province are so suspicious one of another, each fearing that underhand they have made their way with me, as more time is spent in swearing and fore-swearing to give farther assurance amongst them, than in doing or performing anything against us. The buonaghes likewise, as well fearing her Majesty's forces (with whom at no time since my coming into the province they durst fight), as to be betrayed by them of the country unto me, did desire my protection and safeconduct to depart out of this country with their followers and goods; which, when I had granted without taking leave of the Munster rebels (under whom since the beginning of these wars they have been waged), did rise upon the sudden, and 1,500 of them with their captains and leaders passed the river of Shenan lately into Con-naught. In which passage the Lord Bourke, in revenge of his brother's death, slain by them, not knowing of the protection which I had given them, came upon their rear and slew 60 of them, drowned others, and took part of their prey. Of their return I dare give no judgment, because the people are uncertain, but my hope is that the seeds of sedition which I have sown between the Munster rebels and them is such as will make them never to accord again.

"James FitzThomas (if the aids which he hath sent for to Tyrone fail him) I doubt not but in some reasonable time either to get his head or to make him a wood kearne.

"The countenance of the Queen's army is grown fearful unto them, and the terror of it hath been the only cause of these good beginnings; for longer than the sword is over their heads, no longer will they remain in obedience. And therefore I humbly pray your Lordships that the same may not in haste be diminished until the work is thoroughly performed, lest the end prove worse than the beginning. When time shall serve to ease her Majesty's charges, no man shall be more careful or ready to give notice thereof than myself, being my part to do no less, and agreeable to my own desires to quit myself out of this country, in which I serve but in duty.

"As soon as the victual cometh from Cork (which I hourly expect), I purpose (God willing) to go into Kerry by the way of Tomond, to settle Sir Charles Willmott with the garrison in Kerry; which done I mean to repair to this town, and from thence to return to the county of Cork with the remain of her Majesty's forces, which are not ingarrisoned, as before to place them . . . in the several parts thereof (for a small absence breeds many disorders in this country); where neither I may not long rest, but return again to these parts. . . .

"James FitzThomas, McMorrys, and Piers Lacy, as I am

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informed, the 5th of this month despatched a messenger with a sum of money to Tyrone, to levy buonaghes in Ulster; and also have dealt with Redmond Bourke and Tyrell to return with their forces unto them; whereof if they fail (holding their treasons to be unpardonable) they have resolved to go into Spain, hoping from thence to obtain aids to infest this country with a new war."

Lymericke, 18 July 1600.

"Sent by Patrick Arthur."

Copy. Pp. 4.

July 19. 427.

Vol. 620, p. 17.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

The victuals, munition, and money for this province (Munster) should be sent "at seasonable times." Hitherto I have had no cause of complaint; but now being drawn to a low ebb in every of them, I pray you send present supplies, two parts to the Shanahan, and the third to the river of Cork. Land carriage from Cork to the garrisons in these parts is hazardous. The victuals of both the crompsters have expired. One I revictual and send back; the other I pray to hold for three months. If the 1,000*l.* allowed for extraordinaries be exceeded, I beseech you "to bear with necessity."

The rebels in their own opinion stand secure of relief from Spain before the end of next month, "whereof if they fail, the hearts of these provincials are broken." Matters of such great weight are better known to your Lordships than to me. As the army has grown weak, I pray you send to Cork forthwith 500 men carefully chosen.

"The country here grows into great scarcity, so as a famine is like to ensue." Supply us with victuals. "Unto the towns and country we may not trust; . . . whereof since my coming hither I have had good experience, not having in my last journey such ready help from Lymericke as my urgent necessities required, nor yet any help at all of the gentlemen of the country (who say themselves they be subjects), either of personal service, intelligence, or espials, whereby I might annoy the enemy either upon their persons or cattle; but rather privy spies to give them warning to save themselves and their goods; insomuch as these two months we have lived in the field wholly upon our store-victuals, not having any help more than of one prey of 60 kine."

Florence McCarty pretends to be combined with the rebels, having been a weak in their camp, "but yet underhand he seems to be a subject." He does not "frequent me with letters" as heretofore. But the garrison of Kerry will so yoke him that he will be forced to declare himself a subject.

Lymericke, 19 July 1600.

P.S.—I learn from Cork that a bark of 25 tons had there arrived with victuals for the two crompsters.

"Sent by Patrick Arthur."

Copy. Pp. 2.

1600.

July 20. 428. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 19.

Today I received your three letters dated 17th and 18th June, which arrived at Cork on the 15th inst., and were sent to me by the Mayor, who also sent me word that treasure and victuals had arrived there. For your care in supplying us so royally I render humble thanks. Only three lasts of powder have been received. The last 9,000*l*. is nearly expended, and but for this new supply we should have been penniless. Your orders for defalcation of powder and arms shall be duly observed.

I hope the 500 soldiers are to come to Cork by the last of July. Our companies are weak through these two months' travel, and through lying in the fields.

As I am not to license any commanders to go into England, "command all those that have charges here and are in England to return to their companies; for in this small army, which now was employed, more than half of the captains were missing, some with the Lord Deputy at Dublin, and many in England, none of them since my coming having been here or thereunto licensed by me." Many captains have a great number of attendants, who are also absent. Companies are not so well governed by lieutenants.

Touching the Lord Barry and Charles McCarty I will see your commandments observed.

Upon a more exact view of the castle of Limerick, finding "how unable it is by my art to make the same strong, except part of the town be razed," I am now only "setting workmen in hand to make small work for storehouses." I am sorry for this, "for that this insolent town has need of a straight curb."

Apsley, the victualler, is gone to Dublin to tender his accounts.

By this enclosed from the Mayor of Waterford, you may perceive what intelligence comes hither. "My understanding is too weak to make any judgment of them."

"No hour passeth within this kingdom but some place or other produceth slaughters. This last week Sir Charles O'Carroll (a good servant of her Majesty's) was murdered by one of his kinsmen. Four of the O'Carrolls are in competition for the lordship of that country. Before this question be decided it will cost much blood, but therein the State is nothing indemnified.

"This day a report came unto me that Redmond Bourke, son to John, Baron of Leatrim, a notorious and malicious traitor, and one of great estimation among the rebels, was murdered in his bed by Ulick Bourke and his brother, sons to Redmond Bourke, uncle to this traitor's father; being all combined and actors in this rebellion of Munster. The Baron of Leatrim was betrayed unto the now Earl of Clanrycard, his father, by Redmond Bourk aforesaid, their uncle, and murdered in his house; and yet this young Redmond, reported

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to be slain, trusting to this devilish combination, linked by the chains of their traitorly priests, did put his greatest confidence in his kinsmen, Ulick Bourke and his brother aforesaid. But how true these reports may be, I dare not promise anything for them."

Lymerick, 20 July 1600.

"Sent by Patrick Arthur."

Copy. Pp. 2.

July 20. **429.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 169.

The Queen sends you 40 light horse levied in this realm, to fill up your companies of horse. They are to be conducted from Bristol to Cork by Arthur Hyde, Esq., one of the Undertakers of Munster.

Greenwich, 20 July 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 23° Augusti 1600.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 27.

2. *Copy.*

July 28. **430.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 171.

As the Treasurer at Wars (Sir G. Cary) cannot finish his accounts because the commissaries of the victuals do not send theirs to him, we require you to send the accounts of the commissary for your province to the Lord Deputy and Council.

Greenwich, 28 July 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 28.

2. *Copy.*

July. **431.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 175.

We send herewith the petition of the Lady St. Ledger, widow, desiring to clear herself of some imputation of disloyal dealing, and praying that the matter may be examined. As the information against her comes from thence, we send you her petition and the information given us. Examine the matter, and certify us what you conceive of the same.

Greenwich, — July 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed:* About the Lady St. Leger with the copy of Mr. Denham's letter.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 28.

2. *Copy.*

July. **432.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CARY, Treasurer at Wars.

Vol. 604, p. 274.

The Lord President of Munster (Carew) having caused a survey of the work done and to be done in fortifying Limerick

* See 31 March 1600.

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Castle to be taken by James Gold, one of the Chief Justices of Munster, and Joshua Ailmer, has sent us a certificate of the charges thereof under their hands, amounting to 345*l.* 17*s.* ster. Give direction to your deputy paymaster in Munster to pay the said sum out of the "extraordinaries."

Greenwich, — July 1600.

Copy. P. 1. Endorsed by Carew.

Aug. 2. 433. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 604, p. 29.

I have imparted to her Majesty your last despatches to the Council and to myself. Your proceedings obtained her "good acceptation," as they deserved. You will receive answers from the Council upon their next assembly. "But because I can give a guess at that which shall follow, and find how long we are to seek for wind sometime when we would have it, I do send you in this, as *avant-courier*, something which (if the wind stand where it doth) may haply arrive to give you more timely satisfaction." You best know how to deal "with those that would come in, and which are most reprobates." Therefore I will not play Aristotle to you; only the malevolent prophesy "that to save their countries during this harvest it is no marvel if any rebel make his submission." Your circumspection will prevent all such censures.

Her Majesty would be contented to have the war ended. "She did very well like of your own judgment of her that she would take it very well that those three persons might die for the sins of the people. And yet if Piers Lacy (whom you have named) would have pardon for the service to be done against the other two, such a proof of his loyalty will satisfy her Majesty if you give him pardon."

I find her Majesty "wonderfull tickle" as to Desmond, "sometime fearing the scorn of sending him over if no good success should follow, and other time doubting, if he should be at liberty there, that he would be harder to be pulled down than any other. . . . All this had been prevented if the first plot had holden; and if Dermot would since have done anything, it would have satisfied much; but his running away suddenly, and nothing yet done by any of this Desmond's followers, in hope of his preferment, maketh great diffidence (I mean where you know it is not rare); against which for a man to press were but a desperate work in a matter where success is so uncertain, and where commonly the issue of the council given may be thrown upon a man's own shoulders for his labour. . . . Notwithstanding, I do verily believe he will be sent to you, to see what will be done for him. And therefore I would not have you in anywise divulge the doubtfulness of it, but rather to make your best profit of the expectation. For this step he still enjoyeth of liberty, that though he lieth in the Tower every night, yet he goeth every day where he will."

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"I have pressed her Majesty wonderfully for the 500 men, but this last supply of 2,000 for Dublin hath drawn us so dry as it will not be hearkened unto.

"For the expectation of the Spaniards' landing I am still little apprehensive, both because the state of that kingdom cannot afford many, and because some likelihood of a war to break out between Spain and France (where the French King is at Lyons ready for the field against the Duke of Savoy), with the late overthrow to the Archduke (which had cost them many bodies of men), ought to make them unable to spare many. And yet when I consider how easy it is upon a sudden to choppe over 3,000 or 4,000 without any extraordinary preparation of shipping, I dare not be confident in the contrary." They have broken off the treaty "upon this only point, that they will not yield the Queen precedency or equality, saying they deny priority unto France, and that France hath it of us, to whom they will not yield equality." At the time of the first proposition, now two years since, "they did expect the success of the Flemings' fleet which was upon their coast, they assured themselves that the Queen should have prevailed in Ireland with her great army the last summer, and they did not so well discover our resolution to make no peace upon such conditions as might bring the Low Countries to their obedience."

"All matters of the Earl [of Essex] stand still in the disposition which my last letters by Power left them; her Majesty being removed to Nonesuch, and the Earl licensed only to go into the country in the same restraint that he lived here in London. Sir Wa. Raleigh, understanding of the death of the Captain of Jarsye, is here a hot suitor for it, and, as I conceive, very likely to succeed, for the Queen hath given him a good answer.

"I think you shall shortly receive direction from the Deputy to bestow a company upon one that is to be resident at Mal-low, and that by cashing some other companies there. You may guess at whose suit it is done, and for whose interest the rather; wherein I pray you show no backwardness, for it is already unkindly taken that you have showed no greater courtesy to his kinswoman, but have taken use of all her living without giving any recompense, but rather hard answers to her ministers. I doubt not but Sir Walter hath written now hereof unto you. . . .

"I would be glad to hear what report is made of my usage of young Barry, of whom I protest I take as great care as I can. I have placed him at the Dean's of Westminster; I have provided him bedding, and all of my own, with some other things; meaning that for his diet and residence there it shall cost him nothing. He hath been a little sick since he came, and is extreme Popish of his age, yet I have given order that he shall not be any ways straynably dealt withal, because of distasting his father, although he refuse to go to church. You

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may use this as seems good to your discretion. . . . The radishe tricks of Florence McCarty makes me jealous of some practice with Spain. . . . If I might advise you, I would either bring him to better terms or else put him quite out. You know he is a coward. . . . Although I have written to you as above, I have caused to be given out at Bristoll that the Queen will send 1,500 foot more into Munster; wherein, to colour it the better, I have written to the mayor to inform me what store of shipping there is in the port."

From the Court of Nonesuch, 2 August 1600.

P.S., in Cecil's own hand.—"The fellow that waits on young Barry is very obstinate. I think he makes the boy worse. Send me word freely if Desmond may be sent to you without being created first. . . . I shall never get the Queen to do it first till somewhat be done. Write to me with all speed secretly. I pray you commend me affectionately to the Earl of Thomond, of whom the Queen is infinitely satisfied. For the fear he had to be commanded by any other named to Con-naught, let him be assured he should never have come under him. But that is dissolved, for the Earl of S[outhampton?] is come away, and goes into the Low Countries. Excuse me that I write not to him now." *Signed.*

Pp. 4. The address and endorsement are on f. 21.

Aug. 6. 434. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 604, p. 27.

"It may be you shall receive many packets together full of uncertainties in the matter of 1076 [Desmond]. But now I must confess that I am of opinion it is fatal to us *probare meliora, et deteriora sequi*; for besides that her Majesty deferreth to do anything at all in that matter (all the credit we have not being able to procure him yet to lie out of the g c p h w),* . . . all the Queen will be brought unto will be to send him to you, but with some gentleman to look unto him by the way; and neither to create him afore he go, nor so much as to seal him a patent and send it with him; but only to write a letter to you authentical, whereby you shall be able to assure them that if his friends will leave the other party, and come in and serve him, that she will make him an Earl, and give him competent living to dwell amongst them.

"I write not this as not knowing her Majesty will do all she promiseth, but as a man infinitely grieved to see her Majesty should give to those that are possessed with unbelieving spirits so just cause of jealousy, whereby so great an opportunity might have been taken to reduce that province. A matter which although I affect out of public duty principally, yet I profess no second cause so much inforceth me as the desire that it might prosper in your hands. Notwith-

* The Tower?

1600.

standing, I do use all the art I can, till I hear from you, to palliate this sore, by making the young Earl and all that hearken after him (whereof the Irish are many) to believe no other than that he shall be sent to you in pomp, and created afore he go. But, Sir, whether he will believe this or not, I know not; but sure I am that I have discharged my conscience toward God and her Majesty; to whom I refer it. And, excepting destiny itself, I cannot give any reason for this proceeding, but that her Majesty still sayeth she will from time to time discharge him wholly from the n t f u k.

"We did all we could to make her Majesty perceive how infinitely she wronged herself by losing of time; and therefore told her that now this matter hath been bruited, there is not one old follower of this young Earl, of whom, by fair means or foul, the traitor McTho[mas] hath not made sure, since he found cause to doubt of.

"I protest unto you we doubt Florence McCarthy, [and] therefore wish you to try him quickly; and if you see he doth but dally with you, I would wish you to lay hold on him as soon as you could possibly; which I assure you would be an acceptable service, for in my conscience he is Spanish.

"I told the Queen that if she sent 1076 [Desmond] as a prisoner with a bare letter unto you, he would have much ado to draw any numbers; so as . . . I shall leave expecting any good which you shall not perform without this help. We have moved her Majesty to levy 600 foot more to supply your deficiencies in Munster, and doubt not but by this time you have received great quantities of victual and apparel. . . .

"I would fain truly understand by you, and speedily, whether I shall trouble myself to procure his sending over in this dry manner. . . . But do you write that privately to me; and in some other letter, which she shall see, write that you are very sorry to see such an opportunity lost; that you do wonder at us, that would wish you to persuade and assure that people that such a thing should be except we thought it, or found ourselves able to enable you to keep your word with them, who are now so incredulous that anything which is intended must needs be but some policy to serve a present turn, as they begin again to unite themselves and stand better assured each of other than they did before. You may conclude that the hearts of princes is in God's hand; that you are sorry some other man (whose credit is better to persuade, as it seems) was not chosen in your place, wherein if you thought to be confined long, you should think yourself unhappy, finding your credit is decaying there, with so long a retardation in this matter. The sooner you shall write, . . . the better it shall be; for if it procure him so that he can do any good, it is time well hastened; if not, it may serve us all that have been dealers for him for an argument, whatsoever happens amiss, that his not going hath been the impediment of it. . . .

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"Although you wrote but for 500 men, we have given you 600."

From the Court at Nonesuch, 6 August 1600. *Signed.*

P.S., in Cecil's own hand.—"We have ordered that you shall have victual, which will last till October. Send us word what you will have done in that point, and whether, if you have money, you cannot provide victual, or, if you cannot all, what you can. Our supplies, I can tell you, come only apparelled and with swords, for you must find arms there."

Pp. 3. Endorsed.

Aug. 10. 435. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 62.

I send you the petition of a poor widow (Alyson Dalton) to her Majesty, recommended to me by the Lords.* Mr. Treasurer (Sir G. Carey) and Sir Francis Stafford have thought her suit not unmeet to be granted. I have given her a warrant for the ward. Let her own warders be allowed. Sir Ed[ward] Stafford and his Lady, Sir Nicholas Parker, and others have been earnest on her behalf.

Dublin, 10 August 1600. *Signed.*

With a P.S. in Mountjoy's own hand.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 16.

2. Copy.

Aug. 12. 436. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 60.

I received your last [on] the 1st of August by William McHubert, being in Ophaly, "very busy at harvest in cutting down the honest gentlemen's corn." We fought with them almost every day, and beat them into and through their woods and over their bogs. "Myself came into that country on foot over a bog, and went out of it in like sort." We lost not ten men in all. What the rogues lost I know not, but they report that they killed 400 of ours and lost 300. Gray Davies, the easiest going horse I had, was killed under me. Captain Masterson and Lester, my Lord of Dellvin's lieutenant, were hurt. After we have planted the garrison at Armaugh, "I will hunt these squirrels even out of their strongest woods." I wish we could plot a journey on these and your borders, so that we might meet, for I long to speak with you about many public and private matters, which I am loath to hazard by writing." I have granted no pardons to Munster men but to such as came with your recommendation, and I have referred all suitors to you. As I am now going another journey, I have ordered my man to make a despatch more at

* See the Privy Council's letter of 30th May, a copy of which is enclosed in this letter of Mountjoy's with the petition in question.

1600.

large to your Lordship. I am glad all things succeed so well with you.

Dublin, 12 August 1600.

P.S.—“Captain Fobin* hath been prisoner in Caer, and delivereth me many overtures for the taking of that place. . . . I would have somewhat done for that place because of the artillery.”

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed: To the Right Hon. the Lord President of Munster. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 19.

2. Copy. Pp. 2.

Aug. 12. 437. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 58.

When I was in the North I received letters from you for the bestowing upon the Lord Barry and Charles McCarte More of such companies as you thought meet to be “cast,” which were Sir Richard Masterson’s, Sir Edward FitzGarrott’s, and Hugh O’Reylie’s. I returned answer, which, it seems, never came to your hands, that you might cast any one of those, “and thereout erect one of the other two.” I have since received letters from Mr. Secretary (Cecil) and the Lords of the Council in their behalf, with two warrants. Of the three unprofitable companies I would have FitzGarrott’s spared, partly because I purpose to draw his company hither and to send you one of the new supplies in his place, but especially because upon our return out of Ophaly he was preyed of all his cattle, being thought by the rebels to have led me into those parts.

I have written to the Lords that of the 2,000 about to come over, 1,000 might be sent to you, and the like number drawn hither of your old men, because the toughest of our work is now in hand, “being going into the North,” and yours well-nigh ended. I pray you to send me the companies of the absent captains Sir Henry Poore, Sir John Bartley, Sir Edward FitzGarrott, and Captain George Blount. To the planting at Armagh I must go strong. The captains here complain no less than yours of “the check of discretion” and the weekly defalcation; for the Treasurer (Cary), though authorised to make payments according to the certificates of the 20 commissaries, “doth always stay something in his hand for his own security.” The former abuses and disorders have not been remedied by the comptroller of the musters and the commissioners.

“The defalcation of arms and munition out of the lendings I have respited, as a thing intolerable.” I and Mr. Treasurer have written to the Lords in that cause. Do you the like I pray.

* “Tobyn” in MS. 624.

1600.

I have received a long letter from the Lords respecting many supposed disorders in my government. One is, that soldiers continually flock to Bristoll, Barstable, and other ports of the West out of this kingdom, which must be out of your province. Touching apparel, 3,000 suits have been sent into Munster, and 3,000 to Lough Foyle. Only 12,000 are allowed to the whole army of 14,000. See if any suits remain in your provant master's hands for "our naked companies."

Dublin, 12 August 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 17.

2. Copy.

[Aug.] 438. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 25.

I have written heretofore in favour of this gentleman, Captain Clare, who wishes to serve in the wars where you command. Being now to return thither he desires me to recommend him for the command of the fort of Limerick. Though I know not how you have disposed it, I should be glad my letters might stand him in stead in any reasonable request.

Not dated. Signed.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: Received the 23rd of August 1600.

Aug. 25. 439. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 177.

The Queen has ordered 600 men to be levied in the counties of South Wales. They are to be at Bristol by the 22nd. As the several shires have [lately] been often burthened with levies, her Majesty forbears to charge the country with apparelling or arming these men, "saving for good swords," because though your numbers diminish, the armour ought to be preserved. At their embarking good winter suits shall be delivered to them.

One abuse is, as we hear, still continued there; "the soldiers have means to be dismissed" by the captains or commissaires and are conveyed over in such shipping as comes from thence. Care should be used to restrain their coming over by any passport or licence but your own, "and for cause of apparent infirmity irrecoverable."

We have furnished you with victuals until the last of October. We will continue to provide all necessaries for the army, "to further the good success you have had since your coming thither. Because of the heavy charge and hazard in winter, especially in sending to Limerick, we should be glad to know "what means you have to recover any manner of victuals," if money be duly sent for the lendings. "The wind hath stood good," but we have seen no despatch from you

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since that of 20th July. The Commissary has sent us no declaration of the checques.

Nonsuch, 25 August 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 30.

2. Copy.

Aug. 25. 440. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 179.

"We did heretofore write unto the Commissioners in that province to give assistance unto the servants of the Lady Norreis for the bringing over hither of the goods left by her late husband Sir Thomas Norreis, she having given bond with sureties to answer for those goods or the value thereof, if upon the examination of her husband's accounts she be found indebted to her Majesty." But she complains that Sir Henry Poore, upon his removal, has carried away our former letter with him, that divers captains have gotten parcels of those goods into their hands, and that certain persons violently detain some parcels, upon pretence of debt. Call before you any such captains, and take order for her satisfaction.

Nonsuch, 25 August, 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 29.

2. Copy.

Aug. 25. 441. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 21.

"The 18th of the last I departed from Lymericke towards Kerry by the way of Thomond." The ordinary way over the mountain of Sleughlogher was impassable for horse by the great rain.

"The forces I carried with me was in list 1,050 foot and 75 horse, and marched to a place called Kilrushe, opposite to Carygofoyle in Kerry; and by the 28th . . . all the troops and baggage were transported, which (considered the breadth of the river, being there at the least one league and a half over) was done with more expedition than I expected; and which in truth I could not have effected in many days if my Lord of Thomond had not given me great aid, not having any other boats to perform that service but such as he procured.

"The day following, having notice that the rebels in Kerry hastened the razing of their castles, I sent Sir Charles Willmott with the forces aforesaid into Clanmorrys; who recovered the Lord FitzMorrys' chief house called Lixnawe (being set upon props of wood ready to fall) before they had time to fire them; and also a castle belonging to the Bishop of Kerry, called Rathowyne, not far from Traly, which likewise stood upon props, and the enemy put from the firing of them; into which places he presently did put sufficient guards for their defence, either of them being fit for service. From thence without stay (with 50 horse only) he went to view Traly, which

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was Sir Edward Denye's house, and now utterly defaced, nothing being left unbroken but a few old vaults; and as they were in breaking of them, he came so suddenly upon the buonaghes appointed by James FitzThomas to see that work perfected, being in number 150 foot and 4 horse, as they had not time to make resistance, but fled; of whom he killed 30 dead in the place and recovered the arms of 100. The rest that escaped was by the means and favour of a bog and mountain near adjoining to Traly.

"The 2nd of August Sir Charles returned with the forces to Carrygofoyle. In this mean time the victuals which I had sent for from Corke . . . came into the river, and for their safety rode at a place in Thomond called Carygoholoughe, almost opposite to the river of Cassan in Kerry, from whence in boats I sent the same to Lixnawe, four miles into the land, where Sir Charles Willmot with his troops remained to receive them. . . . The Lord FitzMorrys, when he saw his chief house possessed by our forces, took such an inward grief at the same, as the 12th of this month he died, leaving behind him his son and heir as malicious a traitor as himself. The county of Kerry, in my opinion, is the best inhabited place in Ireland, but now (I thank God) their harvest is ours, which will be a good relief to the garrison.

"The island of Kerry, the ancient and chiefest house of the Earls of Desmond, and late belonging to Sir William Harbert as an undertaker, and almost all the castles in those places, are razed to the ground, which is an evident token of their resolved obstinacy in rebellion.

"Florence McCartie I do no less doubt than heretofore, for I know he is sworn to James FitzThomas, and yet protests the contrary to me, as by the copy of his letters hereinclosed may appear; as also by [the] declaration of one Garret Lyston, a late protected rebel (who submitted himself upon assurance since my being in Kerry), more evidently (sent with these) doth manifest.

"As soon as I came into Kerry I writ for him to come unto me, at that time he being not 10 miles from Carygofoyle, where I then was, parleying with James FitzThomas. His answer . . . is hereinclosed. Whereupon I wrote the second time unto him . . . and, according to his desire, sent him a safeguard, wherein I appointed him a time and place of meeting, unto the which, as yet, I never received answer.

"If he be a rebel (as otherwise for anything I can judge I cannot accompt of him), then are the services of this province more difficult than is supposed, for . . . the Carties of Munster (whom he hopes to draw into his faction, with their dependants and followers) are of themselves able to make above 3,000 strong, which, together with the remain of the other dispersed rebels yet in action, do amount to no less than 7,000 at the least.

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"To strengthen this rebellion in a firmer combination Florence McCartie (as I am credibly advertised, and am constantly persuaded to be true) hath practised a marriage betwixt the sister of Cormock McDermot, lord of the country of Muskerry, and James FitzThomas, which I was advertised was consummated, but do find the contrary, and doubt not but to work the means to frustrate the same.

"If the plot should hold, then the city of Cork (until by force I do disperse them in this county) will be my frontier, for Muskerry adjoins unto the walls of that city; and do assure myself that many that are now subjects (if this marriage take effect) will run into rebellion.

"The Carties' country, which is large and spacious, comprehending the countries of Muskerrye, Carbury, Dowalla, and Desmond, by reason [of] the multitude of huge mountains in the same, are in nature exceeding strong, and yet full of corn and cattle, having felt little of the war; into the which for the present all the other rebels of the counties of Corke, Lymerick, and Kerry (whom I have beaten out of their countries) do fly for refuge.

"Florence McCartie of late had his messenger with Tyrone, as he pretends, for the release of O'Sulevan More, his brother-in-law (who was carried prisoner by Dermot O'Connor out of this province); but my intelligences assure me that it was only to procure forces to support the rebellion, for the heartening whereof Tyrone hath sent letters of comfort unto all his friends and confederates of this country, assuring them that before Michaelmas Day the Spanish forces will land in Munster, which is confidently believed by James FitzThomas; for, notwithstanding at this instant his forces are very weak, yet he vaunts, ere that time, to be the greatest Earl of Desmond that ever was in Ireland.

"Within the province itself there is no man that can hinder the service but Florence McCartie, who, like a dark cloud, hangs over my head, threatening a storm to impeach our actions. But yet (without foreign aids) with the force which I have, together with other means which I will procure, I doubt not but in short time to make him humble himself and to sue for her Majesty's mercy.

"Another argument that approves Florence to be a traitor is this. . . . I had sent into Kerry (at the time that I besieged the castle of the Glan) a party of 50 soldiers by sea (which were led by a servant of my own called Morrys Stacke), who surprised a little poor castle called Lischahan. The enemy, as soon as I dialodged from the Glan towards Lymericke, besieged that castle and placed an engine (called a sowe) to the walls thereof to sap the same; but the ward did so well acquit themselves in a sally, as they brake the sowe and slew 27 of the buonaghies; whereupon the enemy raised the siege. Not many days after Florence came to speak with the ward, assuring them that I was gone to Corke, that most of my troops

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were defeated, and that it was impossible for them to expect aid till the next spring, but yet, for the love he bare me, he would be glad to save their lives, persuading them to render the place unto him, promising to convey them safe unto Carygofoyle. Their answer was, that in despite of all Ireland until my coming they would defend the castle. When this did not prevail, he terrified them with the force of the enemy and with the weakness of her Majesty's forces; with which, prevailing as little as before, he departed, and lodged that night with James FitzThomas. Notwithstanding . . . I think it meet for a time to hold that temporising course with him which hitherto I have done, being loath to add so powerful a traitor to the other rebels until the rest be more dispersed. . . .

"The horse and foot in this province are exceeding weak, decayed by killing and sickness, but most of all by runaways, which are conveyed away forth of port towns, although in every of them I have proclaimed it to be death to him that shall carry a soldier into England without a passport from myself. . . . No man can be more careful than I have been to prevent the escape of soldiers into England, but find it very hard to correct the same, for they pass away in English bottoms, and the searchers of the ports being of the country birth, and not the best affected to the State, are content for small bribes to wink at the same, but therein I will endeavour the best remedy I may; yet notwithstanding do humbly beseech your Lordships to give straight charge that such as land in England without a pass under my hand may be stayed, and of some of them an example to be made there, which will terrify others from doing the like. If I have not been too severe in punishing by martial discipline such runaways as have been taken, I am sure I have committed no error, having executed more for that fault than I have given pass to depart.

"All our garrisons, namely, in Kerry, Askeaton, Killmallocke, Moallo, Youghall, and Lysmore, I thank God do prosper, and are now at their harvest, which must be well followed, or else this summer service is lost. Wherein I will be careful to lose no time, for the destruction of it will procure the next year's famine; by which means only the wars of Ireland must be determined. Since the placing of these garrisons, no day passeth without report of burning, killing, and taking of preys from the enemy, insomuch as all places near unto them are wholly abandoned by the enemy and left waste. Infinite numbers of their cattle, as kine, garrons, and sheep, are taken from them; and, by a true report, which I can justly accompt, besides husbandmen, women, and children (which I do not reckon), of weaponed men there hath been slain in this province since my coming above 1,200, and of her Majesty's army not 40 slain by the enemy.

"When I went last into Kerry I employed Mr. Gerrat Comerford, a councillor of this province (who hath ever attended

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me), to deal with the Lord of Caher to recover his castle from his brother, with promise to repossess him of the same if he could obtain it, which is brought to effect; for the Lord of Caher is possessed thereof, and his traitorly brother, who did surprise the same upon the ward, hath promised to come unto me to submit himself and receive . . . pardon. The cannon and culverin with all their carriages and necessaries and shot, which was left there by the Earl of Essex, I have taken order to be sent to Clonmell.

"The motives that urged the Lord of Caher especially to do this service, was the fear which he justly conceived that at my return into these parts I would take the same by force and raze it to the ground, which I sware unto him I would do, if it were not delivered into his hands. Your Lordships' farther pleasure touching him and his castle I do humbly pray to receive, for I can do in the same what it shall please you to command. The use of it for the present is not so needful as when the White Knight was in rebellion, and the charge to keep it will be great; and as long as the great ordnance shall remain so near unto it, there is no doubt but the house will be kept under good command. There remaineth yet two castles of the Lord of Caher's in her Majesty's possession; one of them called Knockneman in the keeping of the Lord of Dunboyne, and the other Dyrrinlare in the custody of a gentleman named Richard Power; both kept without charge to her Highness. But these castles his Lordship hath greatly importuned me to be restored unto him, challenging them by virtue of her Majesty's free pardon, which he hath obtained, to be restored thereby unto all his possessions, as in former time before the rebellion. I have hitherto forborne to satisfy him therein until your Lordships' pleasures signified unto me, which . . . I humbly pray may not be revealed to any man but myself. . . .

"The 16th of this present I returned to Limerick, where, understanding that (by reason of my long absence of these parts) the cankered poison of rebellion did by Florence's practices threaten new disorders, I made there but little abode, and the 20th came to Killmallocke, where I remained one day, being enforced so to do, to take assurances of many gentlemen and freeholders that came to submit themselves; not hitherto having received any into her Majesty's protection but with submission and security.

"The day following (the White Knight being then in my company), news was brought him that the garrison at Moallo, commanded by Captain Roger Harvy, had in skirmish slain sundry of his followers. I, being careful to give him contentment (being, as he is, under her Majesty's protection), in his own presence examined the matter, and found that Captain Harvy, having intelligence by a spy that was his guide, a notable traitor called Shane McRedmond, and certain other, of traitors and their goods, which were near unto Sir Walter Raleghe's land adjoining unto the White Knight's country,

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with 70 foot and 24 horse marched that night 21 miles from Moallo; and at the break of day our men, thinking that they had been brought upon an enemy's town, set fire to a house having some few people in it; but an old soldier, being in the company, (knowing it to be the White Knight's chiefest town), informed the Captain thereof, who instantly had hanged the guide for his traitorly practice, if by any other means he could have returned home.

"The country in this mean time being assembled (our men then having passed ten miles homeward) overtook them, and the White Knight's second son had speech with Captain Harvy, who told him that he was sorry that his traitorly guide had so vilely deceived him, and that when he came unto me he would not fail to satisfy his father for any harm that was received to his content. But the young man, following the advice of one Garret McShane (who lately was a notable traitor), thinking it not possible for so small a company to withstand his greater force (which consisted of 100 pikes and 160 foot and 18 horse), would needs fight, and gave a charge, and their foot came to join with ours within two pikes' length, and then brake.

"In this conflict there were slain and hurt above 60 on their side, and among them Garret McShane, the leader and procurer of this fight, was slain by Captain Harvy. Of our men some four were hurt, but none slain. Captain Harvy received a shot on his morion, a blow with a pike on his back (but escaped killing by the benefit of his buff coat), and had his horse slain under him.

"The White Knight, upon knowledge of the truth of this accident, condemned his people for their folly to enforce a fight, having no harm intended them, nor any done, but the burning of that one house; confessing them to be well lost. But yet, for his better satisfaction (albeit his men are not to be excused), the traitorly guide had his due reward; wherewith he departed from me (as he protested) very well satisfied.

"This skirmish hath been the best performed of any of long time in this country; and the rather considering the inequality of numbers, and their long and wearisome march. For of late (by what new valour I know not), they have esteemed their foot far to exceed ours. From Moyallo the 23rd of this instant I came to this town (*sic*) . . .

"At Moyallo, the 25th of August 1600.

"Sent by John Power."

Copy. Pp. 5.

Aug. 26. **442.** The LORD DEPUTY'S JOURNEY into the QUEEN'S COUNTY.
Vol. 601, p. 195.

Before his departure from Dublin, on 11 August 1600, the Lord Deputy left order with the Treasurer (Carey) and the Council "to expedite all things in his absence for the Northern journey, to despatch all victuals and munition, as they should

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arrive, to the Newry, and to send unto all parts letters for the general hostings and for beoves." The Northern borders were left well guarded against any incursion.

The 12th, Thursday, he went to the Nas, having given order for the victuals and munition to meet him at Castledermode.

The 13th to Moone, where the forces met—800 foot and 100 horse. His Lordship wrote to the Earl of Ormond that his and Sir Chr. St. Lawrence's companies should fall into Leixe by Idough on the Saturday night following, and on Sunday night meet him at Culinagh.

The 14th he marched towards Donill Spaniagh's country, and in the evening turned to Catherlogh. By the way he left Sir James FitzPeirs and Sir Henry Follitt, with 400 men, "to fall into Leix another way (that night) for some prey."

The 15th, FitzPeirs and Follyott returned without any prey, having fallen upon Keating's house in the midst of his fastness, where Wony McRory with 100 kerne skirmished with us. "The Lord Deputy removed from Carlogh to the foot of the mountain into Keating's country, burned and spoiled both it and the corn thereabouts."

The 16th he sent 600 foot under Sir Oliver Lambert, "who marched through all the fastness of Slemarge, spoiling their plots of corn within the woods, and burning their towns, with some skirmish in the passes." His Lordship coasted along the plains, spoiling and burning likewise, "passing quietly over a ford between two woods, where the Earl of Ormond, entering into Leixe heretofore with 1,500 men, was soundly fought with." At evening the forces met at the camp, where a boy came from Wony with a letter desiring some gentleman might be sent to him for conference. His Lordship would not receive it, but caused it to be delivered to Neale Moore, his Irish fool, to answer. At the river, where the army was to water, there were some skirmishes, because the river was near a wood.

The 17th the army encamped at Ferny Abbey. In the way, the army marching along the valley, the rebels coasted along the mountains. His Lordship having sent the Marshal before to make the encampment, and waiting for the rest of the army, "divers of the rebels came from the hill, waving us to them with their swords and calling us, as their manner is, with railing speeches." Our men fired certain houses, beat back the rebels who came to the rescue, "and fell into their greatest fastness with them." In this skirmish Wony McRory was mortally wounded, and died that night. Callogh McWalter, the most bloody rebel in Leinster, "was killed in helping of Owny, who for the time was in a sound, and left till night hidden in a bush." Callogh's head was brought in. "This man, besides the killing of Capt. Bozwell and Sir Henry Dockwray's lieutenant last year, and divers famous murders in these parts, was, as it is reported, the first man that laid hand on the Earl of Ormond when he was taken prisoner by

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Owny." The next day we heard that Wony, "fearing his head should come into the Lord Deputy's hands, had willed it to be cut off after his death, and buried, and appointed Owny McShane, a man of no spirit or courage, to be O'Moore." Upon Owny's death the Moores dispersed by six and ten in a company, every man seeking to save his own.

Two parties were sent out to search the woods for cattle. They returned the next day, the 18th, with six or seven score cows and great store of sheep and goats. The rebels having driven most of their cattle into Ossery, the prey could not be very great. A base son of the Earl of Ormond's took 400 head of cattle. This day the Earl and Sir Christopher came with 300 foot and 120 horse.

The 19th the army passed the pass of Cashell to Ballyroane; and the 20th to Kilgighy in Ossery, by way of the castle of Gortende, where the Earl had been kept during his imprisonment. Ormond received letters from Donill Spaniagh and Redmond Keating, craving safeconduct to come to the Lord Deputy. "All the way we burned all their houses in their fastnesses and woods. In one of them was found the Queen's picture behind the door, and the King of Spain's at the upper end of the table." Sir Christopher took a prey of 700 cows, besides sheep and goats, of which few came to the camp. "The rest, as it is said, were shifted into Kilkenny and the counties near adjoining." His Lordship was persuaded to draw down into Ossery, the nursery of the rebellion in Leix, to burn their corn; the Earl being of opinion that the chief rebels there would give in their pledges.

"The 21st we encamped by Teig FitzPatrick's castle, the Lord of Upper Osserie's son, but in rebellion," who on our approach set his own town on fire. Here Redmond Keatinge submitted, with condition to deliver the Earl of Ormond's pledges remaining in his hands.

The 22nd the army, having spoiled the corn about the castle, crossed the Nore, which it could hardly have done afterwards by reason of 28 hours' rain. The Kellies and Lalors were protected for a month, upon condition to bring in the Earl's pledges in their custody within 10 days. Redmond Bourk made complaint by letter of wrong done to him, and was willing to do service.

"The 23rd the Lord Mountgarrett's sons, Richard and Edward, took their oath to be true subjects, as by the act thereof may appear.

"The 24th recognizance of 2,000*l.* was signed by the Lord Mountgarrett and his sureties for the redelivery of Ballyraggott upon 20 days' warning." The pass of Cashell was said to be possessed by 2,560 rebels, according to a list delivered to the Earl of Ormond by one that affirmed on oath he had seen so many mustered. A little before the entrance of the pass Donuill Spaniagh, who was to have maintained the fight on the right hand, came and fell down on his knees before the

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Lord Deputy, and desired protection for 12 days till he might come to Dublin, which was granted, for at that time his Lordship could do him no harm. Thereupon his men drew up to the mountain to see the event of the fight. We turned with our carriage through an upper pass, in the midst whereof they charged us, with a great cry, but our men beat them into the lower pass and into the bog beyond, and from thence into their woods. Captain William Tyrrell was shot into the reins, and is said to be dead. The army then marched to Stradbally. His Lordship with 20 horse went to see the fort of Leix, and came that night to the camp. The 25th the companies were sent to their garrisons. His Lordship came to the Naas, where he found 700 of the new men placed; and the 26th to Dublin.

Copy. Pp. 6.

Aug. 29. 443. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 620, p. 26.

At my return to Cork, the 23rd inst., I received your letter of 27th May touching certain munitions taken out of a ship of war at Waterford belonging to the States of the United Provinces. "As far as I can remember, except it were some small quantity of powder (which was detained contrary to my Lord Deputy's directions) and a few axes, I have not given order for the stay of any except only three French demi-cannon carriages (which I suppose will serve for our culverin), and certain round shot for demi-cannon, . . . fearing that I should have cause to use the same in those parts where I have been."

As for the petitions of the city of Cork for the enlargement of its charters, I will return you the opinions of myself and of others of the Council not yet here.

"I received one other letter dated in July touching my Lady St. Leger, the examination whereof shall not be neglected."

By your letter dated 13th July your pleasure is that Mr. Hyde, his son, and three servants shall be put into pay; but his expectation is to have the leading of a company of foot. It is not in my power to dispose of companies. If he will serve as a private gentleman I will dispose of him the best I may; "which I doubt he will not."

Before the receipt of your letters of 28th July I had directed Apsley to repair to Dublin, but the Commissioners were gone before his repair thither. I send his certificate of the victuals here. Victuals should still be sent as before, two parts to Limerick and the third to Cork; and more than half that sent to the river of Limerick should anchor at Carigohoulough in Tomond, which is commodious to victual the garrison in Kerry, 1,050 foot and 75 horse; the rest to be sent to the town of Limerick to victual the garrison of Askeaton, 700 foot and 50 horse. "To expect any victuals to be here provided for any ready money would but deceive the service."

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The munitions have arrived, according to your letter of 4th July; "but whereas by your letter of 7th June your Lordships' pleasure was that the issue of munitions henceforward should be defaulted, except in days of service, upon the lendings of the companies, I am willed by the Lord Deputy to make stay thereof until your Lordships' pleasure be farther signified unto him." There has also arrived 10,000*l*.

Your good acceptation, in your letter of 4th July, of the beginnings of my services "doth not a little comfort me." I hope my proceedings since will witness that I have been careful to observe your commandments. As for the castle of Limerick, I advertised you lately that it is unfit to be fortified.

According to your letter of 20th July there should have come hither 44 horse, but I received only 36; "since when the horsemen sent, finding some great differences between the place from whence they came and this country, have made suit to be returned; and because I found here was not so great want of horsemen as of horses, . . I did the rather consent to give them licence, and to furnish with their horses and furnitures such as had long served here. . . The holding of them here so far against their desires would have been in very short time the decay of their horses."

Cork, 29 August 1600.

"Sent by John Power."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Aug. 29. **444.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 148.

The Lord Audeley has importuned me for leave to repair into England for a month or six weeks, assuring me "that his absence would breed unto him great detriment and loss, by reason of sudden departure thence without perfect establishing of his estate." Albeit you have restrained me from licensing any captains from their companies, yet as he deserves all favour, and has been here two years, "I could not well refuse (although not to license) to permit 'him therein, seeing his occasion is altogether urged by constraint." If he become a suitor to her Majesty, I pray you countenance him.

Cork, 29 August 1600.

Copy, signed by Carew. P. 1.

Aug. 29. **445.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 23.

I have not heard from you since Arthur arrived with too news of your good success in Kerry. You have been supplied with all you ask. Desmond is to be sent to you forthwith, unless some advertisement dissuade it. A patent is drawn and ready to be signed for his earldom; you are to deliver it to him if you "see a party likely to come to him." Her Majesty is doubtful "whether he may not prove a Robin Hood as well as the other, of whose abatement there is hope

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by your labour, though this gentleman should never be sent;" and whether by sending and creating him she may not "run the danger of a scorn" if no great matter should follow. Use him as you think good. "Although it seems you could have been content to have only had him as a prisoner, yet my Lords, out of desire to ease your works, have won some better conditions of her Majesty, for he shall go . . . well accompanied, and some gentleman (not as a jailor, but as his friend) shall bring him to you."

Out of other parts of Ireland we hear nothing but well. Since the plantation at Lough Foyle the traitors have kept at home, which has enabled the Deputy to do good service in the Pale and in Lease and Ophaly. The Queen's army is 16,000 foot. Lately we sent over 2,000 under captains and 800 for Lough Foyle, "and 600 that are at the water-side for you."

In Lough Foyle they have made good and strong lodgings before the winter, having fortified well at the Derry; and, since Sir Arthur O'Neale came to them, planted another garrison at Donelonge, four miles from Strabane. But they have done nothing of importance; and of late they suffered O'Donnell to come in the night and take 60 of their best horses, when Sir Henry Dockwra fell into an ambuscado and was wounded. MacSwyne Ne Do, a principal actor in this practice, was taken and sent to Dublin, "where I trust a halter will save her Majesty's pension." Sir Arthur O'Neale remains constant, but few or none are come in to him. We expect to hear the garrison is planted at Armagh, where it is intended to leave 1,000 foot and 100 horse.

The rebels gave out in the North that a fleet of Spaniards was arrived in O'Donnell's country, but it is proved a fable. I am confident none will arrive this summer in Ireland.

"Our Commissioners have broken off the treaty in France only upon point of precedency, wherein although it is true that her Majesty stood (somewhat too long) to have it with so proud a nation, yet at the last her Majesty was contented to have yielded to an equality; but they in the end protested, that if it were not to prejudice them towards France (with whom they contend for preseance) to grant to England an equality, which giveth a priority to France, such was their desire to have had peace upon honorable conditions, as although they were absolutely forbidden to remain in Bollen, yet if, upon the return of her Majesty's Commissioners into England, she would be pleased to procure the Low Countries to join in the treaty, they would meet in any of the towns in Holland, and give the precedence; or, if her Majesty could not procure a joint treaty (if she would send to Wynoxberges or any of the Archduke's towns), they would give her also the precedency." The treaty was prolonged for 60 days in which the Queen might consider of her answer.

Thus you see "there is yet a kind of vegetation which we will keep on foot;" but I fear they are not so anxious for

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peace as at first, either because they think her Majesty is sufficiently entangled with Ireland, or hope to prevail over the Low Countries, who every day grow worse. They made no use of their victory before Newport, for they sat down before a great fort called Albertus, which hindered their siege of Newport, while the enemy drew head again. The States' army was forced to raise the siege, and left Flanders wholly, coming back quietly into Zealand. "There is a great pique between the States and Count Maurice, he protesting that he liked not to besiege Dunkirk, but that it had been better to have gone to Sluce; they on the other side taxing him for no better following of the victory. Holland and Zealand are now at pique for contributions.

"The likelihood of those cold wars makes the Earls of Northumberland, Rutland, and Grey to repent their journey, being half in mind to go into France, where there is some appearance of a war, whereby Spain may be lapped into the quarrel. For the French King being now on the frontier, thinking to have taken possession of the Marquisate of Saluce (according to the Duke of Savoy's agreement), the Duke made so many delays from 20 days to 20 days, as in the end the King sent Marshal Byron into Bresse, where he spoiled much of the country, and hath taken Bourge. On the other side De Degueres entered into Savoy, and hath taken Chambery and Mount Melion. I am persuaded that the only end of this will be that the King shall have the Marquisate rendered for these places lately taken, and so the Pope to reconcile the matter; for were it not for that moderator, we might have some little hope that Spain and France would go together. The King marrieth in October at Lyons, and yet hath made Madame de Entragues Marquise of Vernueil.

"Out of Scotland we have received advertisement very fresh and true, that the King was attempted to be slain by the Earl Gowry and his brother, whereof one of them assailed him in his chamber, when the King lay in the Earl's house at St. Johnstone's, but he was slain by the King's people, and so was his brother also. This Earl was of the religion, and a very gallant gentleman. The causes of his discontentment are not known, but it is said he did it in revenge of his father's death, whom this King executed. But whatsoever it was, God forbid but all such barbarous attempts should pay just ransom.

"Of our home fortunes one (whereof I am sure you will be glad to hear) is this, that the Earl of Essex (upon his humble petition to the Queen to have so much favour as to be licensed to go into the country, in respect that his health began to decay,) it pleased her to grant him liberty to go into Oxfordshire to one of his uncle's houses, with this commandment, that although she is contented he shall hold himself to be under no guard (but the guard of duty and discretion), yet he must in no sort take himself to be freed of her Majesty's

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indignation, in which respect he is commanded to forbear to presume to approach the Court or her person. That distinction of being free from guard but under indignation makes very few resort to him but those who are of his blood, amongst which I imagine you think Lord Henry Howard will not be long from him. Concerning ourselves we are all as we were. Sir Walter Raleigh hath been here a suitor for the captainship of the Isle of Jersey (Sir Anthony Paulett being dead). He hath very good hope, though my Lord Henry Seymour doth earnestly stand for it. My Lord Cobham (since his journey into Flanders) is a courtier, and doth marry at Michaelmas. My Lord Thomas [Howard?] hath been away all this summer in Devonshire, from whence he hath brought up my Lady Bevill, who is widow."

From the Court at Oatlands, 29 August 1600.

Signed: "Your affectionate friend, that longeth and careth for you,—Ro. Cecyll."

Pp. 4.

Aug. 30. 446. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 620, p. 29.

Since my letter of the 25th I have frustrated Florence McCarty's design of a marriage between the sister of Cormock McDermot and James FitzThomas, the counterfeit Earl.

"Donell McCartye, base brother to Florence's wife, and son to the Earl of Clancare, who in the beginning of this rebellion was by the country elected to be McCarty More, that is to be chief lord of the country of Desmond, and displaced by Tyrone at his being in Munster to erect Florence, hath made his humble submission, . . . requiring no reward but such as his service shall merit; promising faithfully that when I shall intend the prosecution of Florence, that with the help of her Majesty's forces he hath good hope in a short time to banish him the country. His proffers I entertain, and, according to the quality of service, have promised him to be a means to her Majesty . . . to bestow some portion of that land upon him. . .

"Divers reports are made of Florence; some that he is gone into Spain, others that he will go shortly: and to that effect I have a letter of the White Knight's, dated the 27th of this month, that if he be not gone already, he is resolved to go thither; which makes me to hope (if it be true) that they begin to despair of Spaniards, albeit nothing is more lively in the mouths of all persons of this kingdom, in towns, countries, subjects, or rebels. His errand undoubtedly is to no other purpose than to solicit their coming, and to that end . . . he hath sent, whilst I was in Kerry, one Owen Keygan, a priest. . . I have sent to Sir Charles Willmott, whose garrison neighbours him very near, who cannot want good intelligence thereof; and according as I shall be advertised by him, being now more confidently persuaded of his treasons than heretofore, I do intend to prepare for that service. But before such

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time as I shall hear from your Lordships again, because I will give no impediment to the garrisons which are now in their harvest, destroying what they may, I shall not be able to look into Desmond; the necessity whereof doth somewhat trouble me, being loath to be engaged in that remote service before these other parts were better settled; especially the time of the year, after Michaelmas, so ill agreeing for an army in that savage, boggy, and mountainous country.

"In the foresaid letter also of the White Knight's, I was advertised that Redmond Bourke and Captain Tyrell, with 1,100 bonaghies, are at this present in O'Magher's country in Ormond, with a purpose to come further into Munster. . . They have been much laboured by James FitzThomas to return hither. I am likewise in the same advertised that John McThomas, with three horsemen only, is gone into Ulster, to procure aid from Tyrone, but I rather think that he is stolen away for fear. . . His brother and he in policy do live asunder for fear of surprising; and these parts about Harloe, where John remained, have submitted themselves. . .

"I hear, and do believe to be true, that the Knight of Kerry hath submitted himself to her Majesty, and that his brother is the pledge of his loyalty. . .

"In June last, a Frenchman of St. Mallowe's in Brittany, called Vicengrane, brought to the Dingle a ship loaden with wine and munition, and sold the same to the rebels; himself (his ship being returned) stayed in the country, and is yet there to gather up his debts in such commodities as this country yields; . . and finding good vent for his merchandise, did take order for his ship's return again to that harbour loaden as before. Who, as I understand, is now returned with others of St. Mallowe's in her company. . . Her Majesty's letters unto her Ambassador Leidger in France, in my simple judgment, were very necessary, to deal with the King in that behalf."

Having discharged the two crompters, I pray you to send me some other shipping.

I received warrants from the Lord Deputy for the Lord Barry and Charles McCartie to have a foot company each. That for the Lord Barry I will see effected, but Charles died by that time the warrants came to my hands. "The gent[leman] was of good ability, and every way willing to do her Majesty service; but . . such was the unreconcilable malice between him and Cormock McDermot, the now Lord of Muskery, his kinsman, about the title of that land, as, both they living, the country could never be quiet, which was no little disturbance to the countries adjoining; but since it is necessary that one should be wanting, it had been good for the service that the lot had fallen on Cormock, who is inconstant and ill-disposed, and would no doubt be as ill as the rest, if a careful eye were not held over him. But now that his competitor is dead (whom he thought that the State did more favour than

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himself, and whereof in truth he was far more worthy), the cause of his discontentment being gone, although his honesty will not be increased, yet I hope to hold him in better terms than heretofore."

Cork, 30 August 1600.

"Sent by John Power."

Copy. Pp. 2.

Aug.
Vol. 604, p. 19.

447. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"I am much entreated by the Earl that shall be of Desmond to recommend unto you a request of the Lord Roch, who seems to complain of spoils by his own sons. What is true or false I know not, but you do. Only this I wish, that the Lord Roch may know that what you do is the rather for the respect of this young gentleman, to whom the Queen now intendeth all grace and favour."

P.S.—Encourage this bearer; he is careful and honest.

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: Received in August 1600.

Sept. 5.
Vol. 615, p. 55.

448. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

I am overlaid with business, as I am going to the North. With 800 foot and 100 horse I entered into Leixie by Carlogh, burned and spoiled all their towns in the way, and cut down their corn, with some skirmishing, but no loss. Owny McRory wrote to the Earl of Ormond, desiring him "to stay this execrable and abominable course (for so he termed it) of cutting down green corn." He afterwards sent a boy to me with a letter, which I refused to read, but delivered it to one Neale [Moore], an Irish fool that attended me, to answer. It entreated that some gentleman might be sent to him for conference. Neale answered "that there was none in the camp so base as to confer with him, but if he would come and submit himself on his knees to him, the said Neale, he would undertake that either his submission should be accepted, or he should return safe."

Next day, the army marching in the valley, the rebels mustered on the hill, "flourishing with their swords and railing at us after their manner." By firing some houses I drew them to skirmish with our men. Wony McRory and Callogh McWalter were killed. Ormond met me with his and Sir Chr. St. Lawrence's companies. The chieftest of the rebels made means to Ormond to be protected, "offering to deliver his pledges."

After Wony's death I drew into Ossory, spoiling and burning without resistance. "In our return the rebels had possessed the pass of Cashell, being now grown to some head by Donell Spaniagh's coming down, and part of Tirrell's forces, together with the O'Connors and those of Leixie and Ossory," estimated at 2,560 men.

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"At the entrance into the pass, Donell Spaniagh, who before had made means by the Earl to come in, submitted himself on his knees before the whole army, and craved protection for 12 days both for himself and Feagh McHugh's sons to come in the meantime to Dublin." He and his followers "drew up to the hill to see the success of the fight between us and the rest of the rebels," who, charging our men hotly, were beaten back through wood and bog. "To the reducing of Leix we want nothing but people."

Our new men are come over, but the money and victuals are yet behind, to the hindrance of the Northern service.

In your letters sent by Captain Mannering you, it seems, mistook my desire that some of your old companies might be drawn down hither. My meaning was only to exchange with you some new for old. "Considering the weakness of your companies there, and the strength of these new, than which I never saw either more able men or better armed, it may be, by your refusal, you have made the worst choice. But I have sent you two of the new captains, Phillipps and Boys,* and instead of them I pray you to send hither forthwith Sir Henry Poore's company, who, being appointed by her Majesty Governor of Leix, may justly claim the command of his own company there. For the rest, which I am willing to draw hither, because their captains are in these parts, and I would, by that means, avoid the scandal of licensing many captains to be absent from their charges, if you find it not inconvenient for the safety of that province, I will send you so many of these new men to supply their places. . . . Your desire that I should second your request into England for supplies, and for the punishment of runaways on that side, is already satisfied.

I will remember your letters in favour of Captain Taaff and James Oge when the time comes for choice of sheriffs, which will not be till my return from the North.

As the ordnance is removed to Clonmell, the castle of Cahyre may remain in the Lord of Cahir's hands, "the rather because the White Knight being in, it is not of such use as heretofore."

Dublin, 5 September 1600. *Signed.*

P.S.—I received your letter recommending that Mr. Jones "be authorized to take the muster rolls from the other commissaries," &c.

Pp. 4. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 21.

2. Copy.

Sept. 8. 449. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 52.

I have as great interest in your success as in my own. I desired these old companies "because I was to undertake a

* "Boys" has been substituted for "Orell."

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journey wherein we are likely to set up our rest for this kingdom with Tyrone ; and at such a proof of men, I have no great confidence in our new soldiers." I have now only sent for Sir Henry Poore's company, as he is appointed commander of Less.

"Since my return from Less, being now to undertake the Northern journey, I am so oppressed with a confusion of business, as I must confess I do almost sink under it, especially being overlaid with a packet I received out of England by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, wherein I am charged with as many faults as a leper hath spots, and find that there is nothing informed against me by the most idle or base discontented informer but it is believed." I was thrust into this employment. "They have broken the heart of my endeavours, and done themselves more harm than they can do unto me."

At this time of the year I am going a great progress into the North. "If we ever meet in heaven, if we do not on earth, you shall know that I never dealt dishonestly with any man, and that it is my fortune to receive hard measure in most of my intercourses. For yourself, believe me I love you, and wish you all happiness and good success."

8 September 1600.

Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 24.

2. Copy.

Sept. 9. **450.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 48.

"There hath been here some difference between this bearer Captain Phillipps and others about the matter of precedence, he alleging the antiquity of his command in foreign service, they, in the Queen's wars ; which, in regard of my manifold business at this time, I have not been able to decide, nor greatly willing in regard of his departure from hence to be of your list." I refer it to you.

Dublin, 9 September 1600. *Signed.*

P.S.—"Sir Theobald Dillon, by good fortune, took Owen O'Sulyvant More, whom Captain Tyrrell had before taken from Dermot O'Connor. But because your Lordship may perhaps make some use of him there, I have released him out of prison, to be delivered to Captain Phillips, and by him to you."

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 26.

2. Copy ; *with a note in the margin, as follows :—"Touching Captain Phillips and Captain Boys for precedence."*

Sept. 9. **451.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 50.

I have established this bearer, Michael Hughes, as minister of the ordnance at Cork with 18*d.* ster. *per diem.* He was

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recommended by you "to take and return hither the certificates of the other ministers of the ordnance in that province, which, without greater entertainment, he is not willing to undertake." I refer him to your Lordship and that Council. He may receive further allowance out of your extraordinaries, "for I am not willing to raise our concordatums by any charge belonging to your province."

Dublin, 9 September 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 25.

2. Copy.

Sept. 12. 452. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 46.

I have thought good to stay Captains Philips and Boys here till Sir H. Poore's company draw down to Kilkenny, when my Lord of Ormond is to send them to your Lordship. Give order for Poore's company to march thither.

Dublin, 12 September 1600. *Signed.*

P.S.—"The companies appointed to be of your list are to remain at Carlogh, expecting the coming of Sir Henry Poore's company."

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 27.

2. Copy.

Sept. 12. 453. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 44.

I pray you "to furnish me with a couple of fair large Irish greyhounds," for a friend in England.

Dublin Castle, 12 September 1600. *Signed.*

With a P.S. in Mountjoy's own handwriting.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Sept. 17. 454. The QUEEN to LORD MOUNTJOY, Deputy, and SIR GEORGE CARY, Treasurer at Wars.

Vol. 604, p. 248.

We hereby license you our Treasurer to leave your charge there and repair hither, in order to yield your accounts. Bring or send your ledgers, warrants, &c. By our Privy Council's warrant of 18 May last, you our Deputy were authorized to engage 2,000 of the Irishry who should leave the rebels, at the charge of 1,000*l.* a month, which we command you our Treasurer to pay, notwithstanding our former instructions. As we have thought good to send into Munster James Fitzgerald, son to the late Earl of Desmond, on whom we bestow his father's title, one of the companies there is to be discharged, and its pay to be converted to the maintenance of the said James and his attendants. Require the President (Carew) to make choice of the weakest company for this purpose.

Otelandes, 17 September 1600, 42 Eliz.

Copy. Pp. 3. Endorsed.

1600.
Sept. 20. 455.
Vol. 617, p. 91.

The EARL OF TYRONE to CORMOCKE McDERMOND, Lord of Muskry.

"Be it known unto you that there is few in all Ireland of whom we have greater hope and confidence than ye. And we require of ye (as it becometh) to do a thing both stately and stoutly, and to give addition to all noble and honorable acts that ever he that had your place did; and that yourself, the Earl of Desmond, and McCartie More shall [aid] one another devoutly and diligently. And, with the will of God, the relief and succour of God shall overtake ye suddenly, in respect that troubles enough will be upon the English in England itself. And admit that no succour should ever overtake us, it is the least we of the Irishry should, to take as much of Ireland as is without cities and great towns out of the English and heretics' hands. And let us therefore feel and find your help unto us, according to our trust and confidence in you. And since now Connaght men (who attempted treacheries and misdemeanours) are not amongst you, put your own helping hands together and contend strongly with the enemies of God and the Church. And, God willing, we will ease you of all the burthen of the Queen's army for this time.

"From the border of the field, the 20th September 1600"

Signed: O'Neale.

"Intercepted by the Lord President of Munster (Carew), and translated out of Irish, and sent into England."

Copy. P. 1.

Sept. 20. 456.
Vol. 617, p. 92.

The EARL OF TYRONE to MCCARTIE MORE.

"We received your letter first concerning O'Sulevan More, for whom ye wrote unto us. We dislike of the proceeding of Dermond O'Connor since we left Munster; and he came to our presence upon great safeconduct and conditions. And for so much of his speech as we have heard, we conceive that he hath done the wrong; but he did promise us that if we should get O'Sulevan and the other pledges that were detained from him upon the hands of Captain Tirrell to our own hands, that then he would come without oath, security, or safeconduct upon our hands.

"We have sent to the Captain, and requested him to bring the said pledges unto us. And because the Deputy and English army went to Leinster, the Captain could not come so suddenly as we required him. By reason of all which, and for that the Captain had not no straight keeping upon O'Sulevan, being not indebted unto him, O'Sulevan made an escape as ye heard; and the pledges of Dermond's self made escape also. But we heard that a trouble happened to O'Sulevan afterward, which is more than we would wish; for by your hand if he had come to us, we would let him go to ye, though he were guilty, as he was not.

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"Touching Donoghe McCormocke, believe not any man whatsoever (unless the Bishop [McCraghe] himself be in your presence), that he would say we had not his consent and counsel to carry Donoghe McCormocke with us to Ulster, until he had sent his opinion and resolution unto us touching the controversy betwixt Donoghe and Dermond McOwen. And besides he would send us his advice what declaration or order we should take betwixt those Clan-Carties of Dowalla.

"For whatsoever matter we undertook in presence of many of the best of the Irishry in Ireland, it doth not beseem us to leave it unfinished according to right, lest the controversy should grow worse than it was before. Therefore we cannot take so good order or end in the cause as we would until we shall receive the full consent and counsel of our colleague the said Lord Bishop. And admit that the said Lord Bishop would not send the same unto us, we hope in God, before the receipt of these letters, will arise* either in Ireland or England as that we and ye must see one the other; and we will then, God willing, do what shall become us concerning that matter.

"Our own particular news to ye is, that ourself and all the best of the North are ready together; and the Queen's army is at Loughfoyle, and some part of our people attending them, and they have not much prevailed in strength as yet; and that a great part of the Queen's army are on all sides of us in garrisons. And, if it be true, the Lord Deputy himself is preparing to come to join with them against us. Now we are, in the name of God, and all our people, in the beginning of our meat, strength, and munition, ready to encounter them, and we will do our best endeavour against them; and we hope in God that they shall never return in that case that they came.

"And so soon as the trouble of this country shall be past, we will do our best to send Captain Tirrell and the greatest number of people that we can to ye thither. And do ye, as it becometh ye, and as we repose trust in ye, in the mean time, heroical and stout acts.

"Commend us particularly to every of the best of the Clan-carties, and require them all to help ye, and ye to help them and yourself.

"From the borders of the field, the 20th of September 1600."

Signed: O'Neale.

"Intercepted by the Lord President of Munster (Carew), by him sent into England, translated out of Irish."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Sept. 24. 457. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 604, p. 36.

You shall now receive the Earl of Desmond, so called here by courtesy already, with his patent, but "her Majesty will see

* Sic.

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some imprest of other men's promises before she give plenary satisfaction." You and I have made a great adventure to press for a thing so subject to ill success, when most things are judged by effect. Should you find cause to doubt him, "never fear to lay hold of him, for therein we will never blame you, but we will take it for a thing that was necessary *quoniam ipse dixit*." Before he be settled in his country, it might be "tried whether those noblemen to whom he is allied and principal persons who thirst for his restitution (being such as are amenable to law), would not enter into such caution for him as might indeed tie them; it being strange to me to see what cautions one rebel get of another, whereby they hold one another, and to observe that the Queen is never the better by any pledges she receiveth."

If he be settled in the Undertakers' lands, he will have a fancy to encroach more and more. It would be better to make his fortune out of the lands of his cousin, the titular Earl, and some other rebels, "because it may be harder work for them to patch up one with another."

The young gentleman has "a mind easily raised, but professing to be tied to honest grounds;" and so I think he is, but "spenceful" beyond measure. At first I hold it safest that he lodge in your house. As for the charge this will put you to, you will perceive by the Queen's letter I have found means to make you your own paymaster; for you have authority to cash a company of 100, and to convert their pay towards his maintenance. "Because I find some sycophants about the Deputy apt to urge my partiality in all things that concern you," I have procured her Majesty to inform him of this arrangement. "If he were to live from you tomorrow next, her Majesty would think 500*l.* by year an honorable pension for him."

This [Archbishop of] Cashell is a most turbulent spirit. I have been forced to content him, because I would not give him occasion of any other dependency. "But in regard of the fear he hath to displease me, I found cause to suspect, by somewhat I heard, that he was apt enough to report that all that was yet done was so used as it was like to prove to nothing, for that the rebels, finding now that neither their corn nor their cattle could be sure, have come in hand over head unto you, and so save their goods, but are apt to go out again when they list." I doubt not you can distinguish how far those that come in are in your power. Seeing they can bear the burden of maintaining forces for rebellion, surely somewhat might be imposed on them towards her Majesty's charge. "All persons of judgment, even the Queen herself, attribute as much commendation as can be [to] any man for all your proceedings litherto." The underhand detractions of envy will be stopped if the Queen's charges be lessened.

No succour will come from Spain, "for we are again solicited for a treaty, which I am more hopeful of, because there is

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great appearance of wars between France and Spain, the King of France still gaining upon Savoy, and the Duke attending 6,000 Spaniards . . . under Count Fuentes to help him, which should have come down into the Low Countries.

"For Florence MacCarty, if he could be made an honest man, it were pity to lose him; and I assure you to make him an Earl of the Queen's gift. . . . She will easily be induced if he seek it upon any good imprest of loyalty."

"There comes in the company of the young Earl a son of John FitzEdmonds, on whom the Queen hath bestowed a pension of 100 marks in reversion after his father. He hath made suits: the one, to have some men to keep his castles; the other, to surrender all his lands, and to take them in socage. For the first, for aught I see, he is rich enough and crafty enough; . . . therefore in that pretend you to have no warrant; for although I know he is wise, and hath kept a good form, . . . he might do more than he doth. But I have used his son with kindness, and the rather because you know how dear he is to a good friend of ours (Raleigh), who is in Jersey. Besides he pretendeth to be much affected to this Desmond, and I see his son much follow him. Amongst which persons if any should be moved to give caution, it were not amiss that old FitzEdmonds were wrapt into bonds for him."

It is reported Derby O'Connor will return when Desmond comes. He might have some lands of the late rebels' if he will come, and a pension, "thereby to fester against them the more; for I protest I think he meant faithfully, though he carried it fearfully and fondly." Seeing it fell out so, I never acquainted anybody that you offered more money for James MacThomas than you had warrant, for he is now reported to be weak.

As I hold you "as dear as any living," excuse my remembrances in this letter, "because they are but vapours of my restless thoughts." I have bestowed your goshawk upon Mr. Chancellor (Fortescue?). Remember the Lord Admiral (Nottingham) and the Lord Treasurer (Buckhurst) with a couple of rugs, or some uscough-baugh. My Lord of Thomond has made suit to come over, which I wish not "until some good effect might bring him hither." I write to him accordingly. I have given the party that brought the hawks 7*l.* for his pains; "yet he brought me my Lord of Thomond's goshawk with her wing broken."

From the Court, 24 September 1600. *Signed.*

P.S.—"My Lord Audley is arrived, whom I have used to his content upon your recommendation, so as such discourse as he hath had with the Queen he hath applied in your commendation. But . . . you have held the position in former times that the war of famine must end the rebellion. There is no man now that cometh out of Ireland but reporteth that victual is great plenty, and that most of these that are come in

1600.

have saved themselves in their goods and corn by temporary submissions. . . . Save those that are powerful rebels, . . . the other course of receiving in all freeholders had been better to have been changed into severity to some for example; except they whom fear hath only brought in might have paid some price by yielding somewhat towards the payment of her Majesty's forces, that we might feel an abatement of some numbers of the foot. . . . For either it will be said that this which is done is nothing in substance, but blaze and shadow of victory, or else there would be fewer numbers, especially until the next spring, maintained; whereof there hath risen here much dispute, why the last 600 should be sent over. . . . I must refer things to your discretion, of whose society and conference I feel no small privation. . . .

"Many would wish this young Earl planted in some houses and lands that were his father's. . . . I should be thereof very jealous. I would rather think it a good policy, if that knave Florence be gone into Spain, to give him some of his lands and castles, for the recovery whereof it is like enough the country may assist him better than they will do the Queen. And I am informed that such is the nature of that country, as those passages being kept, it would prove defensible against great forces. . . . There hath been ancient malice between Florence his ancestors and his. Next, . . . the Lord Maurice of Lixnay being dead, his son is a vile and ill-natured fellow, whose possessions are fair, and might be a good gift for this young Earl hereafter; only peradventure it will be objected that he hath married my Lord of Thomond's sister; which matters of kindred I do not so much respect, for I see that my Lord of Thomond hath been a good subject, and he a rebel. . . .

"Here hath been many propositions who should go with this young Earl; wherein my care hath been that no such man should be employed as should return with a spirit of detraction from that which you deserve. Sir Thomas Willford refused it; and here were some that would have employed p f b v o y y (Wilmott?), of whom you know whether I had not reason to be jealous in your behalf. At the last I bethought me of a valiant, honest man, Captain Price, to whom I pray you give good usage, for he hath no design but to perform the Queen's commandment and return as soon as he can. I have been a means to recommend the brother of Patrick Crosby to be Bishop of Kerry, who is one, you know, that deserveth favour. They say he is another manner of man than Sir Walter Rawleigh's last silly priest." *Signed.*

PPS.—"Although . . . I suspected the poor Bishop of Cashell to have been a detractor of the course of taking in rebels, . . . I have done him wrong, for I find it now to come from another spring and not from the poor man, to whom I pray you confirm the allowances to him; and if there be not such a northerly warrant come from the Deputy, about his pension, then pay it him by concordatum. . . . There was

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order given to the Treasurer (Cary) now when the last treasure went over, to see you satisfied with some treasure."

Pp. 6. Endorsed.

Sept. 24. 458. [SIR R. CECIL] to [JAMES] FITZEDMONDS.

Vol. 604, p. 252.

"I have long believed in your constant affection to her Majesty's service by the testimony of Sir Walter Rawleigh, whose judgment I hold great as his person dear." I have conferred with your son, and taken good liking of his sufficiency. I may not have contented him in his suits, for I have not contented myself; but "now when it was not ordinary to despatch any private suitors," her Majesty has granted the pension. As for your lands, suggestions were made, "that under colour of surrender you meant to countenance at least some encroachment." As for the allotment of warders, nothing more weakens the army, and the President (Carew) is charged to avoid the same, unless any of your castles "do stand for her Majesty's service."

"Such is your reputation for wisdom and ability in that province, as though no man can speak so absurdly as not to yield you the commendation of many dutiful endeavours, yet must it be somewhat more which you shall do than hitherto you have done, before all men confess that you do all you might do. *Verbum sapienti sat est.* I pray you therefore . . . let it appear . . . that at this time you do extraordinarily co-operate with her Majesty's ministers to make this restitution of this young Earl (to whose house you have been a friend) glorious and safe for the Queen. . . . If I have any jot of credit or shall keep any in this State, I will make it as meritorious to you as any labour that ever you bestowed. In the nobleman I note wit, goodnature, and disposition to stand upon honest grounds; but, Sir, now is the time for the bad to practise upon him. . . . I am resolved never to trust man of that nation if he once deceive me; yet shall I be more confident if you be a watchman over those temptations by which young heads (who think they have nothing if they have not all) will go about to draw him as much as may be to undervalue her Majesty's benefits because she proceedeth with him by degrees, and, as all wise princes do, with caution and reservation.—To conclude, Sir: You have there a President in whom her Majesty reposeth highest trust. He is to you in particular well affected; . . . he is my inward friend."

Copy. Pp. 4. Endorsed: 1600, Sept. 24. Copy of my master's letter to Mr. FitzEdmonds."

[Sept. ?] 459.

Vol. 615, p. 187.

PETITION of MORISH SHIGHANE, of CORK, to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Gerrott, late Earl of Desmond, in consideration of 140*l.* ster., demised to your suppliant the manors of Garestowne

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alias Ballengarry and Carrigrohane, with a parcel of land called the Ryenes, in co. Cork, for 31 years, at the yearly rent of 10*l.* ster., by deed dated 12 June 1578. But in November 1581 Sir Warhame Sentleger, by his attorney Christopher Sampson, expelled your suppliant's tenants out of the said lands. He made complaints to Sir John Perrott, then Lord Deputy, and other governors, and the cause was referred to Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Valentine Browne, who promised that he should be paid the said sum of 140*l.*, or be recompensed with other lands in co. Limerick, as by their certificates to Thomas Wiseman may appear; yet your suppliant has received no redress or recompense. He prays you to direct the Lord President (Carew) to consider his cause.

In the beginning of these late troubles the rebel James Fitz Thomas spoiled him of his goods and burned his houses. He was forced to abandon his dwelling in the country and remove with his family and such of his cattle as were left to the city of Cork, where he was robbed, within the liberties, of all his cattle, viz., 162 cows, 140 sheep, and a number of mares by the waged servants and followers of Cormock McDermody, Esquire, for which he has long made suit before the late deceased Lord President (Norris) and the now Lord President (Carew); yet he can have no satisfaction, "by reason the said Cormock (being for some contempt under arrest by commandment of the Lord President in the gentleman porter's ward) fraudulently made an escape out of the south gate of the said city," and his son, who was pledge for his loyalty, escaped out of the north gate, but was retaken. As Cormock comes in only on protection or my Lord President's word, and he and his servants have great store of cattle within 16 miles of Cork, may it please you to authorize Captain William Power to take distresses of them, "countervailing so much as they wrongfully took."

Your suppliant let to farm the castle and lands of Rathmore in co. Limerick for seven years (which expired in May last) to James Oge Leo, who joined the rebels, but was dispossessed of the castle by James FitzThomas, who placed therein one Teig O'Breyn, a rebel, who abandoned it on the approach of the Lord President. As the said James [FitzThomas?] has a deadly hatred against him, your suppliant prays that he may have entertainment for five horsemen and ten footmen, to guard his said castle. Thus "your Honours shall do a deed of much charity, wherein you shall not only find my dutiful service in continual prayer for you, but also my Lord and master, in what he may, to be humbly thankful unto your Lordships."

Pp. 3. Endorsed.

Sept. 27. 460.
Vol. 615, p. 189.

The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.
We send you the petition of Moris Shigan. Take order for his satisfaction in his complaints, "that by the recovery of his

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losses he may be the better enabled to live, and encouraged to employ himself the more earnestly in the service of her Majesty." But as her Majesty's charge is excessive, he must "use his own best means for the defence of his castle."

Oatlands, 27 September 1600. *Signed and sealed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 31.

2. Copy.

Sept. 27. **461.**

Vol. 615, p. 215.

GEORGE CAREY LORD HUNSDON, Lord Chamberlain, to
SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"Yours of the last of August I received, . . . whereby I found your love and kindness testified to myself, and, by sundry other your letters to the Council, your well-directed course of shortening the wars in Munster, performing exploits which savoured no less of wit than of valour. . . . A better course . . . I have not known any man in that country to have taken, and can only say that your continuance in that course will give light to others how to proceed, and be a means to return you amongst us. . . .

"Your change of the government into a better form will no doubt terrify the Spaniards from seeking to possess a country, wherein they shall find their entrance disturbed and their friends defeated."

If the rest of the Irish nobility had followed the example of "my noble friend the Earl of Thomonde," her Majesty's expenses and losses had never been as they are and will be. "His service hath proceeded out of a true nobleness of mind, and from no great encouragement received from hence."

Oatlands, 27 September 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 34.

2. Copy.

Sept. 28. **462.**

Vol. 604, p. 34.

SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

I could not dissuade her Majesty from deferring to sign Desmond's patent. She was determined to see something effected first; "laying before me what a scorn she should receive if she should effect nothing, and then Tyrone might laugh at her double, as he hath done already at the coming in of Sir Arthur O'Neale, whom he calleth 'Queen Elizabeth's Earl, that cannot command 100 kerne.'" She thinks he will not be followed unless the Undertakers' land[s] be given him.

If all rebels be taken in, they will be good subjects no longer than the sword hangs over them. Some freeholders should not be taken in with pardon of lands, but left out, if their countries be good and lie in no remote places; as Pierce Lacy, whom her Majesty would have made an example except he do some meritorious act; O'Callahan, who has a country near Mallo, "which they say were fit to be adjoined, and not

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parted ;" Chellishe, an old follower of Desmond's, who was a principal practiser to rescue James McThomas ; but above all FitzMoris of Lyxna, that married the Earl of Thomond's sister, who has goodly possessions, "and were an excellent place to seat Desmond." Dermott O'Connor will probably come back, "to the which truly he would be invited;" but he will look for pay for all his men. "His own person might be maintained and some band of foot in the Queen's pay, and the rest authorized to live upon the rebel's country, as they were by the rebel upon the subject."

I have no doubt the Queen intends to make him (Desmond) Earl. "She doth but attend some signal fruit by his sending over ; which once being done, upon your next advertisement, you shall see how fast she will come on." But I fear this delay will work doubtfulness in the Earl's friends. Almost an impossibility is imposed upon you ; "you must use him with caution that he do not escape, and yet give him such reputation as they may not be jealous that he shall never be other, when a turn is served, than a petty companion." Have some "confident persons" in his company, lest stratagem be used to take him in some parley, for the State here would think it a plot. "Set your wits together what habitation to fashion for him ; for I assure myself, if he have not other means found but to have those things passed to the Undertakers, that his knaves that follow him will still urge him to weary them out." The only way is to give him some other great rebel's lands, that there may always be feud between them.

If Florence be gone, he is gone for aid from Spain, and will land them in the West Seas, not far from O'Sulyvan Moore's country, of whom I hear not what is become since he was carried to Tyrone.

"You may take some good colour to have some extraordinary care over that young Earl's person (though, in my conscience, I doubt him not), because you hear of some devices to steal him away against his will."

Oatlands, 28 September 1600. *Signed.*

P.S.—I send you a copy of my letter to the Lord Barry in answer to his suits.

Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed.

Sept. 29. 463. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 604, p. 31.

"Although I never did impart unto the Queen that you did ever yield to receive James Garret upon other terms than with an apparent record of his title, to be showed to that generation of incredulity, so as it proceedeth out of her Majesty's own absolute will (who will not be won but with strange degrees), yet I will hope that you will make some good use of him. . . . Seeing it may be doubted how it will succeed, we may say, if our counsel had been followed, the success would have been greater ; and so her Majesty shall

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not have advantage over us. . . . I pray you therefore write to me in this sort, that you will not presume to say to your Sovereign what may be the reason of this manner of sending him, because her Majesty will have it so; to whose divine and piercing judgment you will subscribe; but you cannot be so dull as not to be bold to say to me that you cannot discover yet the mystery of this proceeding, which is the highway to overthrow the service, and to you an utter disabling of ever prospering there. . . . We send you a gentleman whose credit must draw followers, and neither do we give him anything whereby to invite them, but shorten that which hath been ever promised—the matter of the title, which is nothing when it is given, and . . . is immediately extinguished if it be not deserved. Besides, you never desired to have him possessed of it, but only to have it yourself in keeping, that they might have seen how far the Queen had gone. You may therein desire that the Queen will distinguish what it is to deal with such as are bound by no religion nor honesty to her; nay, rather bound by their wicked religion to disobey her. You may also lay down how great a triumph this will be to all McTomas' party; how it will be urged that you are an impostor; . . . that you could never have imagined, if her Majesty knew all the circumstances, . . . she would not in this degree have assented, though but to have gained one good castle or rebel; nothing being more grafted into their hearts than that indeed her Majesty loves not to raise any of them.

"I hope this will draw on the grant. . . . God knoweth I labour like a pack-horse; and know that, if success be nought, it will be scorn to me. And now that I see how troublesome it is to work things as they should be, I vow to God I wish you out of that country, and myself a plowman, rather than to contemplate the vexation which that kingdom will bring upon us. . . .

"I think it good that you do plainly tell Desmond, for so did I, that though you know how sure it is that the Queen will do it, yet that you do see, if nothing be done (now he is come), that it will be long or never, so as it were good for him . . . to send for them and to them that are his friends, and to desire them to do somewhat, lest the Queen should repent. . . . He might do well to feign himself sick, and so not go abroad, saying, if anything were done for him, he knoweth the patent would be sent. . . . By this you shall see some of their humours. . . . If you discover plainly that nothing will be done there, and that her Majesty will not upon your letter proceed to give him a patent (though other matters stay), truly I would even send him fair back again. For, by God! though her Majesty be in the fault of her own service, yet she will be apt to tax us if such a thing happen; which, if he live in your house, may be best provided for. . . . The change was strange, for I protest to God the patent was ready, and the pen brought to sign it. . . .

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"The Archb[ishop], who I thought (as you find) should have come over, will not now come except the patent be sent, which he desires only as we have moved it, and not to be absolutely delivered, because he hath promised it, and knoweth the suspense will breed a thousand jealousies. Now, Sir, he shall stay, and it may be told Desmond that he shall bring it. . . . I will make the Bishop believe that I know that the first good advertisement which comes hither will make it be sent; and . . . I am sure he will write it. . . .

"My zeal to the Queen's service, and my assurance that all of evil success shall be laid on me, though I be innocent, makes me handle these points to and fro. . . . If these observations may further opportunities, I shall be glad, and more glad than of 500*l.* land. When you write by Price, return this."

Dated at the beginning, "29th of September 1600."

Holograph. Pp. 6. Endorsed by Cecil, "My 3rd letter;" and by Carew, "Mr. Secretary, 29 Sept. 1600."

Sept. 29. **464.** SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 620, p. 31.

Since my last I have written to Mr. Secretary (Cecil). "The archtraitor, the usurping Desmond . . (not having any man of quality in actual rebellion to assist him but Thomas FitzMorys, son and heir to the late Baron of Lixnawe, his brother John of Desmond, Piers Lacy, and the Knight of the Valley), is fled out of Munster; and these his associates are dispersed in small companies and are no better than woodkerne. So as, Florence McCarty excepted (who hath all this time temporised to see the event of this summer's prosecution), there is no man of estimation either in open rebellion or likely to maintain the same; . . and he . . doth intercesse me with letters, upon warrant of safety, to come unto me, professing that his intentions are no other but to remain a dutiful subject, capitulating neither for title or aught else but . . his life, living, and liberty. Every day I expect his coming. . .

"This flight of Desmond's doth externally promise a present reduction of Munster, and whereof in a short time I am not hopeless. . . His associates, . . whereof some of them were never in actual rebellion, and others now come in and seeming to forsake him, . . have advised him, partly for his safety (but especially to try his friends abroad, what force he may raise either of Connaught men or from Tyrone), to depart from hence, with confident promises that whensoever he shall be able to return with new aids, that then they will declare themselves again as heretofore. This I know to be true by some of those that were at their council; but my hope is that the comforts which he shall receive in this negotiation will demonstrate his weakness so much as that his partakers for ever hereafter will abandon him. For Connaught men have already been so wearied since my coming hither into this pro-

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vince, and left so many of their heads behind them, as they will not be induced to return where nothing but danger and misery is represented unto them. And I make no doubt but the Lord Deputy doth so well busy the traitors in Leinster and Ulster, as from thence he shall receive no aids. But admit he did, yet notwithstanding I am out of doubt to make them repent it, and to pray my passport, as they did this last summer, being then no less than 2,500 in list."

Hereof I inform you not because I conceive any danger of the forces he can procure, for the more they are the greater will be their misery by reason of famine, "but only to intimate unto you the cankered malicious hearts which these people bear unto her sacred Majesty and our nation, not respecting their own ruin nor the loss of their own pledges, so as they may continue the action, hoping thereby at the last, that her Majesty will grow weary of the extreme charges she is now at, and . . . give them their own conditions and liberty of religion. In the which (albeit they be not troubled), they are not satisfied without the open exercise of the same under the Romish authority, which they strive to have supreme. This is not only plotted amongst the rebels, but amongst those whom we term best subjects, as well abroad in the countries, as at home in corporate towns and elsewhere; and for this cause only are the rebels by all sorts of people relieved, making it a conscience not to assist* them, and thinking themselves damned if they should incur excommunication. For proof whereof I am informed that some of great quality in these parts (whom for some especial respects I do yet forbear to nominate to your Lordships, because if any knowledge thereof were had, it would greatly prejudice the service) have lately despatched priests to Rome, to obtain absolution from the Pope for not entering into open hostility as the rest; and because they see the Queen cannot be beaten out of Ireland, do likewise pray a dispensation from overt action, but yet to live firmly in the Catholic religion, and to be permitted in outward temporal obedience to remain her Majesty's subjects. Whereof if they be denied, how they will decree to endure the thundering censures of that diabolical Church is to be doubted; and so consequently the best reputed subjects amongst them in my opinion are to be held doubtful. This is the root and immediate cause of the beginning and continuance of this rebellion in these parts; and were it not for this, ere May Day next I would not doubt, by God's assistance, in despite of Desmond and all the forces that he can get, to settle Munster in as good quiet as Middlesex. By the end of the next month it will appear what aids he can procure."

Cork, 29 September 1600.

"Sent by Mr. Smythe."

Copy. Pp. 2.

* Sic.

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Sept. 29. 465. The ARMY at LOUGH FOYLE.

Vol. 682, p. 210.

Instructions to Captain Humfrey Covert, sent to Lough Foile as comptroller-general of the musters and surveyor-general of victuals there, 29 Sept. 1600.

Whereas 4,000 foot and 200 horse were sent to Lough Foile about March last under Sir Henry Docwra, chief colonel, of which 1,000 foot and 100 horse were to be sent to Ballis-hannon, and no perfect certificate has been sent of the musters by the three commissaries there, the Queen has made choice of you to be sent thither to take a muster of the companies there, with an allowance of 20s. per diem.

General instructions how to take the musters, with authority to remove any of the commissaries who have neglected their duty through corruption or otherwise. Any soldier answering by a wrong name to be imprisoned; as also any clerk delivering false rolls.

As the Irish that serve are but "passe-volants" taken in to show themselves at the musters and fill up the numbers, examine the clerks of the bands and the captains whether they do actual service, and how long they have been in the bands.

Visit those that are by sickness said to be absent. Such as are maimed and utterly unable to serve to be sent away with the next passage. Care to be had of those of whose recovery there is little or no hope, who are not to be sent into England, for, if they recover, "they do prove by experience soldiers best able to serve her Majesty."

The soldier is paid part in lendings and part in apparel, and has victual allowed him out of his lendings. Inquire whether the victuals are delivered orderly and duly to him. Call the commissaries of victuals to account; we are informed they have not had due regard for the keeping and for the delivery of good and wholesome victuals.

"There was likewise provision made of beverage both of sack, liquorish, and aniseeds, whereof the commissary of the victuals had charge;" also of bedding, drugs, and other necessities for hospitals, and of sundry utensils, "as carpenters' tools, axes, and other implements to dress their meat withal, and for other necessary uses;" of all which you shall demand an account, being very careful to find all the abuses that have been committed to defraud her Majesty and the soldier, who (if our information be true) is divers ways by the captain and his officers evil entreated and defrauded.

The captains are said to receive the victuals from the commissaries by our weight at 16 oz. to the pound, and to deliver the same to the soldiers at 12 oz. more or less, under colour that dividing those victuals doth cast some small loss upon them.

Part of the soldier's lendings is kept back for drinking money, which notwithstanding is not allowed to him.

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You are to examine and advertise all similar abuses without partiality ; for if you, who are specially trusted, shall be found to have winked at any abuse, you shall be thought utterly unworthy of any credit or employment hereafter, and besides incur exemplary punishment.

"Whereas her Majesty doth allow six dead pays in every band, to increase the entertainment of some gentlemen or other of better sort and desert than the rest, you shall inform yourself how those dead pays are employed to the use, or converted to their private gain."

Certify how many captains are absent and for what time ; and how many of their officers are absent. Cause their entertainment to be stayed with the Treasurer until her Majesty be informed of the time and cause of their absence.

As these men have "lyed" there all this summer, call upon the colonel to see that the captains train their soldiers, "so as they may be disciplined and taught to use their weapons and exercise therein for their better experience and health, for we do hear that many of them, through very idleness, do fall into sundry diseases."

The 700 soldiers lately sent thither under Captain Avery Yorke received their full suits of winter apparel here.

Take a view and muster of the mere Irish bands under Sir Arthur O'Neil and others that are come to do her Majesty service.

You are to continue there until you hear further from us, and to make a perfect report, certifying how many soldiers have been discharged, how many ran away, &c.

Copy. Pp. 14.

Sept. 30. **466.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.
Vol. 615, p. 181.

We have written to the Lord President of Munster (Carew) in behalf of the Archbishop of Cashell, signifying in what sort the Queen would have him relieved, "to make him able to live in that province in some reasonable manner."

"The said Archbishop and his three sons, Terence, Redmond, and Barnaby, being prisoners with the rebels, did consent and procure their friends to give a ransom of money and other commodities of great value to the traitors, and to use many other means with them for their liberty, being not lawful for them to do without authority." But as this was done without malice to the State, her Majesty is pleased that a pardon under the Great Seal shall be granted to him and his sons, and to his brother, Myell Magragh, who was a dealer for their ransom. His suit for pardon to his friends, tenants, and followers, who by constraint adhered to the rebels, we refer to you.

He has informed us that the rebels maliciously broke the Great Seal from certain writings of liberties, &c. granted by divers of her Majesty's progenitors to the Archbishops of Cashell. The Queen's pleasure is that all such liberties, &c.

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shall be renewed and confirmed under the Great Seal of that realm.

Oatlands, 30 September 1600.

P.S.—“The reason which moveth us to assent to his suit for his friends' pardon is only in regard of such as he hath been constrained to use about the practice of Desmonde and his own enlargement.”

“Signed by the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary Cecill, and Mr. Secretary Harbert.”

Copy, “ex. per Th. Smith.” *Pp.* 2.

Sept. 30. **467.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 183.

The Archbishop of Cashell has long made earnest suit here to her Majesty. Her pleasure is that he and his tenants, who fled for fear of the rebels, be restored to all castles and lands which they were possessed of before the last rebellion in Munster, notwithstanding any title pretended by the detainers thereof. No pardon or concordatum is to be granted whereby the Archbishop would be deprived of the recovery of his goods.

“As often as the said Archbishop shall prove his rents, debts, duties, proxies, or tithes to be unjustly detained from him either by her Majesty's farmers of any ecclesiastical livings, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, he shall have, by your Lordship's order and direction, the assistance of all such magistrates to whom it may appertain, to procure him right and satisfaction therein.

“Furthermore, whereas the said Archbishop complaineth that the mayor and inhabitants of Waterford do not pay unto him, being their Ordinary, such ecclesiastical duties as to him appertain, nor answer his jurisdiction, according to her Majesty's laws, we do pray and require you to let him have your best assistance for recovery of the said duties, and for maintenance of his jurisdiction, and for redress of the backwardness of such persons as shall be found faulty therein.”

As some of his tenants and followers, who have by constraint adhered to the rebels, desire to submit if they may obtain pardon, you are to grant him warrant to give them safeconduct to repair to himself or to you.

Lastly, you are not to suffer the Archbishop, his sons, or his brother to be troubled upon any man's evil practice or information, except upon just and great cause.

Oatlands, 30 September 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 32.

2. *Copy.*

Sept. 30. **468.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 185.

“Though we do well enough know the evil disposition of the Irish people in most places of that kingdom, and especially

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of the inhabitants of Waterford, in matter of religion, and her Majesty hath been pleased in that behalf to hold a very remiss and favourable hand over them, because they should not serve themselves with pretence of any matter of conscience to fall from their duty and obedience to her Majesty; yet we have had no doubt or distrust of any such presumption and insolency as by the Archbishop of Cashell and others we are informed they are grown unto; who avoweth unto us that in Waterford there are certain buildings erected under colour and pretence of almshouses or hospitals, but that the same are in very deed intended and publicly professed to be used for monasteries and such like houses of religion, and that friars and popish priests are openly received and maintained in them, even such as do not deny to have recourse unto Spain and unto the chief rebel Tyrone ordinarily, insomuch as they publicly seek to seduce her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance, and exercise their service of the mass openly and usually in many places, as if they were in no awe or fear of any exception to be taken thereunto.

"Of which things (if we have been well informed) we cannot but think it very necessary that a more watchful eye and a straighter hand of authority be kept over them. For as we do well consider that it is as yet inconvenient to take any sudden or sharp course for reformation (in such sort as were to be wished) of their blind superstition, being with strong head so generally carried away with opinion of conscience; so we must put a great difference betwixt the secret exercise of their religion and practice of treason under colour of religion.

"And therefore, though we do not think it convenient that any extraordinary course be taken, or any disturbance made to inquire after or to punish them for their masses or any other their popish superstitions (unless they show thereby openly to the world an insolent contempt of her Majesty's authority), yet, on the other side, it is not to be suffered that such persons should go unpunished as are known to be practisers for the King of Spain or for the rebel. . . .

"But forasmuch as the practice of their popish superstition is so mingled or joined as it is with the practice of treason, herein is the point of your discretion and wisdom to be showed by just execution of the law upon the offenders in treason, without any inconvenient disturbance for matter of religion; wherein as it hath been thought best hitherto by a temperate remissness to yield to the time, so the same course may continue; save only where you shall find such open insolency or over-bold liberty as shall necessarily require restraint or punishment; wherein we can prescribe you no other rule than your own judgment and discretion.

"And whereas by occasion of the trade of merchandise which the Irish have with Spain, and is tolerated by her Majesty, there be divers persons that do pass betwixt Spain and Ireland that do serve for intelligence to and from the

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rebels; as all such persons are to be diligently inquired after, and to be apprehended and punished for their treasons according to law, so . . . the owners of all ships "shall give bonds not to transport any persons to or from Spain "but such as go for merchandise." Such bonds to be duly taken to her Majesty's use, and not neglected as is commonly the case.

You must use herein the assistance of some others that are in authority in that province, but have regard that they be of good judgment and discretion.

Oatlands, 30 September 1600.

Signed: Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C. S., T. Buchurst, Nottingham, G. Hunsdon, Ro. Cecyll.

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 33.

2. Copy.

Sept. 30. 469. [SIR ROBERT CECIL] to LORD BARRY.

Vol. 604, p. 240.

"I have been solicited by your letters and by your son (who is now in perfect health, I thank God) in divers suits which you have propounded, with all which I have acquainted her Majesty, whereupon I have received this answer, that she hath well accepted of your faithful endeavours in this time of so great and monstrous a defection in others, whereof her President (Carew) hath from time to time advertised her; and when she shall see any fruit of the extreme charge whereunto she hath been put, she resolveth to make the difference known between the corn and the chaff. In the mean time her Majesty saith that she hath been pleased to give you the charge of a band, which, though it be not that whereof you are worthy, yet she is not so ill informed of the state of that country but that she can well conceive that there is never a nobleman, who is lord of a country, and hath followers, to whom a hundred foot in her Majesty's pay is not of greater use than the best pension she hath ever given in Ireland.

"And therefore, my Lord, for answer to your demands of land belonging to James FitzThomas, . . . it is such news to her Majesty to hear that she hath anything to give in that province (Munster) where she maintaineth so great numbers, as she intendeth to suspend the satisfaction of any man in that point until she may be informed what it is she parteth withal; a course which she prescribeth to herself out of no indisposition towards your Lordship or many others of good quality and merit that are suitors, but only because she taketh it a little too soon to be moved before she know how titles depend. . .

"For the captainry of your Lordship's country, as other lords enjoy any authority from the Queen, her Majesty meaneth to deal with your Lordship as well as with any of your rank; wherein I could have wished you had moved

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the President to have recommended it, because I know not in what sort to demand it. I pray you therefore acquaint him with your desire in that point, that he may recommend the same particularly, as he did for the company and the land; and then shall your Lordship to them both receive a direct answer."

*Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed: 1600, 30 Sept. Copy of my master's letter to the Lord Barry.**

Oct. 1. 470. The QUEEN to [SIR GEORGE CAREW].

Vol. 620, p. 270.

"We have now at the last resolved to send over James FitzGerald into Munster, after long debate with ourself what accidents might follow thereupon." There might be many doubts to what he may be inveigled in times to come, but we trust in his good nature and disposition to gratefulness. We send him over by Captain Pryce, who is to deliver him safely into your hands. Though "we know the keeping of him in any state of a prisoner would wholly overthrow the work," yet "we shall never disallow it if you in your discretion find it necessary at any time that you do abridge him of any liberty or any favour now afforded him."

"For his maintenance during his abode there, there are but two ways. The one to bestow lands upon him with an habitation, the other to maintain him out of our own purse with a pension. In the first there must be time to consider where to seat him. For the second, because it is a thing that must be done, and that he must be maintained with a convenient attendance, that they may not scorn him; and that he hath one or two sisters, whom we had rather should depend upon himself than be matched with any other that were ill affected (whereof many there be that would be glad to fortify themselves by them), we do hereby give you order to peruse the numbers you have, and where you find any unprofitable captain that hath a weak band, that you do presently cashier the same, and to employ part of that charge which was formerly bestowed on that band towards the maintenance of him and his, as you shall see requisite, without further charging us."

"Because we know the country will think him unlikely to stead them that shall follow him, if they be not assured that he shall have the title (which is a matter they do so much affect to follow), we have herewith sent you a patent of his earldom, to the intent that you may assure all that are diffident of our performance. And yet we can be content they

* Described in the table of contents at the beginning of MS. 604, as a "copy of a letter from Mr. Secretary to the Lord Barry." This table of contents is in the hand of one of Carew's clerks, and states at the commencement that MS. 604 "containeth a remainder of Mr. Secretary Cecyll his letters, left unburnt, to the Lord President of Munster, during his three years' government there."

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plainly do understand also, that if they shall not actually and substantially perform those services which may deserve this extraordinary clemency, and give us cause to consummate the rest, we both can and will quickly recall all that is hitherto performed. For which purpose we do hereby command you to advertise us what is effected for him by this demonstrative act of ours, and then to receive our pleasure before the patent be delivered out of your hands; although for the present you may let it be showed to any such persons as you shall see cause to assure by view of the same." We are contented to raise the son of that father that had committed so notorious crimes.

"Forasmuch as we do hold it convenient that the Archbishop of Cashell should not be in any sort kept in extremity, we would have you convert 10 dead pays of foot to his use, parcel of that 100 which is appointed to be cashiered for the maintenance of James FitzGerald; wherein likewise we would have consideration held of Poore, and some maintenance for the wife of Dermot O'Connor. All these allowances to be borne by the cashing of that company. . . We have likewise given order to the Deputy to make an allowance of 40s. a week to the Archbishop in nature of dead pays to preachers, in lieu whereof he may stay the pension of some other who is not so necessary to be provided for.

"Having now assented to do that which you have advised, we leave it to be ordered accordingly by your discretion. . . The Bishop is not unfit to frequent the young gentleman; and therefore that credit which is fit let him have, and let your proof of his zeal excuse other of his indiscretions."

Oatelandes, 1 October 1600.

Signed by the Queen at the beginning, and by Cecil at the end.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Oct. 1. 471. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 40.

"If you shall not remember where I dwell, this despatch [of 29 Sept.] will torment you, because it is incertainties with imbroderies; but rather than I would have taken all this pains, and you not have been acquainted with all our alterations, I thought good to send you all the same even *raptim* as I wrote them. . .

"The report of the Bishop's (Archbishop of Cashell) protestation to the Lords being related to the Queen was the only motive that recovered this patent. He desires to be the carrier, and the young Earl being departed out of London and without it, I have committed it to his hands; for now it is sealed with the Great Seal. . .

"Now this is done, the Queen will not pay any great sums for James McThomas, and therefore now must his friends know they must work, or else plainly she will revoke him.

1600.

Sir, I think Castle-Maine would be a very acceptable pleasure to her, and an argument that might be used to the world that the Queen gets somewhat by him good for herself as well as for him. . . He must live frugally, and within the compass of 500*l.* yearly till he be seated and lands given him, which must be recovered. . . Tell him that he may tell his followers what he thinks good, but that you have but 500*l.* allotted, and that if he consider well, it is a fair pension. He may be also told that he shall come over when he hath done any good and marry in England, whither it seems he longeth to return. . . He will never much like an Irish life, for he is tender and sickly, but time will show. In any case place well-affected persons about him. . .

"Remember good pledges upon the White Knight whilst things are prospering well, for it is said you will be cozened by him at last. You cannot please the Queen better than that some of the principal knaves of name be hanged. It is said that Cahir can deliver Dr. Cragh when he list. It were well tried to impose it upon him, not as the doer, but underhand, for he can do it with a wet finger, and it will make him irreconcilable. Let Dermot's wife have some maintenance, and content the Archbishop (of Cashel) with good words, for he doth speak very well of you, whatsoever he thinks, and in this matter of Desmond may be surely trusted. God send it well, and some act to purpose to follow that may visibly stop the mouths of those that here laugh at it, because it is our plot. I shall never end but that my sleep surpriseth me, and therefore bear with this rhapsody."

From the Court, 1st October 1600.

Holograph. Pp. 3. Endorsed.

Oct. 472. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 50.

"This bearer, Patrick Crosby, . . loves you, and is wise and willing to do service. I send him even purposely to bring me some news from you upon Desmond's arrival, that he may let me know how the world goeth, which by a letter cannot so well be understood. I know he will farther all good courses about Desmond, and be vigilant for you over those that would seek to pervert him. In his [Desmond's?] prodigality be round with him, and let him know how straight charge you have received."

P. 1. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed: Received 18 October 1600.

Oct. 3. 473. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 42.

"This gentleman's haste and my present business will not suffer me to write unto you at this time so much as I desire, but . . . refer the relation of our news unto this bearer, who hath

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been an eyewitness to one of our frays, wherein the rebels sent him back a footman" [*i.e.*, unhorsed him].

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Oct. 4. 474.
Vol. 604, p. 42.

SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

This bearer, servant to the Lord Barry, and attendant on his Lordship's son here, is drawn over thither about some private law-suits. Afford him all lawful favour.

From my lodging near the Savoy, 4 October 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Oct. 8. 475.
Vol. 604, p. 44.

SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"There hath been written this day from Ireland certain news of Munster; to which I give no credit, until I hear it confirmed. And yet hath one of the best councillors of that kingdom (when he hath related the matter) concluded with this sentence:—'If there were no wiser than myself, or that I could have my wish, I vow to God the young man Desmond should never see Ireland, for I fear her Majesty, supposing to put down a bad one, will raise up a worse.' The news are in these words:—'Captain Richard Greene . . fought with the pretended Earl of Desmond as he was marching into Arcklow; he slew his son, and 60 of his chiefest men, with two or three of the captains of his bonnoughts; he took his cows, his sheep, his garrons, his munition, and all his baggage; . . drove them into Leix, with 300 rascals with him, not having scarce a rag about him.'

"Let us now fall into this consideration, if so it be that James McThomas be at so low an ebb, whether there be so great a piece of work left behind for this young gentleman, as that it might not be done without him, and so the honour given to your sword and industry. . . If he prove naught, you know the peril like to ensue, and . . how apt our enemies will be to throw upon us . . the imputation of any future bad success. . .

"If, upon his coming over, you find no great task to be done by him, rather . . make sure of him that he cannot escape, and advertise hither what you think. . . Whatsoever you do to abridge him . . out of providence shall never be imputed to you for a fault, but exceedingly commended by the Queen; for God doth know it, the Queen hath been the most hardly drawn unto it that could be, and hath laid it in my dish a dozen times,—'Well, I pray God you and Carew be not deceived.' . . If there be not much to do, you may *marchand* the more proudly with his followers. . . Now the titular Earl is gone down, and with him Piers Lacy, . . I see not almost what great act he is to do. . . He hath not his patent but upon condition of some great service. . . If either none be done or remain to be done, then is the promise free. . . You may either apostate somebody to seek to withdraw him,

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who may betray him to you, or rather than fail, there may be some found out there to accuse him, and that may be sufficient reason for you to remand him, or to restrain him, under colour whereof they will be more greedy peradventure to labour for him. . .

"I see one thing, that a mean fortune will never content him, with which disposition assure yourself the Queen will not be much pleased. Next he is in nature proud; and if he ever should be suffered to meddle with the Undertakers' lands, his teeth would water till he had devoured them all. . .

"All that is here said is but mine own, and known to no soul living but the writer, whose hand I use at this present in regard of a fluxion in one of mine eyes. . .

"The Deputy is by this time at the Newry, going to plant at Armagh; and the army still kept up at 16,000. Her Majesty resolveth, like a wise prince, to cut off a good part of the same; so as of necessity you must provide to lessen yours. . . The Deputy and Council of Ireland do continually underhand write that they can bate no great numbers in the whole if you do not contribute to the diminution. . .

"Remember what I say unto you. Blame shall never betide you for any caution (how curious soever) in the managing of this young *Puer male cinctus*. . .

"From my lodging at the Savoy, this 8th of October 1600."
Signed.

Pp. 3. Endorsed.

Oct. 8. 476. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 191.

"The extremity of the weather hath been such almost ever since we sat down in this place, which was on the 20th of the last month, as if we had no enemy in our way, we could hardly have passed for the rising of the waters. In the mean time few days have passed without more or less fight. At our first encamping we fought almost two hours for our lodging and our wood, and at length beat the rebels out of sight, killing one of the O'Neales, a principal man among them, and divers others. Of ours some four or five were killed, and twice as many hurt; only one of Sir Robert Lovell's brethren, of any name, shot through the face, but likely to recover.

"The 25th, because they should not conceive that their trenches (which are indeed the greatest and strongest works that ever they made, and in a place of most advantage for them) were the cause of our stay, we drew up to their trenches, beat them out of their first, brought away some victuals of theirs, baggage, and arms, killed and hurt . . . 120, as I hear out of their own camp. Of our men some seven slain and some 30 hurt.

"The 2nd of October, being the fairest day we had till that time, I, the Lord Deputy, was determined to have made a strict muster, and to that end had set a guard upon the gates of Dundalk, lest any should come from thence to pass false

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musters ; and having drawn all our men into arms, the rebels came, horse and foot, close to our camp ; insomuch as finding one of Sir H. Folliott's men in the Ferne not far off, they gave him twenty wounds. We fell out presently upon them, beat them to their trenches, . . forced their trenches, wan them, and possessed them as long as we listed to keep them ; and at length our men being commanded off, made a very gallant and orderly retreat ; for we had no determination from the beginning to hold their trenches. . .

" We lost in this fight, . . one of the greatest skirmishes . . in this kingdom, . . about twenty men and some seven score hurt, among whom Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir Chr. St. Laurence, Sir Thomas Burke, and Captain Harvy, with some other lieutenants and officers hurt without danger ; only Captain Anthony Rushe of any name killed. Of the rebels about 300, as I understand by a priest come from them, whose relation doth concur with divers others' that were sent for espial.

" On Sunday the 5th we drew forth again towards them, and in a very resolute charge which they gave to Sir Charles Percie's regiment, both in front and on both sides at once, they were gallantly repulsed ; twelve of them in sight lay dead on the place, of whom two principal men, Murtagh McPryor and Connor Roe McPryor, as we understand ; the rest ran away howling. In this service Sir Robert Lovell . . was shot through the body dead, [and] Captain Roe's brother hurt. Of the rebels . . many were killed and hurt. . .

" By these and other daily skirmishes . . our companies grow weak and unserviceable ; but especially we find a decay in our shot, . . for supply whereof we have sent unto the Council at Dublin, and to the Earl of Ormond, to select out of the bands remaining in the Pale 350 shot ; and therefore pray your Lordship to spare us, for this . . important service, the companies of Captain Phillips and Captain Boys, which heretofore, upon the drawing down of Sir H. Power's company into Leinster, were appointed to rise and march into Munster. . . Make the war in Munster as near the borders of Leinster as you may, thereby to make some diversion from us, on whom at this time the whole strength of the rebels in a manner doth attend ; . . your [province] being of all others the best furnished with men, and at this time least annoyed with rebels ; for the state of Connaught is not unknown to your Lordship, from whence notwithstanding we have drawn great part of the forces ; and Lough Foyle, which was likely to have done good service at this time and in this kind, is by sickness and other means so weak as from thence we expect no ease of our burthen."

From the Camp at Fagher, 8 October 1600.

Signed : Mountioye, R. Wingfelde, G. Bowrchier, Ro. Gardener, F. Stafforde.

Pp. 3. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed.

2. Copy.

3.

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Oct. 8.

Vol. 615, p. 40.

477. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

I received many letters at once from your Lordship by a messenger of Sir Charles Willmott's. Upon Sir William Warren's complaint of hard usage offered him by you, by virtue of your warrant of entry, I referred the consideration thereof to the officers of the Cheque Office, who returned me this second warrant drawn by themselves for an indifferent course between you and him.

At my return to Dublin I will again consider of the cause, and give you satisfaction. I will also concur with Mr. Treasurer (Carey) about Mr. Justice Saxie's entertainment, and take order concerning the companies which I desire to draw hither out of Munster.

I have as yet no commandment out of England for reducing all companies to 100. "Considering the small or no helps which this country affordeth to the captain above his bare entertainment, I think it would prove an hard course, besides that the deserts and qualities of men being unequal, it were not meet, in my opinion, to reduce their entertainments to an equality."

"Captain Greames is a gallant soldier, and hath well deserved the honour your Lordship desireth to be conferred upon him; but you are not ignorant of my restraint, which at this time especially I am not to neglect, being otherwise taxed for many breaches of directions given unto me; besides that there are some . . . on whom I would willingly confer the same honour, if I did not find my hands tied by her Majesty's inhibition; for I protest I never saw men serve more gallantly and more resolutely than I do daily see divers of the captains and commanders here."

From the Fagher, 8 October 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 32.

2. Copy.

Oct.

Vol. 615, p. 38.

478. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

"Since my coming to this camp, where we have been almost 20 days, there hath been weather scant fair enough to write in our tents, except some few days or hours, the opportunity whereof I have presently taken to be doing with our near neighbours, who are continually in sight of us, and whom we have well made know that not they but the extremity of the weather and waters doth arrest our passage. . . . We have beaten them in all places where they thought themselves strongest. . . . Never were seen greater skirmishes in Ireland. . . .

"We must resolve to fight continually with almost all but the chief force of Ireland. . . . We find here the choice men that O'Donell, Occane, and James McSurley hath, whom you would hardly have thought could have been spared from Loughfoyle and Knockfergus.

"I have willed my man to answer many particulars of your letters. . . . Our tents are often blown down, and at this

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instant it doth rain into mine, so that I can scant write. I will labour by all the means and friends I have to rid myself from this unfortunate country;—not that I protest I am weary of my labours, though I think they have been as great as ever any of my place sustained here, but vexed with the fatal plague of hard construction of my proceedings, in the uprightness whereof I was so confident as, believe me, I never sought any other means to fortify them than by a bare and sparing relation of the truth, and to no other than Mr. Secretary (Cecil), or to the Council in general. . . .

“According to your Lordship’s desire, I will grant the wardship of you[ng] Gollde (?), although I was before earnestly moved for it.”

P.S.—“Even as I am writing this letter Geor[ge] Blount tells me from a priest of Tyrone’s” (the rest illegible).

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: October 1600.

Oct. 15. **479.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 604, p. 46.

I received your packet by Smith this evening. “In one of your letters of the 1st of October . . you say that this taking in of the rebels is the way to end the war for the time, but not to secure it for hereafter; which future *temps* if you do limit either to the coming in of the Spaniards, or to the day of disaster by the Queen’s decease (whom God long preserve!)—for the first I am not of opinion that there will any arrive in haste; and for the second, let that unfortunate time care for itself. Secondly, you say you durst not use force because you knew not how it would be here accepted. Surely, Sir, I do not know that you were enjoined to any course, but that ever I told you that for example’s sake her Majesty would expect that some should pay the ransoms of their rebellions. . . Your own project was, after your return from Kerry, that you did not intend to pardon any upon base conditions; neither . . could I have wished a better choice than of those five villains, who yet are left; I mean 124, 125, 128, 4012, 1047. . . * I am only not satisfied why 123,† so wealthy and pestilent a knave, should be still borne with if you be not secure of him, for the war were easily made upon him.

“It is true . . 1089 is come as well to see how we are disposed to proceed with the general, as for his own particular. . . When I read unto him 2049 [your] letter written in his commendation (as if he had been the son of Jupiter), and used these words unto him, ‘You see 2049 [Carew] hath given you great commendation,’ he answered me, ‘By God! he hath not said so much as I deserve.’ So I assure you there need not any other President than 1089 if you believe what he

* Qu., “James McThomas, the titular Earl of Desmond, John McThomas his brother, Thomas FitzMorrice, son to the late Baron of Lennaw, the Knight of the Valley, and Pierce Lacy.” (See pp. 483 and 499.)

† Qu., Florence McCarty.

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hath done or what he can do. But, Sir, I have used him well enough. . . Where you think he loveth 1044 and betrayeth 1045, I believe you are deceived, for of 1044 he railleth to me detestably, and saith 1045 is one of the honestest men in Ireland; of whom he hath showed me divers intelligences which he hath sent, as he saith, to 2049 [you] since he departed. "Surely, Sir, the letter that you have written, I dare not show it, . . as it is enough to make her Majesty believe that all this which you have done is not worthy thanks; . . and mean rather to show your letter to the whole Board of the 29th, wherein you write judicially. . . Besides, when that packet was written, I saw you were more jealous of 4004 than you were afterward, and then did you not know of Desmond's arrival. . .

"I cannot think, first, that you would have taken in many of these you have done, if you had not found that they were unwillingly led into rebellion, and would continue; for it cannot be but you might have of divers of them used your pleasure. So as I do think your proceedings hitherto might have this issue, that although her Majesty may not call away her forces, yet she may abate part of them; and that many of those that are come in might have it imposed upon them, for some time, to pay (as they do their Northern bonnaghts) some part of those forces which the Queen must keep. . . I am of opinion, good pledges being taken, some of the great ones pleased, and some castles well chosen and guarded, there would be no rebellion in haste; neither . . half this could have been at first, if Sir Thomas Norreis could have drawn 500 men to head and durst have stood to it. . .

"If you have sped well with 4004 . . her Majesty's charge may be eased this winter. . . Forbear bestowing of companies in the towns, which will keep themselves. . .

"It remaineth now that I say something to you concerning Anyas, who hath never deceived me, for I have held him a villain. First, the Lord God doth know it, that my soul never had the thought to consent to the poisoning of a dog, much less a Christian. True it is, that to take a rebel alive, or to bring their head, I was contented to hear his promise, though for mine own part I never believed him. I do therefore pray you, and conjure you, by all the love you bear me, to find the means to take him; and seeing he hath otherways offended the law, be assured of this from me, that it must be his hanging and public confession that must clear us from this odious imputation. . . When you have him, if you keep him long alive, he will escape from you by one means or other. Send him not over therefore, nor spare his life, for then it will be thought, whatsoever he saith to clear us, that it is to save his neck.

"The news we have out of France are of the French King's good success still, and of some likelihood that the King of Spain will be drawn into the war. In the Low Countries all things are at a stay. And from Ireland, since the Deputy was

1600.

at Dondalck, . . we have heard nothing from him, so as all this while the army continueth at 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse. Consider, therefore, I pray you, that if all this charge, neither with you nor elsewhere, make things no better than they are in your last ambiguous letter represented, it will be said that the difference between this year and the last is of small importance."

London, 15 October 1600. *Signed.*

P.S.—"The service which Captain Greame hath done deserveth great recommendation, but it appeareth by his own letters that the booty was so good, it is somewhat strange that no part should come to his share, being no such booties as come home in the carricks which mariners can put in their pockets. I pray you, therefore, adventure upon the extraordinaries to give him 100*l.*, and it shall be allowed."

Pp. 4. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed by Carew.

Oct. 25. **480.** SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 620, p. 33.

I have received from you four letters, the first dated 25th August, by Patrick Arthur, who arrived at Cork the 15th inst. The numbers which he brought over were viewed by Mr. Jones, commissary general of the musters. Having armed the supplies out of the store, I dispersed them into the garrison. Out of 600 expected not above 350 came into this land. Their apparel shall be defaulted. Your command to restrain captains from giving passes for soldiers to repair into England I had always observed, but some exemplary punishment should be inflicted in England upon the runaways.

You require me to send you my opinion how the forces may be victualled for the winter within the province. There is no means to supply the defect of victuals here; "this province being so much wasted by this last summer war, as great scarcity hath already overtaken us, insomuch as before the next spring there is no doubt but a great dearth is like to ensue; for testimony whereof, myself must be enforced to forsake the place I am now in, to repair to some port town, and to make my provisions out of England."

"Concerning the Archbishop of Casshell's information . . against the citizens of Waterford for their presumptuous insolencies in the exercise of their Popish religion,—until by your Lordship's letter of the 30th of September I never heard complaint of the same, yet do verily believe the information in matter to be true, but in form . . I hold somewhat doubtful, not supposing that a corporate town (endowed with so great privileges) will hazard their charters in so palpable and gross a manner. . . As soon as I may spare myself from these parts I will take order for a reformation, holding it to be a mighty indignity to her Majesty's government if such presumptuous and traitorly offences should go unpunished; but yet . . . I will handle the matter of religion as nicely as I may,

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especially in this broken time," both in the towns and the country; "for such is the sympathy between them, as when the country is strong the towns are proud." I will draw from the Bishop "who be the principal offenders, which once known, . . matters of treason not tending to religion may be sufficiently proved to convince them; but if it do appear in the least that any part of their punishment proceeds for matter of religion, it will kindle a great fire in this kingdom."

As for taking bands of the owners of ships passing hence to Spain, I find that "most of the Irish merchants that trade for Spain (the town of Waterford excepted) do lade their goods in French bottoms." I will take bands of the rest and use the advice of the Chief Justice.

I will observe your commands touching the Archbishop of Cashell's private affairs; and touching one Morys O'Sheneghan.

The winter suits have arrived at Cork. By reason of our great travels last summer the soldiers were almost naked. Henceforth the apparel should be sent half to Cork and half to Limerick.

I understand that 3,000*l*. for this province has lately arrived at Dublin. No more should be sent that way, "for, as the paymaster here tells me, 1,800*l*. thereof is already there defaulted to pay money imprested by the Treasurer to some Munster captains, that received the same in Dublin." Although Mr. Treasurer (Cary) may justify the same, yet it was your meaning that it should defray growing charges, and not arrears.

Moallo, 25 October 1600.

"Sent by Edward Phyton."

Copy. Pp. 2.

Oct. 29. 481. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 193.

"Her Majesty hath been informed by you of the late good service which hath been done by Captain Greames in the defeating of the troops of the traitor, the usurper of the name of Desmond;" and that he lost divers horses in that service. She is pleased that you do bestow upon him 100*l*. out of the "extraordinaries."

Richmond, 29 October 1600.

Signed: Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, Notingham, G. Hunsdon, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, J. Herbert.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 34. 2. *Copy.*

Nov. 2. 482. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 620, p. 35.

"The Earl of Desmond arrived at Youghall, and from thence by easy journeys the 18th of October came unto me hither. What benefit her Majesty shall receive by his late coming,

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until some further trial be made, I can make no judgment; for the greatest weight of the business was undergone and discharged before his arrival; but yet, no doubt, it cannot but produce good effects in confirming the work which by her Majesty's forces . . . is hitherto so well advanced. He is now at Killmallocke, well followed and daily sought unto by the freeholders and those of meaner quality, and of the others, as far as I can learn hitherto, but sparingly attended. I have good hope . . . that he will prove a good servant, and do no less than is expected. . . . I do evermore purpose to have some gent[leman] of quality to be with him; and lest that he might be (against his will) surprised, he shall continually have a competent guard of horse or foot, or both, to attend him. As far as yet I can discern, both his speech and religion are every way agreeing with the disposition of a true loyal subject, and so long as he shall hold his religion firm, there is little doubt to be made of him. But if he were otherwise (whereas now the people do affect him) they would then in far greater multitudes flock about him. Lest therein he may be corrupted I will be exceeding careful.

"The titular Earl of Desmond ever since the late defeat given him by Captain Grymes and the garrison of Killmallocke, hath lived obscurely, shifting from one place to another, attended (as I understand) with not above two persons. His abode for the most part is in the county of Tipperary, where by his mother he hath many kindred. I have made the best means I may to have a draught upon him, but such is the superstitious folly of these people, as for no price he may be had, holding the same to be so heinous as no priest will give them absolution. My hope is that some of this young Earl's followers (to advance his fortunes) will venture their consciences in that point. His brother John McThomas went into Ulster to procure aids from Tyrone, who is now upon his return, and I think will obtain his suit; which appears to be likely by Tyrone's letters in Irish, which by good chance I intercepted; the copies whereof I have sent to Mr. Secretary Cecyll. . . .

"Thomas FitzMorys, the pretended Baron of Lixnawe, hath received of late a good blow by Sir Charles Willmott in Kerry, in the which himself and the Knight of the Valley with great difficulty escaped, above 60 of his people killed, and all the corn, that with much pains they had hidden in the woods, burned. So as I conclude them now no better than poor wood-kerne.

"Piers Lacy (as James FitzThomas) hath shrouded himself in the county of Tipperary among the Butlers, and of late (as I understand) hath gathered together of the O'Maughors, Ossery men, the Purcells, and other such loose vagabonds of Ormond and Tipperary, to the number of 500, and is lately joined with Redmond Bourke, who, for this month and more, hath been in Ormond and in O'Carrol's country with a 1,000

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foot and 60 horse, every day threatening the invading of the county of Limerick. Their only stay, as I suppose, is for John FitzThomas and his Ulster aids. Long time this body of 1,500 foot and 60 horse cannot hold together, and must be enforced either to make their attempt further into this province or dissolve. When this cloud is overpast I do hope to be able to spare my Lord Deputy 1,000 foot; but until I be more secure from foreign incursion, I do humbly pray . . the continuance of this charge. . .

"As for the provincials, having so many and so good pledges upon them, as also the poor estate of the country, which is slenderly stored with victuals, I hope . . with 3,000 foot and 250 horse to contain them from such an universal defection as I found them in. But if aids out of Spain (daily by them expected) do invade us, I do not believe that either pledges or any other possible assurance that can be devised will hold them subjects. And then, likewise, of the towns I am as little confident.

"Since my last of the 29th of September, . . a strong castle in Conolough, appertaining to James FitzThomas by usurpation, hath been surprised by us; so as now he hath no other house at his devotion but Castlemaine, the which by the next I do hope to send your Lordships word that it is in her Majesty's possession.

"I understand by divers lately come over, that most of the corporate towns in Munster have now their agents at the Court to sue for the enlargement of their charters. . . Be sparing in any such grant, for the people are sufficiently insolent, stubborn, and proud already, and the increasing of their franchises will increase ill humours in them.*

"Since the beginning of this despatch . . Florence McCarty, . . . the 29th of the last, made his repair unto me, submitting himself to her Majesty's grace and mercy, protesting (whose protestations I do not much credit . .) for ever hereafter to remain a true and faithful servant unto her Majesty. . . To abate his greatness I have taken from him his chief dependants, namely, the two O'Sulevans, the two O'Donaghes, McFynyn, O'Rowley, and O'Mahoun-Carbry, every one of which are to put in pledges for their own loyalties, and not to depend upon him; so as his pledge lies but for himself and his brother (who is a most wicked traitor), and those of the Clancarties which do dwell upon the lands her Majesty granted unto him. The pledge I demanded was his eldest son, which by reason of his indisposition of health he could not bring with him, but in the mean time hath left with me his base brother, which is dearly esteemed by him (having for these 10 years past spent his time in the wars of the Low Countries, France, and Hun-

* The previous portion of this despatch appears to have been written on 23th October. See Carew's despatch of 15th December.

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gary), and a foster-brother of his, no less by him respected. Within these 21 days he assures me to return again, and then brings his son with him. All that I have promised to confer unto him is but his pardon and liberty, not conditioning any farther assurance for his lands than such as now he hath. And as for the titles which he so much affects, which is either to be called McCartie More or to be created Earl of Clancare, I have left him hopeless in either of them. He is now gone to prove his credit with Thomas Oge, constable of Castlemaine for James FitzThomas, to render the same into her Majesty's hands. But I think the Earl of Desmond will prevail before him; who hath sent to that purpose. But if they both fail, I doubt not but by another stratagem to recover the same. The reduction of Florence . . . gives an assured hope of a present establishment of this province, for upon him the rebellion did build their last refuge; and now that he is defected from them, strangers will be the less willing (having no back in the province) to venture themselves in the same."

I would urge the necessity of a general pardon for this province, "the principal heads of this rebellion and now in action, and traitorly townsmen in corporations who have relieved them or their associates, only excepted; namely, James FitzThomas and John his brother, Thomas FitzMorys, the pretended Baron of Lixnawe, Edmond FitzThomas, called the Knight of the Valley, and Piers Lacy of the Broofe; . . . whom (as children of perdition) for example's sake I have refused to accept upon any conditions."

My reasons for moving you herein are "the multitudes of [all] sorts of people that in this general defection are fallen into the danger of the law, the most of them being poor people, neither having friends, means, or ability to sue out their pardons, whom in number I cannot judge to be less of all sorts, as men, women, and children, than 100,000 persons; the greatest number whereof are now upon protection, which is a great impediment to the government of the same; for that, during the time of their protection, they are not amenable to law as were meet. And their poverty is so great, and the procuring of their pardons so excessive chargeable, as within the time prefixed upon their protections it is impossible for these poor creatures to procure the same.

"This hath been in former times . . . used, and the same is now here by the provincials both wished and expected. But because that . . . some ill and lewd disposed persons among them may commit such heinous offence as that they shall not be worthy of so great mercy," power should be left in me the President and the Council to exempt any such from the benefit thereof; "especially in regard of the traitorly priests, who are the chiefest firebrands of this unnatural treason, and who to take benefit of this general pardon I hold . . . to be very unworthy; and in like sort to make exceptions of men of their function, this country people being so much devoted

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unto them, . . . I hold to be dangerous, and therefore far better to be left in the power of the President and Council."

"Give straight commandment unto all the Undertakers to make their present repair into the province, to reinhabit and repair their lands and houses ; . . . or else . . . take some other course for the repossessing of those lands."

Moallo, 2 November 1600.

"Sent by Edward Phyton."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Nov. 2. **483.**
Vol. 604, p. 52.

SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

This gentleman being brother to Sir John Gylbert, and thereby your kinsman, needs not my recommendation. "He comes over with a determination to follow his fortune in these wars."

Court at Whitehall, 2 Nov. 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Nov. 8. **484.**
Vol. 604, p. 54.

SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

I have received your letters by Captain Prise. Her Majesty approves of your making trial of the affections of such as depend on the young Earl [of Desmond].

In the matter of Florence we hope to receive some certainty. Captain Prise reports that you say you would have prosecuted him if I had not restrained you. I never send directions without leaving them to your own discretion. When going into Kerry you professed you would temporise with him till you came back, and when there you found in him perfidious delays and extreme ambition ; upon which it was written to you again to prosecute him except some convenient satisfaction would content him. Within few days after you wrote that you would prosecute him if new matter proceeded not from him to your liking. We are not doubtful of you, "seeing all that you have hitherto undertaken hath sped so well."

"I expect daily to understand what you have done with that wicked and horrible wretch Aunnias, who hath given out (as it seemeth) so vile an untruth of you and me, concerning Florence, of which, I protest to the Lord, I never entertained the thought. I trust therefore you will come by him by one means or other."

Her Majesty and the Council approve of sending the pledges out of the province for security, "but I must likewise tell you what her Majesty will expect in this matter, or else, if I might advise you, they should never come over ; first, you must be assured how they shall be maintained without charge to her Majesty ; secondly, and above all things, you must foresee that they may appear of value that are sent hither, or else it will rather discredit you than otherwise. . . . Let me know, by your next, who they are, and for whom they

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do lie." You wrote once that you found never a subject in Munster that had not need of a pardon. It will be convenient to take some such course, to secure the minds of those that have not been openly out. Let me know what exemptions should be made to this pardon.

We have received letters of 26th October from the Lord Deputy by Sir Oliver St. Johns, who left him at the Newry. You will see, by the abstract enclosed, he has carried himself very gallantly at the Moyry, Tyrone having never since showed himself, but retired into his country. The Lord Deputy will not plant the garrison at Armagh, because he could hardly leave 1,000 men there victualled, without from time to time hazarding an army to supply them. This has grown by deferring the journey too long in the year. He means to raise a fortification midway between the Newry and Armagh, which, when Armagh is planted in the spring, will make all convoys safe to that garrison. If it were now settled, lack of fuel would have driven the soldiers to fight every day for their wood. "Connorough McGuire, who is in contention for the country of Fermanaugh, came lately in to my Lord, but his son remaineth prisoner with Coconnaugh McGuire, and yet on the very day of the fight at the Moyry he brake from them, with his handlock upon his hand, and offered my Lord to do good service in that country, if he might have any assistance. Hereupon my Lord gave him pay for as many horse and foot as he brought in, with the which he immediately returned, and finding Cormock McBaron in the way, encountered him, and gave him a good defeat, and hath taken his eldest son prisoner, whom he sendeth to the Deputy, which in truth is one of the best pledges in Ireland.

"The Deputy doth presently fall to abate 3,000 of the army, and writeth over that if we look for any more, it must be done in Munster." If therefore you will make your services felt here, you must abate your army; but until we hear from you, you shall have no order. That being done will content the Queen. It is here much spoken of that a third of your army is Irish, of whom I doubt not you will rid yourself when you diminish the forces.

I must acquaint you with my misfortunes. Letters had been written to the Lord Deputy upon complaints of old servitors that younger captains were preferred to them, with reprehension for large concordatums, and admonition to see reformation in the Pale of spoils by the soldiers upon the inhabitants, for which the Lord of Hoath and Barnewell came expressly over. "His Lordship hath written a bitter letter unto me, presuming more of my friendship, accompting himself unfortunate in his government, complaining of the iniquity of the time, with some glance that he doth no way mislike my extraordinary care of others, so it weaken not my affection to him. . . I am as wrongfully suspected, and have as much laboured to keep all blame from him . . as ever I could have

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done for you. . . He is a little emulous of your success, yet I do not find but that he useth you well in all his writings hither."

"This fellow Pyne hath made so many suits as I think he would be Vice-President. I have therefore sought to despatch him, for he doeth nothing but lay strange plots and projects; and yet it is so carried as he can have no cause to think himself other than beholden to you, as you may see by the style of my Lord's letters, wherein you may perceive that we restrain you to cautionary limitations; but if you will do wisely, keep him with you, and send no such companions over.

"As for the Bishop of Cashell, he complains that he cannot have the benefit of her Majesty's grant. I have satisfied him that the fault hath not been in you, because you had not full order to extend it to the uttermost. Seeing therefore you have now received an explanation from us how far you may extend your warrant, I pray you see his mouth stopped. And for the rest, use your discretion as you see cause, for though you have liberty for the whole, yet you have no certain direction to bestow more or less of it upon any others than as you see cause, the scope being principally to ease the Queen's purse, for those things that belong to Desmond and his followers, with whom you can best tell how to deal.

"Thus have I held you, to whom I can write no change of any things concerning our private; only this is true, that mere necessity makes the Lord Cobham a married man, whereof there is yet no publication, but now is so pressed, as either it must be declared, or else we must have wars.

"Sir Arthur Gorge's daughter is dead, which works in him shrewd effects; but he hath some relief by a composition made between him and the Viscount, who must pay him 400*l.* a year during his life, which will keep the staff from the door.

"2048 hath been in Cornwall, who is so partial to the widow Norrys, as he is apt to suspect you upon all her complaints, who is a greedy beggar-like woman.

"For any matter of Spain, they are all fools that expect it, for it is in no case, the war of Savoy being like to set the two Kings together; for all Savoy is now almost in the King's hands; besides we do yet entertain the treaty on foot, though I have no great hope of it.

"I would to God I might know what you learned of the Seneschal's son's practices in Ireland, because the Archduke might be charged with it. And so would I know what may be written to the Earl of Ormond in particular, because Captain Prise, who is no excellent orator, could not satisfy me with any man's name with whose receipt I might charge him. . .

"Remember to direct your advertisements of things done of public purposes in future, and of your demands and necessities, to the whole Council, and not to me in particular, for I am much absent from Court, where God doth know (excepting

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her Majesty's favour) I take no comfort." In your letters to me are commonly some private things, "not to be read by others than by the Queen and myself."

As Mr. Herbert is now called to a place of honour, you might sometimes write to him. This will show you do not neglect him, and "prepare his mind to respect you hereafter, when peradventure death, sickness, or other accidents may throw you into his hands, as now you are in mine."

From the Court at Richmond, 8 November 1600. *Signed.*

"You may direct your letters to him in this form: To the right honorable Mr. Secretary Herbert, one of her Majesty's Privy Council.

The rest is in Cecil's own hand.

"All things are as my other letters have mentioned concerning 2026, and as my genius tells me will so be a good while. . . I have moved the Lords to write unto the city of Cork about the lewd usage of the young Earl of Desmond, to whom I have sent this copy, that he may be comforted; for indeed Capt. Price sware to me all this was true which is written, he being by. I wish the Earl a reasonable maintenance of this company, but not too great at first. . .

"Send me your opinion whether you had not rather do as the Lord Deputy (I find) could wish it, to spare your companies from Munster into Wexford, Ossory, and other places, than cash them. . . Though they be not in your government, yet may they on a sudden be returned, and you shall be the better in quiet by their neighbourhood, and yet shall have the honour of abatement."

Pp. 8. Endorsed.

[Nov.] 485. PETITION of HENRY PYNE to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 615, p. 197.

Sir Thomas Norreyes, late Lord President of Munster, did place in Mogelly, your suppliant's castle, 50 warders. The Earl of Essex, the Lords Justices (Loftus and Cary), and the commissioners of Munster continued the same. But Sir George Carewe, Lord President, in April last discharged the ward; yet when he was informed what the rebels had done to gain the place, he advised and required your suppliant not to discharge the warders, but to make means to her Majesty and your Lordships for their continuance. In regard whereof, and that the place is of great importance, in respect of its site and strength, your suppliant prayeth the continuance of the 50 men, and an allowance for keeping them at his own charge since April last. He will undertake at his own charge to keep in readiness 10 able horses. Also, if your Lordships please, "there might be 150 men reparted [for?] Drommany, Lisfyny, Kilmackow, the Shane Castle, and Mocollop;" your suppliant to have command, under the Lord President, of the cantred of Cosbryde and Cosmore, and the allowance usually appertaining to 150 men. For that your suppliant has been infamously

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slandered by vile and bad-disposed persons he beseecheth you to be a means to restore him to her Majesty's good opinion, as heretofore in the time of his lord and master the late Lord Chancellor (Hatton).

"Ex. per W. Waad."

Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed.

Nov. 9. **486.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 199.

Though there have been some hard reports of Mr. Henry Pyne, your testimony causes her Majesty to hold a gracious concept of him. We return him again to you, and refer his suits to your consideration. In strengthening particular men's castles with wards you shall regard only the furtherance of the service, for we expect hourly an abatement of charge in a round proportion. We have directed the Treasurer (Cary) to pay him such arrears as we can allow. As for the fortification of his castle, so much spoken of there, no man should otherwise fortify there than to resist an Irish rebel; but as you have seen it, and think what is done in it not any way to be misliked, we refer all to your own eye and judgment.

Richmond, 9 November 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 35.

2. Copy.

Nov. 10. **487.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 201.

You have had signification of her Majesty's pleasure to convert a company of 100 men in that province towards the entertainment of some special persons. Her meaning is "that the whole pay after 8*d.* the day for 100 soldiers, excepting the captains and officers, who have several entertainments, shall be converted to that use." As the Treasurer (Cary) can make payment but of the 3*s.* the week for lendings, and the winter apparel is already sent from hence, you shall take suits for 100 men, excepting six for the dead pays, which are to be returned to the merchants "upon such accounts as they shall be appointed to receive the said apparel; and hereafter, instead of the apparel, . . . money shall be by the merchants' factors delivered unto you at every delivery of apparel after such rate as we shall apportion."

Richmond, 10 November 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 36.

2. Copy.

Nov. 10. **488.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to the MAYOR and ALDERMEN of CORK.

Vol. 604, p. 268.

We had hoped that her Majesty being contented to pass over the former errors of the magistrates and inhabitants of

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that town, "should have prevented for hereafter any such lewd courses as have been lately used by you the Mayor toward the young Earl of Desmond." We understand, not only by himself, but by Captain Price, that "they would not vouchsafe to accommodate him or his company with any convenient lodging, but that he must have been forced to have gone to bed supperless if he had not (unbidden) intruded himself into the Mayor's own table; and "when the young Earl had written some letters in the Mayor's house, he [the Mayor] very loudly stood upon it with him that he should write nothing out of his house but he would see it, . . . even when it was told him that they were directed to the Council of England." For this indignity, her Majesty intends to call you, Mr. Mayor, to account, of whose spirit we had sufficient information when you were here in England.

Richmond, 10th November 1600. "Your friends" (*signatures omitted*).

Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.

Nov. 19. **489.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 59.

Besides the regard I have of Mr. Bryskett, I have the rather upon your recommendation been inclined to do him favour. He is now to be employed in the parts beyond the seas, and "hath in that province an interest to the abbey of Bridgtowne from her Majesty for many years yet to come, which interest he bargained for with the late Lord Roche about June last was two years, and received part of the payment for the same; but misdoubting the performance of the after payments which were promised him, he passed to the said Lord Roche's attorney, by deed indented, his estate conditionally, with promise that for default of any the two later payments the deed should be void." The Lord Roche made default of the next payment of 100*l.* at Michaelmas ensuing and went into rebellion. Now his request is, that he or his assignee may by your order be possessed of the said abbey, the rather for that the Lord Roche has already enjoyed three full years' profit.

Whitehall, 19 November 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.

Nov. 23. **490.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 195.

We recommend the bearer, John Stanley, who, having been spoiled by the rebels in that province (Munster), is now in great poverty, "for a gentleman's place in some company." He has a wife and children. He informs us that money is owing to him by Sir John Dowdall, "when he served him."

Whitehall, 23 November 1600.

Signed: Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst,

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Notingham, G. Hunsdon, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, Jo. Popham, J. Herbert.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 37.

2. Copy.

Nov. 23. 491. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 61.

I need use small commendation of this bearer to you, whom I find so well affected towards him, especially considering the testimony of the Privy Council. He is able to do the Queen service, and has dealt honestly and justly with you. Whitehall, 23 November 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:* In the behalf of Mr. Henry Pine.

Nov. 28. 492. FREEHOLDERS of CROSS TIPPERARY.

Vol. 614, p. 85.

Cantred of Mydlethird.—Redmond Everard of Kilmocley, John Butler of Morestowne Kirke, William Butler of Garriard, Edmond Mocler of Ballynattine, Edmond Stapleton of Thurlesbeg, Patrick Hackett of Marshalstowne, James Hackett of Ballycomuske, Malladg Carran of Burdensgrange, James Meagher of the same, Thomas FitzRichard Stapleton of Leynaghstowne, Edmond Stapleton of Garranpheccard.

Slevardaghe.—Piers Butler FitzJames of Ballynonetie, James Laffane of Greystowne.

Eliogertie.—Richard Purcell of Kilcaske, Thomas Purcell of Burres-Lieghe, Patrick Stapleton of Kilcloine, Hugh O'Meagher of Kiloskehane, Conoghor O'Meagher, Donoghe O'Meagher, and Philip O'Meagher of the same.

Cantred of Clonmell.—Thomas Butler of Ballehymicknie, Lord Baron of Caher, Edmond Butler of Cloghecullie, Piers Butler of Knockenamine, Edmond Butler FitzJohn of Mollaghenonie, Theobald Butler of Temple-Ehennie, Thomas Prindergast of Ballyvorrishe, Richard Prindergast of Grandg, John Prindergast of the same, Walter Prindergast of the Freghanes, Robert Prindergast of Kilvynnine, Robert Prindergast of Carrigetearhie, James Prindergast of Rath O'Kellie, Richard Keating of Ardfynnane, Edmond White of the same, Donell McDonoghe of the same, Eustace Englishe of Cloghemenece, Eustace Englishe of Rahine, John Mansfield of Loghtogherie, John Keating of Morestowne, Thomas Donoghoe of Blackcastle, Edmond Mocler of Ballycurrine, Patrick Sherlocke of Clearichanstowne, Geoffrey Mocler of the same, Thomas Butler FitzEdmond of Rathnelowre, Thomas Butler FitzJohn of Rathenuskie.

Clanwilliam.—William Ryane of Selchod, John Hiffernane of Lattine, Matthew Hiffernane of the same, Conoghor O'Hiffernane of the same, Thomas Pilline of Duncomyne,

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Edmond Burke of Kilbeckane, _____ [of]
Kilnemannaghe, John O'Dowyre of Ballyngarrane.

Pp. 2. Endorsed: The names of the freeholders in Cross Tipperary returned by the sheriff the 28th of November 1600.

Nov. 30. **493.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 203.

This bearer, James Spencer, brought us letters from your Lordship about a month since; of whose pains and experience in taking musters we have received testimony. Finding some of the commissaries for the musters in that province (Munster) want that knowledge as is meet they should have, we pray you that he may be employed in the room of one of them you shall think most unfit.

Whitehall, the last of November 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 37.

2. Copy.

Dec. 3. **494.** The QUEEN to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 604, p. 242.

"Mistress Kitchenmaid,—I had not thought that precedence had been ever in question, but among the higher and greater sort; but now I find by good proof that some of more dignity and greater calling may by good desert and faithful care give the upper hand to one of your faculty, that with your frying-pan and other kitchen stuff have brought to their last home more rebels, and passed greater break-neck places, than those that promised more and did less. Comfort yourself therefore in this, that neither your careful endeavour, nor dangerous travails, nor heedful regards to our service, without your own by-respects, could ever have been bestowed upon a prince that more esteems them, considers, and regards them than she for whom chiefly, I know, all this hath been done, and who keeps this verdict ever in store for you; that no vainglory nor popular fawning can ever advance you forward, but true vow of duty and reverence of prince, which two afore your life I see you do prefer. And though you lodge near Papists, and doubt you not for their infection, yet I fear you may fail in an heresy, which I hereby do conjure you from; that you suppose you be backbited by some to make me think you faulty of many oversights and evil defaults in your government. I would have you know for certain that, as there is no man can rule so great a charge without some errors, yet you may assure yourself I have never heard of any had fewer; and such is your good luck that I have not known them, though you were warned of them. And learn this of me, that you must make difference betwixt admonitions and charges, and like of faithful advices as your most necessariest weapons to save you from blows of

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princes' mislike. And so I absolve you *a poena et culpa*, if this you observe. And so God bless and prosper you as if ourself were where you are.

"Your Sovereign that dearly regards you."

Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Pp. 2.

Endorsed: "3 December 1600. Copy of her Majesty's letter to the Lord Deputy with her own hand."

Dec. 6. 495. The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, Lord Admiral, to SIR G. CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 229.

"I understand by my daughter of Kildare, who hath the Vice-Admiralty of those parts under me, that her deputy and under officers of the Admiralty have been of late smally accompted of and resisted by the inhabitants and others in Munster. Because these be matters that concern my office and place, and that the prejudice is mine," I pray you to assist them in their just proceedings; I will "requite it unto you, in any your occasion in these parts."

From the Court at Whitehall, 6 December 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 41.

2. Copy.

Dec. 12. 496. LORD BUCKHURST, Lord Treasurer, to SIR G. CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 231.

I thank you for your letter. I can never yield commendation sufficient for your wise and prudent courses in that province (Munster), whereby such profitable and honorable effects have succeeded. The good opinion of you before your departure is now confirmed. "For my part, I loved you before for yourself; now I must love you for the commonwealth."

We send you 8,000*l.*, though the defalcation of victual must have yielded you good store of money. Two months' victual shall be sent you; and we have ordered the victual at Galoway to be sent to Limerick. I am glad to hear of the dutiful proceedings of the Earl of Desmond. "Her Majesty is very well satisfied of his fidelity, and glad of the honour which by these his actions he laboureth so worthily to deserve."

From the Court, 12 December 1600.

Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.

Dec. 14. 497. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 205.

We have received your letters of 2 November on the state of that province (Munster). Her Majesty approves of all your proceedings. The consideration how some numbers might be abated has been propounded to you as well as to the Lord Deputy. The noise of an abatement, which

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might give hope and expectation to the unsound subject, should be prevented. Her Majesty's expense may be eased by your good and careful looking into the musters. Though the charge thereof is committed to peculiar officers, it rests with you to punish or prevent their abuses, which are so gross that they cannot be carried without the governor's toleration. First, the captains in towns commonly "make up their companies against a muster-day with three parts townsmen, whose service they have for a small trifle." Secondly, we understand that you suffer many Irish to be entertained, and that "even persons protected are admitted by the captains because they will take easy pays."

"Concerning your motion for a pardon (which course hath heretofore been used in other provinces upon like occasions), we allow of the reasons, especially because we see in direct words that some persons of best sort shall be proscribed, and also because you mean *verbis tacitis* to exempt another generation of vipers from such an undeserved mercy." But it would be inconvenient to pardon all you should not except, unless you presently named them, for no man would be sure the general pardon included him. Therefore her Majesty has written to the Lord Deputy (Mountjoy) to grant pardons to all persons from time to time recommended to him by you the President and the Council [of Munster]; excepting James McThomas, the titular Earl of Desmond, John McThomas his brother, Thomas FitzMorrice, son to the late Baron of Loxnaw, the Knight of the Valley, and Pierce Lacy. Neither will her Majesty forgive any of their followers, unless within 20 days they shall leave them and present their submissions.

We have understood from you of the coming in of Florence McCarty, "of whom we are no more apt to believe much, till we see further fruits, than you are." If he does not perform his promises, "drive him to performance, thereby to discover him;" and so proceed with all the rest. Put them to trial now rather than suffer them to make their benefit of this winter's peace, and upon new hopes from Spain to break out again. Her Majesty has taken order to provide you with victual and 5,000*l.* treasure.

Whitehall, 14 December 1600. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew: Received the 19th of January 1600[-1].

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 38.

2. Copy.

[Dec.] **498.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 615, p. 206.

(*Extract, enclosed in the preceding letter.*)

Sir Oliver St. John brings news of the abatement of the army "as well at Loughfoile as the 1,000 near yourself." Her Majesty did not mean to keep above 3,000 foot and 100 horse

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at Loughfoile, as a greater number could not at all times be so well provided. All this while she has paid "almost one half more than there were men *in rerum natura*." We wrote to Sir Henry Docwra to reform this abuse. "In that place, where neither man nor boy can be hired for a muster-day, he is a weak governor that will not discern how ill the Queen is served, and will not, in discharge of his duty, correct such a commissary as will let the Queen pay 1,500 men more than she hath in an army of 4,000. And therefore now her Majesty is driven to levy 1,000 more to supply those numbers to be made up in list 3,000, besides those Irish which came in with Neale Garvy, and may come in with others of like quality, wherein there must be good discretion used both to content them, and yet not take every churl and ordinary rebel into her Majesty's pay, for such will pretend obedience to be kept only in wages."

As for the 1,000 men cashed in other places, her Majesty expected the other 1,000 would also have been diminished, as they were only demanded for a time, and you do not hold it fit to plant the garrison at Armaghe so suddenly. But as you desire to uphold the army at 14,000, to finish the war in Leinster, and to reduce those interior parts this winter, her Majesty leaves it to your discretion.

We wrote to the President of Munster (Carew) to know whether he could spare any of his forces to supply you. He has made answer that, if you require this, he will not speak against it, but that Redmonde Burk with divers of the Butlers and Pierce Lacy now lie strongly in Orm[onde] with 1,500 men, attending daily to invade co. Limerick, and that the provincials there are only retained by fear.

As the bruit of your abatement might also breed some ill effect, "her Majesty is now inclinable to forbear any direction for any further abatement of the list than to the number of 14,000 foot; and such companies of horse as you shall find unserviceable to be cased, to reinforce others." As the men decay, their places are not to be supplied.

Her Majesty approves of your cassing divers of the Burkes in Connaught, and withdrawing some others of the Irish to serve with yourself; for "the captains there do wholly convert her Majesty's pay into their own purses, and, under colour of fetching powder and victual for her Majesty's store, continually furnish the rebels." They never resist when the province is invaded. No more should be maintained than will serve to hold the garrisons of most use. Some of those companies would be more serviceable if used in other parts.

Copy. Pp. 2.

Dec. 15. 499. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 604, p. 65.

"My sore eyes must plead my excuse for using . . the pen of this *fiamengo*." By my Lords' letters you will see that

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you shall not suddenly have your army abated; but it will be an infinite good service if there be any moderation in the musters. Her Majesty has very sharply written to my Lord Deputy (Mountjoy). Commissaries and captains are corrupt, even in your province. Let your industry appear.

I am glad Florence is come in, with whom, as he is fearful, I would wish you to deal "straynably." There are daily prophecies that young Desmond's sending over was merely idle and may do much harm. "I do never shut mine eyes but with fear at my waking to hear some ill news of him." When he has done all he can, nourish his desire to return to sue for some lands and living, that her Majesty may be satisfied his going over has done no harm. If she doubt him she may let him live here in her Court, by which she shall have a tie upon his followers. I wish Florence might be persuaded likewise to come hither and sue to the Queen for something, for he is like still to be a Robin Hood in Munster.

To your demands for victual and treasure you see by my Lords' letters what is answered. As to the Undertakers, they aver that there is not so great quietness as is reported, and none of them dare go thither. Write something to prove that they may do so "without apparent perdition." I have written to Colonel Wilmott, taking notice of your great commendation.

"I have sent you tobacco, as good as I could procure any; and for Venice glasses, my Lord Cobham would needs be your purveyor. I thank you for your Irish dogs, which I assure you were very fair and welcome."

"My Lord North is dead, and I believe that office will be for a while ungiven. There is likelihood still of . . . war between France and Spain, for the King will come to no capitulation with Savoy, being on horseback since he took Monmelian. Besides many French ships are arrested in Spain, whereupon the French are fearful to trade, and the King hath forbidden his subjects to carry victuals into Spain.

"Of the matter of our peace, what end there will be I know not, but I think we shall fall to a beginning again; for the Spaniard is contented to give us precedence in the Archduke's territories, and her Majesty, in respect of that, determineth to send some commissioners to Borbourg or St. Omer.

"The Lord Deputy is returned to Dublin, from whence he hath certified, according to this note enclosed. I cannot advertise you of any resolution for the pledges, because men are here so apt to believe that the pledges you have taken are divers of them of little worth.

"Privately find means to discover, were it possible, if young Desmond can be so vain as to have any purpose to marry the widow Norreys. If he have, and that he will confess it, tell him freely that her Majesty will in no sort allow of it, not in respect of any unworthiness in her, but because her Majesty looketh at his hands to fetch all light for

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his actions from her, and not to presume for other respects, whereof she is not ignorant, nor any way alloweth him to bind himself. . . Neither shall it ever have my liking, neither do you seem to deal in it as if the Queen knew it, for it is but a thing which I do underhand suspect, and Pyne was the first man that ever I heard talk of it. But, Sir, you will not believe what a strange unkindness some of your friends conceive in your coldness (as they say), if not injury, to the Lady Norreis, whose relief depending merely upon a company, . . to have remained at Mallo, is now said to be removed by you, and that in all things you neglect her. You know the spirit of some of our friends. . . Men are never more in state to desire to be freed from any tongue that conceives unkindness than when they are in foreign employments."

From the Court at Whitehall, 15 December 1600. *Signed.*

P.S. in Cecil's own hand.—"All other things are in *visdem terminis*."

Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew: Received the 19th of Jan. 1600.

Dec. 15. **500.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR ANTHONY COOKE

Vol. 604, p. 244.

"I find by your letters that you were so misled with opinion of my ability to do all men pleasure that I would, as I knew I should not satisfy you in my answer. . . It is true that when I look upon those that have been preferred by the governors of that kingdom, I must confess it seemeth strange to me that your extraordinary following of them and that action was not better rewarded. . .

"I must crave pardon of you and others in your case to be pressed to importune her Majesty in anything, for that were to make her weary of me, to whom her grace and favour is the only comfort and support of my life. And therefore I have plainly written to Sir George (whom I see so much affects you), that he did me wrong to impose upon me the office to recommend my own cousin-german to be a Councillor, though I know how many there are (every way your inferiors) that hold such places.

"And for your charge to be increased, there is never a man in that kingdom for whom I will wrong my Lord Deputy (Mountjoy) so much as to take upon me to procure her Majesty's absolute commandment to him for the disposition of such things as he doth look should be reserved to himself. And so have I answered my cousin your wife."

Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed: 1600, December 15, &c.

Dec. 15. **501.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 38.

I have received your three letters, concerning the maintenance of the Earl of Desmond, Captain Grymes, and the

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Lady Norreys. My last of 25th October and 2nd November was sent by Edward Phytton.

"Having intelligence, which after proved false, that the enemy, with 1,600 foot and certain horse assembled out of Leinster, were entering into the province, I gathered the better part of her Majesty's forces here to a head;" but at Killmallocke I learned they were not above 400, and had retreated.

The 18th of November I departed from Killmallocke to Lymerick, where I kept sessions of gaol delivery. "Thence I went to Cashell, where likewise for the county of Crosse I held another; and thirdly the like at Clonmell for the county palatine of Tipperary, where I met with the Earl of Ormond, whose weak estate I wish were answerable to his willing desires to advance the service. Soon after coming hither, having intelligence of the Countess' death, he returned infinitely grieved, and I fear will not tarry long behind her."

The 13th inst. I returned to Moallo. During my being abroad no time was lost in prosecuting our fugitive traitors and their relievers. "James McThomas and his few associates (who walked but by night) . . . are now harboured byely by pretended subjects; wherefore . . . I have burned all the corn and houses, and taken all the cattle, in Owghny O'Mulryan and Kilquige, a strong country not far from Lymerick. The like hath been done in Muskeryquirecke and Harlowe, inhabited by Burkes and Bryans; so as in none of these places they can now have farther relief.

"In this time by a boy of James McThomas (who chanced to be my prisoner) a part of the army was guided into the woods of Killbarry, part of Dromfynyn (adjoining to Sir Walter Raleghe's land), directly upon James FitzThomas' cabin, supposing he had been there; but, the cry being raised in the country, he made a narrow escape, as also the Romish Bishop Craghe, who, being clothed in a simple churl's habit, passed unknown, the soldiers pitying so poor a creature. But the corn and houses ran the fortune of the fastness aforesaid. In these services very few of ours but many of their people, weaponed men and others, have fallen by the sword; and I doubt [not] but the order which I have left, and the securities which I have taken, in all these places, being the chief receptacles of traitors, is such and so good, as that hereafter in them they shall be debarred relief.

"For the getting of James McThomas, living or dead, no mean hath been left unassayed; . . . but since neither promise nor reward, nor yet love unto the young Earl, can move this people to serve the Queen, or to free themselves from trouble, this last course of burning and spoiling underhand relievers of traitors I do mean to continue, laying heavy inflictions upon them, in hope thereby at the last (for their own ease) to enforce them to do service upon them.

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"James FitzThomas is never accompanied with above two persons, rests in no one place a whole night, dares not trust Piers Lacy, or few or none of his associates, sequestering himself from them all; which fearful life he resolves to hold until he may be aided out of the other provinces, whereof (if the North be in those terms as is here reported . . .) I hope his hopes will fail him. John McThomas (brother to James) is now with Tyrone soliciting that business. If he bring many (which I wish he may if he bring any), the country is so unable to relieve them as of necessity they must perish. If the aids be small, I hope to yield your Lordships a good account of their heads."

Florence McCartie still rests upon his two pledges. The castle of Castlemaine has been rendered to the Earl of Desmond, and a constable for her Majesty placed by me therein.

"The day I left Moallo, being the 17th of the last, Sir Charles Willmott, with the forces which he hath in Kerry, sat down before the castle of Lystoell (McMorys his strongest house), which was victualled for six months at the least, well stored with munition, and sufficiently guarded with a strong ward, being a place without the cannon (as they held it) impregnable; but after 16 days' siege (one or two mines being made, which failed by reason of the many springs that resorted unto them) they found ground for their purpose, and having wrought under the foundation of the castle walls into the midst of the cellar and placed their powder ready to give fire, those of the ward in the castle made humble submission upon their knees to have their lives spared. Unto the which, although Sir Charles was somewhat unwilling to consent, yet respecting the conveniency of the place, how fit is to be kept for her Majesty, which otherwise with the powder would have been ruined, did accept of their submissions, so as they would simply render themselves unto his mercy, whereunto they gladly yielded; of whom he presently executed nine, himself having lost the like number at the siege. The rest (if his promise be no farther engaged than I yet understand it) I have given direction to be in like sort executed.

"In the said castle (unknown to Sir Charles) there was the eldest son of McMorys (a child of five years old) carried out stark naked, and all over smeared with dirt, in a poor rag at a woman's back, like a beggar's child; . . . but afterwards . . . he recovered the infant, who by the woman that carried him forth was conveyed six miles off into a wood almost unpassable, and there kept with herself in a cave under the ground.

"This escape of the child was practised by a priest called Sir Dermot Broldy, who was then in the castle, and could not be induced for fear of terror or otherwise to discover the same, until Sir Charles was enforced to give promise that both their lives should be spared. The priest and the child I have

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sent for ; out of whom my hope is to wring some good matter towards the advancement of her Majesty's service.

"McMorys himself is made a fugitive, and associates Piers Lacy, having with them both not fully 100 rogues. And now they, seeing themselves beaten out of the fastness which (as aforesaid) I have burned and ransacked, are fled into Ormond, where if they cannot procure Redmond Bourke to join with them to raise a new head, they purpose (as I understand) to pass into Ulster to attend Tyrone's leisure until he shall be able to give them aid.

"The Knight of the Valley (as James McThomas) leads a poor life, shrouded under the favour of pretended subjects, who shall pay well for their kindness when I shall understand who they be. By him, McMorys, and Piers Lacy, I am daily solicited to receive them into her Majesty's mercy ; but without service (meriting so great a favour) I do yet reject them. . .

"To hold these men in this low and poor estate I know to be within my power ; nevertheless it is very probable that they may for a long time continue that manner of life by reason of the favour which generally is borne them by the country ; and so long as they shall live, there will evermore continue a hope of new flames in the province, for fear whereof her Majesty shall be enforced to keep a strong garrison against a weak enemy. Wherefore, for the more speedy determining of her Majesty's charge, if these three last-recited men, whom with James and John McThomas I have hitherto, for example's sake, left as children of perdition, will be humble suitors for safeties of their lives, and put in good security for their future loyalties, and leave their lands and inheritances at her Majesty's disposition, . . I think it were not amiss, upon condition of life only, to receive them ; for otherwise the gaining of their heads, for the reasons aforesaid, will be purchased at too dear a rate. But for James and John FitzThomas, who have as well by act as writing declared themselves so infamous traitors, I do think that no pain or charge can be ill bestowed for the extinguishing of them. This is but a project of my own, not knowing whether they prize their lives so far beyond their lands ; but if they should become suitors in that form," let me know your pleasure. "For the meriting of their lives and lands by service upon James FitzThomas, or otherways, I am yet altogether hopeless.

"There is not at this present . . any one castle or hold within this province of Munster that is kept against her Majesty ; and all those which I have taken are guarded without increase of charge to her Highness. Only the castle of Glan . . hath for the constable an extraordinary pay of 2s. 6d. *per diem*. The rest of the warders (in number 20) are parcel of a company. And such as are not guarded by soldiers are left in the hands of such, upon good recognizances, as will be assured at all times safely to redeliver them."

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Besides the five rebels above recited and their followers, there are divers other loose men of meaner quality dispersed in every part . . for whom no man undertakes, and live only by night spoils; . . which kind of life they willingly continue, not knowing how to live like subjects, and therefore do withhold themselves for being entered into or undertaken for by any others' books. These vagabonds are evermore the reliques of these rebellions, apt to join with any that shall continue these broils. . . The reducing and shortening of them must be done by time, wherein my uttermost endeavours shall not be wanting."

That the late protectees in this province will remain in subjection I am now more confident than heretofore, unless Spain invade us; "and that although Tyrone and the other parts of Ireland do infest Munster with buonaghies, that none of any quality, but those aforementioned which are kept out, will personally assist them. . . With the forces which are now in Munster (albeit they are diminished in list 500 foot, namely, 200 of Sir Henry Power's returned into Leinster, 100 discharged for the Earl of Desmond, 150 discharged by the Lord Deputy's commandment out of my own company, the Earl of Thomond's, and the Lord Audleye's, and 50 from the beginning were never turned over to me) I will by the help of God, in despite of all Ireland, hold this province in good terms for her Majesty. And if the Lord Deputy at any time shall please to command 1,000 foot more out of this province to serve for a time in Leinster or places adjoining, I doubt not but to be able to spare them; humbly craving . . . that these 1,000 may be continued as part of my list and be returned when the needful service is ended."

Moallo, 15th December 1600.

P.S.—"Before the perclosing of this letter I had certain intelligence brought me that McMorys, the Knight of the Valley, and Piers Lacy have left Ormonde, and are gone into Ulster, having in their company 16 horses and hackneys and 50 foot, in confident opinion to return with great supplies."

"Sent by Edward Clyfton."

Copy. Pp. 4.

Dec. 16. 502. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 620, p. 42.

"When I was last at Lymericke, Dermot O'Connor, brother-in-law to the young Earl of Desmond, hearing of his arrival, being desirous to see him, and, as he pretended unto me, to do her Majesty some acceptable service, did by his letters humbly entreat me to grant him a safeconduct for himself and his men to come out of Connaght unto me into this province. I, having good hope by his means to effect a good design upon the traitors, yielded to his request, and . . did procure several passes from Sir Arthur Savage, the governor there, and the Earl of Clanrycard, by whose permissions he was to pass. Being upon his journey, within 16 mile of Lymericke (where I then

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was) in the Earl of Clanrycard's country, and having sent towards him a convoy of soldiers for his safety through Tomond, before they could come unto him Tybbot ne Longe (in a pretended revenge of the Lord Bourke, formerly slain in skirmish by Dermot O'Connor, he mistrusting no ill measure . . by any that was in her Majesty's pay) with a great force assailed him upon the sudden, his men, to the number of 150, being dispersed at cess in villages adjoining. Of those that were with him some were slain, himself taken prisoner and hanged, and his head cut off and sent to Gallwaye.

"This murder so foully committed (besides the indignation done unto the Queen, wherein her word is violated) I fear will prove to be a great impeachment to the service. While Dermott was in rebellion, he received no harm either by Tybbot or any other of the Irish companies in Connaght; but now that they thought him sure to the State, to keep garboyles on foot, which is their desire to continue themselves in wages, it was held necessary as well to cut him off, in regard that by his service the quiet of Munster should be better established, as also to put fear in others how hereafter they should dare to trust her Majesty's protections. . . I know not of one day's service that Tybbot ne Longe hath performed; wherefore how well such a captain deserves to be continued in her Majesty's pay I humbly refer to your Lordships' wisdoms. But of his being conversant with the rebels, and his men mixing themselves with them against her Majesty's good subjects, an example thereof was seen this last summer in Thomond, at the spoil whereof with O'Donell many of those which were under his leading and in the Queen's pay were actors. By letters which I have received from my Lord of Clanrycard it appears that his Lordship is highly offended with this fact; the copy whereof, together with the copies of Thybbot ne Longe's letters to the Earls of Clanrycard and Thomond, I send you herewith. . . Write unto the Lord Deputy that some such order may be taken therein as that the world may be possessed that her Majesty is not pleased that her protections should be infringed by subjects, and especially by those that are in her Majesty's pay.

"During my abode in the said town I had intelligences that one Mary McShee, the Countess of Desmond's woman (who served her at and ever since the rebellion of her husband, and in whom she reposeth her greatest trust), was come thither. But I, suspecting her errand to be no other than to come to see the young Earl, took no knowledge of the same in three days' space, to see whether the Earl would acquaint me with such letters or messages as he should receive from his mother. At the three days' end the Earl told me that presently then before his coming unto me he had seen the party, but not before. I replied that it was no news to me to know that she was in the town, but prayed his Lordship to tell me what her errand was. He answered that she came with letters to his

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sisters, and especially directed to his sister the Lady Joane, only as she said to see them ; but unto him she neither brought letter, message, or token.

"Whereupon I, suspecting some other special cause of her coming, . . . commanded her to come before me and the Council, where, upon her examination (which, with these and the Lady Joane's, I send unto your Lordships), she confessed that she had brought letters from the Countess unto her daughters Joane and Ellen, to her sister married to the Archbishop of Cashell's son, and one to Sexton, a porter of the suburb gates in the base town in Lymericke near the lodgings where the ladies lay ; and that the special point of her errand was to convey the Lady Joane to her mother, unto whom O'Donnell had promised to consummate a marriage. To hasten this lady away she also brought another letter, written from O'Donnell to O'Connor Sligo. . . . This marriage with O'Donnell she pretends was contracted by the Countess to the end to reduce him to subjection, . . . but as I suppose and the rest of the Council it can be to no other end intended than to kindle new fire in this province.

"We likewise examined the Lady Joane and her sister the Lady Ellen. The latter we found to be wholly ignorant in this business ; but the Lady Joane confessed her knowledge, but yet that she never intended any such matter without the consent of her brother, whom in my conscience (and so is the Council here persuaded) is a mere stranger to this practice ; for in the discovering of the same he showed as much diligence and dexterity as he could, being grievously offended with his mother, that would deal in a business of that weight, and so nearly tending to his subversion if it should proceed. . . .

"I could not for want of time deal further in this matter, but presently committed the Lady Joane prisoner in an alderman's house in Lymerick, and Mary ny Shee, the Countess' servant, close prisoner in the gaol, till leisure better serve for farther examination thereof. . . .

"The magistrates and inhabitants in corporate towns . . . (partly out of malice to the State for religious cause, but especially for their own lucre, for that in turbulent times they receive the Queen's treasure expended amongst them, issue their merchandises to the rebels underhand at excessive rates, and buy the country commodities at their own prices) . . . desire nothing more than a continual war, enriching themselves more in one of these years than in seven others, as may appear by all outward shows in building, &c., and by their known wealth. They now seeing a peace in establishing, and fearing to be called to account for their former transgressions, or for some other hidden causes to them known, have in their towns (which hath not been usual) made choice of professed lawyers to be their magistrates, and such as beforetime were ringleaders of their corporations ; namely, in Cork, John Meade, a man known to your Lordships, and whom of late you have justly

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reproved ;—in Lymerick, one Geoffrey Gallwaye, son to the agent of that town attending your Lordships, and now, since whose coming from the Inns of the Court, the inhabitants thereof have run into all these disorders, . . and hath been the special man that hath persuaded their forbearing to come to the church, which formerly they were accustomed to do ;—in Waterford, one Edward Goughe, who is far more tractable than the two former, but yet savouring of the law ;—in Cashell, the portrefe, the profoundest man of learning for the civill law within the kingdom, and as obstinate as learned ;—in Clonmell, one Whyte, a lawyer, also is the sovereign, as much Romish as any of the rest. Whether the sovereign of Kinsale be a professed lawyer or no I do not well know, but that he was brought up at the Inns of Court I have been informed ; but sure I am he is no merchant. Only the towns of Youghall and Killmallocke (in the which garrisons perpetually are resident) excepted, there is not a man of any trade that for this year bears public office in any of the corporate towns.

“ What their purpose is in making the factious tribunes of the people their magistrates, and all in one year in this dangerous time, in the which nothing is more expected than foreign invasion, your Lordships may judge not to be done out of any loyal disposition. The best that can be made of it, that this choice is made of these selected men, is either to continue them in their obstinacies, or to shift off with evasions the offences which they have committed, or both. To continue these corporations in their obstinacies (whose large charters are only used to defend themselves from doing of her Majesty's service), . . their agents, which are still residing at Court, are the principal instruments of the same, animating the townsmen with their letters, fully promising what great enlargement of their charters they will bring unto them, to defend them from their due services. . . Be pleased to command them away. . .

“ Two days past a messenger which came from Donoghe McCormock, called McDonough (now prisoner with Tyrone), to his wife, daughter to the White Knight, brought me intelligence that Tyrone had protested, upon his salvation, immediately after these Christmas holidays, to send into Munster 2,000 foot and 300 horse under the command of Magwyre, which although it be possible, yet I neither believe nor fear.

“ At my late being at Clonmell, I related unto my Lord of Ormonde the great disorders that are continued in his county palatine, for the dregs of this rebellion remaineth there, and in that country our fugitive rebels are most or altogether relieved. Whereunto he agreed, and . . I found him very ready to have the same redressed. And because his country of Ormond is the door into Munster, and in the which Redinond Bourk, the O'Maghors, and the Leinster rebels do continually reside, I offered his Lordship, with the company I had with me, to go into that country and to clear the same ; but his Lordship

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prayed me to leave that task to himself, and by consent Harlowe and Muskeryquerck were left to me, which I think I have sufficiently harassed, having burnt above 400 stacks of corn, most part wheat, and all the houses in them both; which done, the people immediately submitted themselves and put in their pledges. As for Ormond I doubt not but his Lordship will do as much, and that shortly."

Upon my return to Moallo I have sent for part of the Council and the Judges to have their advice for the penning of a general pardon with such exemptions as shall be thought needful; wherefore until you hear from me again I pray that stay may be made thereof.

Moalloe, 16 December 1600.

"Sent by Edward Clyfton."

Copy. Pp. 3.

Dec. 16. 503.

VICTUALLING of the ARMY in MUNSTER.

Vol. 615, p. 128.

Contract between certain of the Lords of the Council and John Wood, of London, made at Whitehall 16 December 1600.

Great fault has been found with the victuals delivered to the soldiers in Ireland. The fault is laid by the commissaries on the providers, and by the providers on the commissaries. John Wood, having contracted with their Lordships for the provision of victuals for Munster, is to appoint a deputy there to supply the place of the former commissary. Wood is responsible for the true and upright dealing of his deputy, who is to be in Munster before the last of January next. He is to keep sufficient servants; to have the same allowance as the late commissary; and to be accountable to the Treasurer (Cary), &c., &c.

The commissary to have the use of all her Majesty's storehouses with the utensils, and allowances for transportation, storehouses, labourers, shipping, reshipping, wastes, and other extraordinaries. If any victuals be burned or taken by the enemy, &c., the undertaker shall not be answerable.

The commissary "shall be permitted to utter and sell to the poor in the market towns where he shall reside, and near unto him, such victuals as are decayable and unfit to be uttered to the soldiers."

This contract shall surcease upon one year's warning.

"Signed by the Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, Mr. Secretary Cecill, Sir John Fortescue."

Copy. Pp. 5. Endorsed.

Dec. 17. 504.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 35.

"I cannot hear of any likelihood that either Tyrone or these parts will spare any supplies to the rebels of Munster. If I shall certainly hear of it, I will not only haste away the

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companies you write of, but send you any further assistance." I am now going to Monastereven, between Leix and Ophaly, "to make the war of Leinster;" so they will send no forces into Munster.

Sir Arthur Savadge, going into England, desires to leave Sir John Bartley as his deputy. "I have thrust up as many companies as I could spare that way, not so much for the service of Connaught, as to enable him to fall that way into Ophaly, when I shall send to meet him, and, except you see very especial cause to the contrary, I pray, my Lord, send his company to Athlone."

I much desire to speak with you, "both concerning the public and many private matters;" some conference may prove very "behooffull" for the service. I will meet you at Carloh or any other place "that may not draw you too far from your retreat; and . . . it will not be amiss that we draw both our forces to either borders."

"I have received of late very gracious letters from her Majesty, which doth much lighten my burthen and encourage me to go on with my heavy task; and if God bless us I hope we shall give her a good account of our business. They are content to continue the list at 14,000 as long as I shall think fit. To please them I have taken this indifferent course of a general cash of 50 in every 200, the list whereof I send you. You shall raise your company again to 200 with the first that falleth, and so do I resolve for mine and for the rest as companies fall; for I think it fit to continue most companies at 200 and 150; and, as I hear, my Lords in England do not dissent from this opinion. But this course I hold now to make the cash appear the less to the rebel, who perchance might otherwise take encouragement by it."

[Dublin], 17 December 1600.

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

II. "Companies of 200 from whom I have taken 50 from every of them, by a new list signed 25 November 1600."

The Lord Deputy, Earl of Ormond, Lord President (Carew), Lord Audley, Lord of Dunkellin, Earl of Thomond, Sirs Chr. St. Laurence, Henry Dockwra, Samuel Bagnall, Arthur Chichester, Arthur Savage, Henry Power, Charles Percy, Oliver Lambert, Henry Davers, Richard Morison.

P. 1. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 33.

2. Copy.

Dec. 17. 505.

VICTUALLING of the ARMY.

Vol. 615, p. 123.

Instructions by the Privy Council to Allen Apsley, deputy to John Wood, for issuing the victuals sent into Munster. Whitehall, 17 December 1600.

Her Majesty provided a huge store of victuals for the army in Ireland, but by negligence and evil dealing they have been

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sold or made away with and others of meaner price substituted for them, or else have become corrupt and unsweet. The fault has been transferred from one officer to another. She has therefore thought good to lay the charge of issuing the victuals on the provider or his deputy. As you are nominated by John Wood to supply the place of the commissary of the victuals, you are to observe these instructions.

Repair into Munster and receive the remain of the victuals in store there from the commissary by indenture, subscribed by you both and by the President (Carew) or his commissioners.

You are to take into your custody all such victuals provided hereafter by Wood as shall be allowed by the commissioners, and by them and you adjudged wholesome and likely so to continue for five months from the day of their lading at the English port. Any victuals found to be evil conditioned are to be returned to the provider. If after you have received them they prove defective by your default within the time limited, the loss must be laid upon you and Wood.

You are not to issue any victuals without warrant from the President and Council of Munster.

The prices of the victuals are to be defaulted by the Treasurer (Cary) from the companies' entertainments.

"If any disorder be committed or abuse offered to you there, or any of your servants or ministers," acquaint the President therewith, that order may be taken for reformation or punishment.

"If there shall fall out any waste in the said provisions either by leak, moisture, or other casualty, and accident by transportation by land or by sea, or by any unfit or inconvenient rooms," you are to acquaint the President therewith, producing sufficient testimony of the truth, and of the quantities "decayed, surprised by any ambush of the enemy, by fire or other inevitable danger become unfit to be used;" her Majesty to bear the loss thereof.

"Lay up these provisions orderly as they ought to be, with turning, salting, and looking unto the same;" issuing first what is likely soonest to decay. Acquaint the chief commander what kinds are most and what least to the soldiers' liking, and what may be had with less or as little charge in those parts.

"Signed by the Lord Treasurer (Buckhurst), Lord Admiral (Nottingham), Mr. Secretary Cecill, Sir John Fortescue."

"Concordat cum originali,—W. Waad."

Copy. Pp. 5. Endorsed.

Dec. 18. 506. The EARL OF DESMOND to SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. 604, p. 246.

"My estate . . is so desperate in this kingdom that my person is not secured by these inhabitants, great or little, nor able to do any service, by reason I want means to execute it.

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I do desire no perpetuity of her Majesty's charges towards me, but of her favour; neither do I desire to be here (God is my witness) for any respect, except to do her Majesty true service. If I had knowledge of James FitzThomas, where he were, I have no command of force to take him. . .

"I find my honorable good Lord (Carew) kind unto me, but I am contemptible to the country in regard that I see my means under my Lord not so much as a private captain's to follow the rebels if there were present occasion of service; nor in their good carriage to give me so much countenance as a far meaner man than an Earl; so as I do not at all, at least very little, participate of the Italian proverb, *Amor fa molto, argento fa tutto*.

"I hope your Honour holds your resolution for James FitzThomas, Pyerce Lacy, and the Knight of the Valley's lands, that I should have it. For MacMorrys his land mine honorable good Lord hath an assured title to it; and he that, with your Honour's favour, got me to be entitled as I am, I will never be so ingrateful as to possess anything of his, for it cannot be but his gift, and the world can bind me no more than I am.

"I humbly beseech you that these obstacles, that hinder the ability of my ever willing serviceable testimonies, may not make you expect those performances of my dutiful prosecutions that their supply might give you just cause to expect, except you send directions to enable me. Otherwise, let me have leave to come into England, which, howsoever you procure her Highness to make me great here, I protest, if it be put to my choice, I shall always hold to be there best. . .

"The latter end of your letter maketh me to desire the knowledge of that honorable personage whom her Highness hath thought of my unworthiness; . . by this bearer, my servant, yielding many thanks for your infinite favours, and having no offering of my love to send you but the Sugans' Auncyent [*i.e.* ensign], which this bearer shall present you."

Signed: Desmond.

Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Pp. 2.

Endorsed: 1600, December 18. Copy of part of the Earl of Desmond's letter to my master.

Dec. 20. 507. SECRETARIES CECIL and HERBERT to SIR G. CAREW.
Vol. 604, p. 15.

Upon the great importunity of the Lady Norreys, her Majesty was pleased that one whom she named should command a company of 150 in that province (Munster). It seems you have employed that company in remote places. "All the good she was to reap thereby was only this—that such a company might be placed there upon her own lands as would make no havoc nor spoil, but be an instrument of collecting all things to her use." Her Majesty desires "to gratify her, whose husband died in her service." Whenever you remove

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that company, you are to reserve 50 or more to guard the castle.

From the Court at Whitehall, 20 December.

Signed : Ro. Cecyll, J. Herbert.

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Dec. 20. 508. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.
Vol. 620, p. 45.

My last letters have been delayed until now for want of wind.

"By her Majesty's letters formerly directed unto me, besides the allowance . . . she bestows upon the Earl (of Desmond), I was expressly commanded to allot unto the Lord Archbishop of Cashell ten dead pays, the rest to be dispersed according to my discretion upon the Earl, his two sisters, and John Power. . . . Because the Earl shall the better endeavour himself in her Majesty's services, I have thought good for a time not to allow him so much as would arise to his part (all the other parties satisfied), but do retain for a time the whole allowance of the apparel, . . . which hereafter, by his good deserving, may be increased to him accordingly; and for the present have distributed the lendings only of 100 men, amounting unto per annum 782*l.* 2*s.* 10½*d.* sterling, . . . as followeth, viz:— To the Archbishop of Cashell . . . ten dead pays at 8*d.* per diem le piece, the sum of 121*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum. Unto the Lady Margaret, wife to Dermot O'Connor, deceased, in respect of her losses and poverty, 100*l.* per annum. Unto the Lady Ellys, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, being the like pension which Majesty . . . hath bestowed upon the other two unmarried sisters. Unto John Power, who hath sustained loss and travail with hazard of his life in these late services, 2*s.* ster. per diem. . . The remainder, which is 540*l.* 12*s.* 10½*d.* per annum, is the portion allotted unto the Earl of Desmond; with which entertainments I have told him he must rest satisfied until by his merit he may get enlargement of the same."

Your letter of 9th November, in behalf of Mr. Pyne, I cannot yet answer for lack of conference with him.

By one James Spenser I received a letter from your Lordships dated the last of November, to place him as commissary of the musters here. "This Spenser, both too partial and overhasty in the following of his cause, will give me no breath to consider and examine which of these commissaries is either the insufficientest or dishonestest, and . . . the morning after the delivery of his letter unto me would needs return to your Llps. again, making his account, as I suppose, to procure from you to me a check and reproof in that I would not presently satisfy his request, which he would have me inconsiderately to expedite; whereof I humbly beseech your Llps. favourably to censure. I find (Joanes excepted) there is not any of the other three that I can commend for sufficiency, laying their errors rather upon ignorance than falsehood. But now, if it be

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your Llps. pleasure that Spenser shall be placed in any of their rooms, . . . I do humbly pray you . . . to displace one whom you shall think most meet, for that I, knowing so well their great losses in the late rebellion and the poor and weak estate of them all, can hardly tell, without the utter undoing of some one, whom to make choice of therein. In the mean time I will reprove them sharply, for not doing their duties so particularly and exactly as appertaineth, hoping that the same will be a sufficient admonition unto them hereafter.

"It is given me to understand by Mr. Pyne that your Llps. among other errors (for of all through weakness I cannot excuse myself) have neglected to command the victualler and the commissary Joanes to certify the state of both their charges. . . . I do with these humbly present unto you a letter from Apsley the victualler, by the which it may appear unto you that unto him I have discharged my duty in that point; and that I have in like manner commanded Joanes to certify his cheques. . . . I have very often called upon him for the same, and he (as he assured me) hath performed the same."

The passage being stayed for want of wind longer than I expected, I have advised with the judges and part of the Council touching the general pardon, and do send herewith a draft of it. Her Majesty should, as in former cases, grant a general pardon by proclamation.

Moalloe, 20 December 1600.

"Sent by Edward Clyfton."

Copy. Pp. 2.

Dec. 21. 509. The QUEEN to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.
Vol. 615, p. 25.

We understand from our President of Munster that it will be expedient to grant in that province a general pardon for former offences, "whereunto the greatest part of them have been violently carried rather by the power of the archtraitors than by any wilful defection in their loyalty." We therefore authorize you to cause such general and particular pardons to be passed under the Great Seal to all and every the inhabitants of that province, "either by ample words of our general pardon" (as in Connaught), "or by particular names of peculiar persons," as by our President and Council shall be desired, with such conditions and securities as they think requisite. The fees of our Seal to be remitted or moderated.

"For a perpetual memory, in every such pardon, either general or special, there shall be an express exception that the same extend not to pardon James FitzThomas, usurping the title of Earl of Desmond, Jehn his brother, Piers Lacie, the Knight of the Valley, nor Thomas FitzMorrice, son to the late Baron of Lixnawe, who are known to have been the ring-leaders to many monstrous and unnatural outrages. Neither shall our pardon be available to any of the servants or followers of the persons so excepted, unless those servants and followers shall freely and absolutely submit themselves, . . . to be

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bound with sureties for their future loyalty, within 20 days after public proclamation made of this our gracious pardon."

Palace of Westm., 21 Dec. 1600.

Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed:* This letter of her Majesty's was received at Ballearthur the 6th January 1600.

Dec. 22. 510. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.
Vol. 615, p. 33.

"Whereas Sir George Boucher, Knt., is charged with a proportion of munition to the value of 80*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* ster., sent to that province in the time of Sir Thomas Norries between the 11th of March 1598, June 1595, and the 17th of August 1599, which was alleged to have been delivered to the charge of the said Sir Thomas, we . . . require your Lordship to examine the matter, . . . and to find out whether the said Sir George had any clerk or other minister to take charge of the said munition."

Dublin, 22 December 1600. *Signed and sealed.*

P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.

Vol. 624, p. 35.

2. Copy.

Dec. 26. 511. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD PRESIDENT and COUNCIL
Vol. 615, p. 209. of MUNSTER.

"We have seen a certificate of your Lordship and divers of the nobility and the best gentlemen of the province of Munster, declaring thereby that in your opinions John Lord Coursie is the undoubted heir to the house of the Lord Coursie; and that Geratt, late Lord Coursie, his uncle, hath alienated all the patrimony which was the maintenance of that ancient barony; which sales the Lord Coursie saith were to merchants for small or no consideration, who detain from him the ancient letters patents of the creation of that barony, and evidences of entails belonging to him; and that by reason of their wealth and great friends (having no patrimony left him) he is not able to recover his right by course of law to avoid those alienations."

Her Majesty is inclined to give to the petitioner, for his loyalty and services, any just means for the speedy recovery of his right, if he be right heir, as is denied by one Galwaie, a merchant. She therefore commands you, with the assistance of two or three of the nobility of that province, and of Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, sometime Chief Justice of that province, to call before you the Lord Coursie and the said merchants and examine the matter. Restore him to his possessions if he prove to be the rightful heir to the said barony.

* This copy was enclosed in the letter from Mountjoy to Carew, dated 13 Jan. 1601.

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And whereas he desires to have a castle called the Old Head of Kinsale restored to him, which Florence McCartie has kept from him, if you think it safe for him to have the custody thereof, and that it may ease her Majesty of the charge of the ward now kept there, then, upon proof of his title, you shall restore it to him.

Whitehall, 26th December 1600.

Signed: Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, Nottingham, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, Jo. Popham, J. Herbert.

Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew: Received the 29th of April 1601.

Dec. 28. **512.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 63.

"This letter which is written by us concerning the disposing of the company is according to her Majesty's pleasure. . . It must not be traversed nor delayed, if you will free me from an importunity which I am most desirous to escape. . . Yours, *al solito*, Ro. Cecyll.

"We have not heard from you this month.

"December 28th."*

Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew: Mr. Secretary, the 8th of December 1600; received 3rd March 1600[-1].

[Dec. ?] **513.** The GENERAL PARDON.

Vol. 632, p. 220.

"A draught for a general Pardon for the Province of Mounster in anno 1600."†

"Elizabeth, &c.—Whereas traditions from our progenitors and particular experience in our own government hath given us too many testimonies of the unnatural inclination of the Irish multitude of that our kingdom of Ireland, who . . . endeavour nothing so much as their lawless liberty, thereby to execute inhuman practices, depredations, and stirring up of execrable rebellions, . . . notwithstanding the excessive costs and great care eftsoones had and extended to them by us and our famous progenitors, by granting general freedoms and immunities to cities and corporate towns, by giving lands, pensions, livings, and other bounties to the chiefest of them, and by ministering our common justice with indifferency unto all our people; . . . we might be doubtfully carried what to prescribe in restraint of their ill humours."

We have sustained excessive expenses and loss of people in suppressing the manifold rebellions in Munster, to free our well-affected subjects from tyranny and exactions; and we pardoned the actors and contrivers thereof, "granting seig-

* Or 8th? The "2" is blurred.

† This date is added in Carew's hand.

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niorities and planting colonies of English subjects among them upon the demesne lands of our crown within that province, by whose carriage and civilities in their several degrees we hoped every other should take respective example of imitation."

Their ingratitude is witnessed by this new revolt, "first kindled and sithence upheld by such abject persons as . . . are particularly stained with the guilt of horrible inhumanities, and unnatural knowledge of their own offspring," and who have practised the drawing of foreign powers into that our kingdom; in which action our revolted subjects of Munster have joined. But it has pleased God to frustrate their hopes of foreign aid, and to abate the pride of that home-born commotion, forcing the original contrivers thereof to fly to obscure woods.

As the adherence of many that joined in this action was compulsory, we have thought good to "grant, publish, and pronounce this our general and free pardon, of lands, goods, and lives, to all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, within that our province of Munster."

Provided always that this pardon shall not extend to the traitors, James FitzThomas Desmond, John FitzThomas Desmond, Thomas FitzMorris, eldest son to the late traitorous Baron Lixnawe, Edmond FitzThomas FitzGerald, commonly called the Knight of the Valley, and Peirce Lacye of the Bruffe, in co. Limerick; to any Jesuit, seminary, or traitorly priest; to any merchant, freeman, or dweller in any city or corporate town; to any who were in actual rebellion and carried arms against us; to any person condemned, or in prison, or upon bonds; nor to any but such as within six months shall appear before our President, Chief Justice, Second Justice, and Attorney of our said province, or any two of them that the President shall appoint, beseech the benefit of this our pardon, and give good security, or find some nobleman, knight, esquire, or gentleman to "book" and undertake for them. Such books shall be entered into the Council Book of that province.

Copy. Pp. 7.

514. ARMY ORDERS.

Vol. 614, p. 216.

"Laws and Orders of War established for the good conduct of the Service of Ireland," by Lord Mountjoy, K.G., Lord Deputy General.

I charge all officers of the army "to see that Almighty God be duly served, that sermons [and] morning and evening prayer be diligently frequented, and that those that often and wilfully absent themselves be duly punished. Let no man speak impiously and maliciously against the holy and blessed Trinity, . . . or against the known articles of the Christian faith, upon pain of death. Let no man speak impiously, or maliciously blaspheme God's holy name, or use unlawful oaths or execrations, or commit any irreligious act to the derogation

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of God's honour, upon pain of loss of his pay, imprisonment, and such further punishment as a martial court shall think his offence deserves. No man shall use any traitorous word against her Majesty's person or royal authority, upon pain of death."

Pain of death also to any man, English or Irish, who shall have conference with, harbour, or relieve any enemy or rebel; who shall "run to the enemy or rebel that is in action, or depart the army without licence;" or who shall "commit any murder, or kill any person, or draw blood of any, or draw any sword in private quarrel."

"No man shall ravish or force any woman upon pain of death; and adulteries or fornications shall be punished by imprisonment, banishment from the army, or such other penalty as by the marshal's court shall be thought meet."

Pain of death also to any man stealing treasure, victual, or munition from her Majesty or any person above the value of 12*d.*; to any man who delivers up any fort or makes any ignominious composition with rebels; to any man throwing away his arms or abandoning his ensign; to any sentinel found sleeping or leaving his post; to any man offering violence to his commander, or speaking words likely to breed a mutiny; to any man outraging any that bring victual to the army; to any man who, pretending to be a soldier, shall remain three days in the army after it is on foot, except he be enrolled; to any soldier burning any house or lodging, or burning or spoiling any corn, ship, boat, carriage, or any other thing that may serve for the provision of the army; to any man departing a mile out of the army; to any soldier breaking his order to follow any rout or chase, or to seek any prey or spoil; to any man who, having a passport, shall exceed the time limited for his absence, "except he can prove he was stayed by the hand of God;" to any provider, keeper, or officer of her Majesty's [victuals?] or munitions, who shall embezzle any part thereof, or give any false account; to any man who wilfully fails to come to the rendezvous assigned by the general; to any soldier answering for another in musters, or taking two pays; to any soldier departing from his captain, or servant from his master, without licence, "though he serve still in the army;" to any soldier selling or laying to pawn his horse or hackney, or any part of his furniture, arms, or apparel, "for respect or pretence of want whatsoever," and any inhabitant buying or taking the same to pawn to be imprisoned and to forfeit double the value.

No captain or officer to give passports without warrant from the general.

All bands of footmen shall, in passing through the Pale or other countries in obedience, march ten miles a day or thereabouts; and shall commit no waste, spoil, violence, or "extort any victuals or money, or pawn in lieu of victuals, from any good subject, but shall content themselves with . . . a supper

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and breakfast in one place only, upon pain of such sharp punishment as the Lord Deputy or other magistrate . . shall think good to inflict, be it by death, imprisonment, or other corporal punishment."

"But if upon any occasion of march through the country the soldier shall be in want, that then the officer, with the advice, consent, and assistance of the sheriff, sub-sheriff, collectors, or other her Majesty's officers in that barony or the next adjoining, if they be present or may be found, shall seek and provide such diet and lodging for them as shall be fit, at reasonable rates heretofore accustomed, for the which the captain or officer shall give ready money, or for want thereof deliver his ticket."

"If any horseman shall lose his horse or hackney, or footman any part of his armour, by negligence or other lewdness, . . he shall serve in the state and [place?] of a pioneer, or sustain further punishment."

"Whosoever any prey or spoil shall be taken from the rebel, . . that no officer or soldier do attempt to embezzle or purloin any part thereof, upon pain of death."

No captain or other that shall take any prisoner shall deliver, ransom, or conceal him, but within 24 hours shall make the same known to the chief commander, and deliver the prisoner to the Provost Marshal, upon pain of death.

No person shall receive any soldier into their service not having a sufficient discharge and passport, or conceal any such runaway, or use means to convey them out of the kingdom, upon pain of imprisonment or other punishment.

"No magistrate or officer of any city or corporate town shall presume to imprison or detain the body of any soldier above 24 hours, or to inflict any punishment upon him for any offence, but shall deliver all such to the Provost Marshal to be tried by the speedy course of martial law."

Captains to be diligent in training their companies, &c. They "shall see their companies do orderly quarter as they are appointed, and to entrench or fortify as much of the quarter as they are appointed."

"The goods of such as die in the army, if they make any will by writing or word, shall be disposed according to the will. If they make no will it shall be distributed to the hurt, sick, and poor of the company whereof the soldier was, or shall go to the hospital of the army."

No man to enter or go out of the army but by ordinary ways.

"No man shall give any disgraceful words, or commit any act to the disgrace of any person in these armies or any part thereof, upon pain of imprisonment, public disarming, and banishment from the army, as men for ever disabled to carry arms. And as I forbid all men under my rule to renew any old quarrel or to begin any new, so I do acquit and discharge all men that shall have quarrels offered to them, or challenges

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made to them, of any disgrace or opinion of any disadvantage."

Every soldier or officer found drunk shall be committed to prison for the first offence, and for the second shall, in addition, if a soldier, forfeit two months' pay, or, if an officer, lose his place. "The third time shall have such far greater punishment as a marshal's court shall set down."

"Every private man and soldier, upon pain of imprisonment, shall keep silence when the army is to take lodging, or when it is marching or imbatting, so as the officers may be heard."

"No soldier serving on foot shall carry any boy, nor no woman shall be suffered to follow the army."

Pp. 8. Endorsed: 1600. For my Lord President.

515. "NOTES for the GOVERNMENT of IRELAND, 1600." *

Vol. 614, p. 277.

"A town to be builded at Castlemange or Traly; but at Tralie rather, for that it is more open to the sea and land than the other, and more convenient for the whole shire.

"The bridges to be builded as your Lordship appointed; and the bridge of Lixnawe, Castlemange, and the Gowlyn, near Caishell, to be repaired.

"A general order or concordatum for remission, as well of challenges and spoils committed in the last rebellion, as of arrearages of her Majesty's rents and composition since the rebellion.

"No man, of what condition soever, to hold any office of her Majesty either in town or country before he be first sworn to the Supremacy, and come to hear service and sermons according to her Majesty's injunctions.

"No priest to be admitted, nor any man suffered to keep a priest private in his house, but the common parish priest, that shall swear and do as aforesaid; for these be they that hatch all rebellion.

"To build a bridge over the Barowe at Bealin, and another over the Oare at Watercastle or thereabouts, and another at Portnehinsh, between the forts of Phillipston and Mariborough.

"To build a bridge over the Eney in the borders of Westmeath and Longfort, and another at Bealtartbart, in the borders of O'Reylie's, Maguyre's, and McMahonne's countries; and to build a town and bridge at Bealashany, the passage between Ulster and Connaught.

"To extinguish the government of Connaught utterly upon the establishment of a President and State in Ulster, and the Deputy or General for the most part to reside at Athlone, whence he may be upon any occasion in any province of Ireland within 24 hours, and where with most convenience he may receive intelligence from all parts of the kingdom. . .

* This heading is in Carew's hand.

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"Now that the Moores and Connors are fewer in number and poorer than ever they were, and therefore the easier to be removed to some foreign country, which will be the best means to quiet all Leinster, her Majesty thereupon may extinguish the two governments of Leise and Ophalie, and save all that charge, except only the wards of the two forts; and the countries to be governed as the rest of the Pale.

"A fort in Feagh McHugh's country and another amongst the Cavaners.

"Dowa, with the lands of Cosfealie, belonging to Edmond FitzJames, containing six plowlands.

"Balligoddran and Galie, belonging to Thomas McKelgott, containing 11 plowlands.

"Fynallymore, and certain parcels in Crebronagh, belonging to one Browne, four plowlands.

"Rathkeney and Ballyobin, with other small parcels in Maghery O'Dorny, six plowlands, belonging to Shane Oge of Kilfinorigh."

Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew: Notes for Ireland.

516. The COINAGE.

Vol. 607, p. 224.

"Three benefits are pretended to grow to the Queen by the use of base moneys in Ireland:—(1.) The saving of a great part of her yearly expense in money, which, as things stand now, is 160,000*l.* sterling. (2.) The drawing of all good moneys of gold and silver out of Ireland into this realm by exchange. (3.) . . The rebel, robbed of his fine moneys, shall have no means to use commerce with other nations, whereby he now supplieth his wants, and so of necessity grow weak.

"To all which three benefits pretended may be objected as followeth":—1st. If the Queen maintain an exchange there is no gain equivalent to the scandal and trouble which the innovation will breed. 2nd. "Retiring the moneys of Ireland hither . . is simply no benefit to the Queen in peculiar for the ease of her expense; for it must come to her with a charge, viz., with the loss of a twentieth part in every pound."

It is some benefit to the realm in general if it remain. But if so much base money as the Queen shall coin out of the fine money be returned once a year to the exchange, she shall lose and not gain. For example:—

Suppose, upon the first publishing of the new standard, 1,000*l.* of moneys, plate, or bullion be brought to the mint or exchange, upon the Queen's offer of 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* base for 1*l.* fine moneys, for which the Treasurer returneth bills of exchange to Chester to pay sterling, deducting 2*s.* in the 1*l.* There is a loss of 50*l.*

This 950*l.* is coined either here or there into 3,800*l.* new standard, viz., four for one. Thus saving, in paying the same again, three parts in four, or 633*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Supposing those who have received this 3,800*l.* return one-half to the exchange here and receive (deducting 2*s.* in the 1*l.*)

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1,710*l.* The Queen hath, instead of 950*l.* ster., 1,710*l.* base moneys, worth 427*l.* or thereabouts.

This loss deducted from the gain of 633*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* leaves a clear gain of but 206*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

If two-thirds of the base money be returned by exchange, by a similar calculation a clear loss to the Queen is shown.

If the whole be returned the loss is still greater.

"Touching this retiring of fine moneys from the Irish, it is further to be considered whether the receipt of them shall be in Ireland or England, in either of which falleth out a further charge to the Queen, no way recompensed by the exchange."

If in Ireland—the building of houses, furnaces, and provision of instruments for coinage; the sending of metal from hence to mix with the silver and moneys; also of officers and labourers, "for they cannot be found skilful there."

Then the bullion remains there, though in a baser mixture, and there is no benefit to this realm or to the Queen, who will also have to bear the charge of the coinage.

If the bullion be sent hither, the Queen bears the charge and hazard of transportation, if it be coined at the Tower; and if at places upon the coast the erection of houses and officers to attend to it also.

If it be not coined when here, the Queen makes no benefit but only that the money is in the realm.

The third benefit is but a fallacy, for as long as there is any money current that hath silver or gold in it, the [foreign] merchants will receive it, proportioning the price of their wares to its worth.

Last of all, because the merchant loseth 2*s.* in the 1*l.* upon his exchange, either he will not trade, or he must enhance the price of his wares 10 per cent. "And that charge shall light for the most part upon the Queen's best subjects and servants, as the Deputy and officers of the realm, the nobility, the colonels and captains, and the towns."

"Further, that fairest pretence of winning time and payment of the army with little money for the present is more in show than in substance. For considering that there must be coined 40,000*l.* for the army and 40,000*l.* for commutation and what stock is requisite to answer the exchange, the Queen shall use as great a bulk of fine moneys presently as if there were no abasing of the coin." For example:—Suppose 10,000*l.* ster. be required to make 40,000*l.* base moneys for three months' pay for the army, and 18,000*l.* ster. to answer the exchange of the one-half, and 10,000*l.* ster. more to make 40,000*l.* for commutation and 18,000*l.* to answer the exchange, and 10,000*l.* more for the next three months' pay to the army. All this amounts to 66,000*l.* for the first half year. Whereas the half year's charge now is but 80,000*l.*, and adding the charges of coinage and transportation, which will be 5,000*l.*, "there is no more odds in sterling money requisite to serve the one way or the other, but only 9,000*l.*"

Dated by Carew, "1600."

Pp. 4.

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. Vol. 607, p. 228.

517. "A PROJECT for IRELAND, inclined to peace and obedience to her Majesty."

"There be two things required for reducing the kingdom of Ireland unto a rich and prosperous state, which must go hand in hand together. The one is to be performed by the Queen's Majesty unto her subjects of Ireland. The other by the subjects reciprocally unto the Queen their Sovereign.

"Touching the first. Her Majesty may be pleased (in manner hereafter expressed) to restore again a rich and sterling coin proper to that kingdom.

"Touching the second. The subjects of Ireland in like manner must be content (according to their small ability) something to contribute unto her Majesty (as all subjects else of the world do unto their Prince) towards the excessive charges her Majesty hath been at and must continue for maintenance of the kingdom as well in times of peace as war. . .

"I. Considerations fit to be had for restoring of a rich coin again in Ireland with a perpetual continuance of the same.

"It is to be considered that the Queen maintaineth a sterling coin in England only by industry of the English subjects; the countryman in raising, the merchant in vending, of English commodities; for which is procured and brought into the realm gold and silver, whereby the mint is maintained; the merchant selling his bullion to her Majesty's mint for good and ready money to the Queen's advantage and enriching of English subjects.

"Then as gold and silver are not growing in England no more than in Ireland, so it is not meet that the treasure gotten in England by the sweat of English subjects should be exhausted into Ireland to the impoverishing of England, especially to strengthen rebels thereby against her Majesty.

"Wherefore if the subjects of Ireland (who have in God's bounty and nature a fertile land) shall in equal balance weigh these things, they shall not find it strange that her Majesty hath withdrawn sterling coin or English money from them.

"But no doubt her Majesty will be very graciously inclined to restore unto them a sterling coin proper unto themselves (as it is meet a kingdom should have) having a ground to maintain the same in any indifferent measure as she doth in her realm of England. For present effecting whereof, and for a perpetual establishment of rich moneys in Ireland, this must be the course.

"(1.) The Queen to erect a mint at Dublin.

"(2.) To coin their moneys of fine and sterling silver; viz., of 11 oz. 2 dwt. fine silver and 18 dwt. of alloy.

"(3.) The Irish shilling of the standard of sterling (as aforesaid) to weigh 9d. English money.

"(4.) To proclaim that whosoever will bring into the said mint either gold or silver, fine or base, in moneys, plate, or

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bullion, they shall receive for the same ready money of sterling current in Ireland according to the value, viz, for every oz. of sterling silver 6s. sterling money of Ireland. . . . All charges defrayed of coinage, for workmanship, and waste in all mints allowed.

"For confirmation of the foresaid articles severally these are the reasons presently to be yielded.

"(1.) A mint is a regal ornament and a prerogative pertinent to a kingdom; the means and mystery to attract and draw treasure from foreign parts; as also to invest the kingdom in a property and possession of their own moneys and treasure purchased and procured by vent of their native commodities. For the species or matter of moneys being their own, and the coinage (by her Majesty's prerogative) within themselves, they shall not be driven to send nor carry away their bullion to be minted in a foreign country, having as great privilege by a mint in the use and disposing of their treasure to their most advantage as any kingdom of the world can have.

"But without a mint the state of a kingdom shall be evermore defective, being constrained to use the moneys of a foreign country, and to send out their bullion to be minted into the coins of another kingdom, which is as much as to drive away merchants from bringing any bullion unto them.

"Moreover, a mint being settled in Ireland (as the kingdom is able to maintain it, and will be better enabled every day, when corn and victuals, which are best merchandises to procure bullion, shall be increased), it shall perpetually establish the state of a rich money in the kingdom.

"Because the Prince's profits will most consist in the goodness of the moneys; and shall never have reason to imbase the same while the kingdom can maintain a mint; which shall be a great honour unto the kingdom of Ireland and a mystery of State very advantageous unto her Majesty, who cannot think she is Queen of a beggarly kingdom that so can do.

"(2.) The second article is confirmed in the former reason; for the profits both of Prince and subject consist in goodness of the moneys.

"(3.) The third article reserveth an advantage to the Queen, but not any way hurtful to the State of Ireland; concerning which more needeth not be spoken at this present.

"(4.) The fourth article offereth a means presently to set a mint going in Ireland, whereby they shall presently enter themselves into possession of a rich coin, which is the first step unto great happiness.

"Therefore to draw on her Majesty to make no more pay in base money within the kingdom, to divert the violent current of present miseries, and to leave no mention of base commixt moneys, which else will be as foul scars remaining of their former rebellions and misdemeanours, let every man (that wisheth to see happy days in his country) be content with loss

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to convert all his base money (holding any silver in them) into pure coin and current money of their kingdom. The rather also, because they shall have the value of the silver in them contained, as before hath been expressed. And it shall be better thus to do than to carry the same out of the realm, where they shall never make so much of them; besides with greater costs, more hazard, and the hindrance of a public good unto the kingdom.

"Thus far concerning the first part for restoring of rich coins again after a more honorable sort than ever Ireland had them, and in a perpetuity never more to be altered, by means only of settling a mint in the kingdom. Which may be well begun by the former motion, and better continued when they begin to taste the sweetness of peace, which shall increase commodities and traffic with importation of gold and silver.

II. "Touching the second part, to be performed by the Subjects of Ireland towards her Majesty.

"It is a matter fit to be considered that no Prince of the world doth possess a kingdom which yieldeth not some commodity unto him. But her Majesty hath always spent more than she ever received out of Ireland when the country charged her least, and for many years now together hath received nothing. . . . which hath justly excited her Majesty to take hard courses until she may find some benefit and ease of charges from her subjects there.

"And forasmuch as the country of Ireland for the most part hath contributed largely unto the unlawful charges in maintenance of rebels' forces, her Majesty by good right may expect some measure of contribution (though but moderate and easy, having regard to the time) towards the charges of her army there still to be continued for defence of the kingdom against foreign and civil enemies; wherein no evasion by pleading of poverty can excuse them, if having undergone so great taxes to the supporting of the rebels, they should now seem to groan under a feather imposed upon them by their lawful Prince and Sovereign.

"It may therefore please the Lord Deputy, with advice of the lords and signiors of countries, as also of magistrates in the towns, to coss the kingdom moderately, viz., some to pay money by the year, especially the towns, and they which have not money to pay rent, corn, or any kind of commodity merchandable, which the Queen's merchants (to be ordained for that service) shall receive, and pay unto her Majesty other moneys current of Ireland, or bullion, which may be coined in the mint at Dublin to pay the army; for the army must then be paid in sterling current moneys of Ireland, which her Majesty will not be pleased to issue altogether out of her own coffers. But by means of this aid and contribution from her subjects in Ireland, her Majesty will be induced to pay al-

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together in the sterling moneys current in the kingdom. Wherefore, without some consideration from the subjects of Ireland, this project cannot hold, which tendeth to great happiness of the kingdom, if they be capable of their own good, offered in a time of grace.

"For as her Majesty doubtless will be graciously inclined upon any good motion from the Lord Deputy to respect her subjects of Ireland, so must subjects have a reciprocal care and respect unto their Sovereign.

"If this project shall take good effect in Ireland, the army may receive their full pay there, and buy provisions of the provant merchants or elsewhere for ready money to their best choice and liking."

Pp. 4. Dated by Carew, "1600."

518. MUSKRY.

Vol. 607, p. 157a.

"A Note of Cormock McTeig's* living in Muskry when Sir Dermod McTeig held the Lordship."†

The castle, town, and lands of Carignymuk, 10½ plowlands, with reservations upon certain lands. Upon the lands and territories of Ivelery, two days' and nights' refection quarterly, or instead of every refection two marks ster. Similar refectations upon the territories of Ifanluo, Clan Cnoghos, Clanfynyn, Ballywourny, Downaghmore, Eanywry, Aghybollog, Agh-Inagh, Ballywneyrane, and Aharlaghmore. Total, 58 marks.

"Item, at the coming in to his lands of any chieftain in the country, as O'Lery, O'Hialyhy, etc., after the death of his predecessor, 4*l.* 9*s.* ster.

"These and other small duties, rents, and services the said Sir Cormock McTeig had and enjoyed in Muskry during the life of his eldest brother, which was incident and due time out of mind, as an annuity and living to the second and nearest brother to the Lord of Muskry. All which we, the offspring and issue male of the said Cormock, do humbly pray the allowance thereof, or, instead of the same, such reasonable recompense of land and living as in your honorable discretion shall be thought meet."

Signed: By me, Don: McCormocke Carty.

P. 1.

II. "A Note of all the Lands and Castles in Muskry."

"First, in Old Muskry and be-north the river of Lee, there is belonging to the Lord of Muskry of his own demesne lands, besides freeholders', 38 quarters and 2½ plowland[s]; every quarter containing three plowland[s]. Item, . . . freeholders'

* "McCartie" in the margin.

† Dated by Carew, "1600."

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lands, who payeth to the said Lord of Muskry great rents and duties yearly, 22 quarters of land. All these are besides Owen McTeig [McCartie of the Drissan], and Kallaghan McTeig [of Carrignemucke], who hath several parcels of lands which ought nothing to the Lord of Muskry. Item, be-south the said river the said Lord of Muskry hath of his own demesne lands 16 quarters of land; and of freeholders' lands, which by the said Lord are set and let yearly at great rents, duties, and services, 27½ quarters. So that of his own the said Lord's demesnes, and of the lands that are holden of him, . . are 309 plowland[s]."

III. "The Names of the Castles belonging to the Lord or Chieftain of Muskry."

The castles of Blarny, Kilcrea, Mocrompy, and Carignywar, "now in possession." Castle ny Hinshy with Cormocke's mother, Castle More with Kallaghan McTeig, and the Castle of Carrigdrohid with Dame Johan Butler, for term of life, with remainders to the Lord of Muskry.

"The castle, town, and lands of Carrignymuk ordered to Kallaghan McTeig, to hold to him and his heirs males for ever for the reservation of a rose or a grain of wheat by the year."

Signed: By me, Don: McCormocke Carty.

Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew: A note of all the lands in Muskrie Clan Dermond, and what lands and duties Sir Cormock McTeg had upon the country when he was Tanist.

519. MUSKRY.

Vol. 635, p. 179a.

"A Note of all the Lands and Castles in Muskry McDermond, near Cork, viz. in anno 1600."

Same as § II. in the preceding document.

II. "A Note of the Castles in Muskrie."

Same as § III. in the preceding, with the following additions:—Carrigdroid, in the possession of Sir Cormocke McTeg's widow during life; Cloghphillippe, in the possession of Donoghe McCormocke and his heirs for ever; McShaneglasse, in the possession of Owen Loghie McSwyne, a freeholder, to him and his heirs for ever; Cloghda, in the possession of Brian McOwen Loghie, a freeholder, to him and his heirs for ever; Carrignecorraghe and Carigneyleghe, in the possession of O'Lerie, to him and his heirs for ever; Carigfallcaghe and Drissan, in the possession of Owen McTeg Cartie, to him and his heirs for ever (he hath also the castle of Carigepookie); Downdererige, in the possession of Fynin McDonell Oge Cartie.

III. "The Septs of the Carties in Muskrie."

Clan Cormocke Oge, Slught Decane, Slught Twonedromm, Slught Cloghbroe, the sept of Clanfaddaghe, the sept of Shane-killie. Total, 66 plowlands.

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iv. "The Septs of Freeholders in Muskrie."

"O'Lerie, 30 ploughlands of the O'Leries; Iflanloghe, 29 pl. of the O'Mahons; Clanconogher, 18 pl. of the O'Mahons; Clanfynin, 16 pl. of the O'Mahons.—93 pl."

Riordens, Morohoes, Clancalloghans, McSwynes:—"these be followers in Muskrye."

v. Countries in Muskrye.

O'Healies, O'Herlies, O'Longe, O'Cronin.—36 pl.

Hegans (brehons), Aulyves *alias* O'Levies (surgeons), O'Dallies (rimers), O'Donins (chroniclers).—8½ pl.

Pp. 2. In Carew's hand.

520. LORD BARRY'S LANDS in Co. CORK, 1600.

Vol. 614, p. 101.

Barries-Court, 18 plowlands. Inchinibakye, 4 pl. Castell-Lions, 30 pl. Botevant and Lescarroll in Orerye, 40 pl. Timologe, Ratheharry, and Lislie in Ybawne, 300 pl. Total, 392 pl.

"Also the said Lord Barry hath the letting and setting to his own use three parts of every freeholder's lands within the manors aforesaid; which do amount in all by estimation of Irish measure unto 1,000 plowlands."

P. 1. In Carew's hand. Endorsed.

521. TIPPERARY.

Vol. 614, p. 103.

"The Baronies in the County of Tipperary, and what Septs inhabit them, and also what number of plowlands in every barony, 1600."

"Lower Ormond: the three O'Kenidies. Upper Ormond: McTeg of the Kenedies, whose chief house is Badinedoghie; in it is also the castle and abbey of Nenaghe, the Earl of Ormond's lands; the O'Mares, the Hegans, the Hogans.—Plowlands 200."

Owney O'Mulrian (part of this barony is in co. Limerick): O'Mulrians. In this barony is the abbey of Owney, Sir Edmond Wellshe's house, which was built by the White Earl of Ormond.—60 pl.

Kilnemanaghe: O'Duire, descended from the O'Briens.—40 pl., besides the Crosse lands.

Ikerine: O'Magher and the Earl of Ormond's castle of Roskrey is in this precinct.—40 pl.

Eliogortie: Parcel, Baron of Loughmay, Cantwell of Mocanke (?). It hath in it the abbey of Crosse, Thurles Castle, and Templemore, the Earl of Ormond's lands.—60 pl.

Slewardie: Sir James Oge Butler, Faninge, Cantwell, Leffar, Mariner.—60 pl.

Dow Arra: McBrien Arra, descended from O'Brien of Tomond.—40 pl.

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Eliaghe and Kilinaghlohart: McWater Burke in Eliaghe; Donoghe McShaneglasse O'Mulrian.—24 pl.

East Clanwilliam: the Burkes of Muskrie, the Burkes of Onaught, the Burkes of Coshnaie, part of the O'Briens of Arloghe.—50 pl.

Comshey (part in co. Kilkenny): the Tobins.—12 pl.

Middlethird: Butler, Baron of Dunboyne, the Hackets, Stapletons, and Mocleere.—120 pl.

Cantred of Clonmell: Butler, Baron of Cahir, the Prendergarsts, the Powers, and McCraghes.—120 pl.

Total, 826 pl.

Pp. 2. In Carew's hand. Endorsed.

522. IVAGHE.

Vol. 614, p. 105.

"A Note of O'Mahoun Fen's lands and tenants within the country of Ivaghe, 1600."

Artetyndan, 3 plowlands free; Ballyaddy and Kilmorouoge, 3 pl.; Mr. O'Donnowan's daughter, tenant.

Crowoy and Inishfaddy, 1½ pl.; Dermott McTeige McDermody and Dermott McShane Tygie, tenants.

Comkierie, 1 pl.; Donell McEvarriniegh, tenant.

Kearrowmore, 3 pl.; Rorie McTirlagh, tenant.

Donbreackaan, "the easter part," 1½ plowland, waste.

Cashellian and Rosshanemeirie, 1 pl. "The Vicarie, and Couchor Farshen, and Morche FitzEdmond, tenants."

Kreggin, 1 pl., waste. Liskahie, 1 pl., waste.

Bealladowelin, 3 pl., waste, saving half a pl. occupied by Diermott O'Donny.

Innaghoughter, 1½ pl.; Teige McDonagh, tenant.

The two Coullowries, 3 pl.; "Tirlagh O'Shyren, the upper Kolloweries, the other with Teige McConchor."

P. 1. Endorsed.

523. FLORENCE MCCARTIE.

Vol. 632, p. 218.

"An Abstract of several Treasons committed by Florence McCartie."

I. "Letters proving Florence McCarty his treasons.

"Florence writ one letter to the White Knight, reproving him for his submission to her Majesty, and exciting him to new rebellion, and desiring that he and the rebel Peirce Lacye might secretly confer with the White Knight, promising (if need were) to go for Spain to procure foreign aid.

"He wrote another letter to Donnaught McCartie and his brother (being rebels), persuading to rebellion, in which letter there joined with him Owen McKegen,* usurping the name of Bishop of Rosse.

* "McEggen" is here written in the margin by Carew.

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"Florence hath received letters from the archtraitors (*sic*) of O'Donell, proving a combination between them for maintenance of the rebellion.

"Florence hath received four letters from Tyrone, proving these matters:—First, that Florence had formerly written to Tyrone, [and] entertained intelligence with him. Secondly, that there was a firm combination between them for maintenance of the rebellion. Thirdly, he encouraged Florence to do some memorable act against the pagan beast (being the chief in Munster); and . . . that he daily expected invasion of Spaniards both in England and Ireland.

"It appeareth he both writ and received divers letters from James FitzThomas, the archtraitor, wherein their combination doth appear.

"Florence received letters from Thomas Shelton and from Donnaught McCragh, usurping the name of the Archbishop of Dublin; whereby it appeareth that the said traitors had commended Florence his service to the King of Spain, and that done upon Florence his own entreaty."

II. "Examinations proving Florence McCartye his treasons.

"Florence, upon his first coming into Ireland, had secret conference at Dreshane with James FitzThomas, and Cragh the usurped Bishop of Corke,* and then combined with them in their rebellion.

"When Tyrone was in Munster, Florence lay with him in his cabin, and he joined with Tyrone and Cragh to send Owen McKegen to the Pope for an excommunication to all that did not rebel; which excommunication was divulged after; and James FitzThomas sayeth that the Spaniards built their hope for Munster upon him and Florence especially.

"It appeareth upon the examination of divers, that Florence had sworn and vowed himself an adherent to Tyrone and James FitzThomas in that just war (as he termed it).

"He employed Donnaught McCormacke to Tyrone, to persuade that Corke was the fittest place to land the Spaniards, as McAlliffe told John Barrey.

"Thomas Oge [FitzGerald] deposeth that Florence confessed to him (he being then a rebel) that Florence caused Tyrone to write to the King of Spain to intimate Florence his service, and that Florence himself writ also to the King when Tyrone was in Munster; which also appeareth by the said letter from Thomas Shelton to Florence.

"Thomas Oage further deposeth that Florence provided a French barque to bring in munition for the rebels after his protection.

"It appeareth that Florence, being in protection, advised the rebels to kill Sir Charles Willmot. He received during

* "Corke" has been substituted for "Dublin" by Carew.

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his protection the Knight of the Valley and the Knight of Kerry, and other arch-rebels.

"He persuaded James FitzThomas, Thomas Oage, and other rebels to persist in their rebellion.

"He laboured to persuade Cormock McDermond and Owen O'Sullevant (being subject) to enter into rebellion, they being chief lords of countries.

"Florence his wife secretly sent warning to Sir Charles Wyllmot that he might not trust Florence, for all that he did was but to win time.

"Shelley Cartie (sister to Florence) told the Lord President [Carew] that Florence betrayed her husband, O'Swillivant Moore, to Dermond O'Connor, to the intent to have her husband a rebel, and willed her to persuade her husband thereto for his enlargement.

"He placed a sberiff in the county of Kerry of his own authority after his protection, and directed warrants unto him for the levying of 105 beoves in a private cause.

"Florence hath obtained from the Lord President at several times seven protections; and he urged the Lord President to grant the last protection more amply than is granted to any other, which argueth his guiltiness.

"Florence hath five of his kinsmen and servants in Spain, and some of them in the King his pay there."

Copy. Pp. 4.

524. FLORENCE MCCARTIE.

Vol. 635, p. 51a.

I. Pedigree of the McCarties.

Pp. 2. In Carew's hand.

II. "The Reasons that Florence McCartie allegeth to prove that the Earl of Clancare's lands ought to descend to Ellen, his wife, and to her heirs.

"Donel Mackcartiemore, Earl of Clancare, son to Donel McCormocke Leiry, was, by the old Lord Roche, called Davye Roche, taken prisoner. Sir Henry Sidney, then Deputy, mistrusting the rebellious intentions of Geralt, the last Earl of Desmond, sent the aforesaid Donel McCartiemore into England, to the intent that by her Majesty's good usage of him he might be made an instrument against the said Desmond.

"The Queen did of her bounty both bestow money upon him to defray his charges, and made him Earl of Clancare; and in the patent of his earldom did grant unto him both the said title and all his lands to him and to the heirs males of his body lawfully begotten; whose son and heir male, the Baron of Valencia, being dead, he went again into England, as well to recover some of his lands that the English Undertakers of Mounster challenged, as to get his lands to be confirmed by her Majesty unto his daughter, who, at that time, by his con-

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sent, was to be married to Florence McCartie; for the performance whereof bonds of 6,000*l.* did pass between the said Earl and Florence.

"His lands he obtained, but no grant to his daughter, because no surrender of his was extant or formally made. Yet, nevertheless, her Majesty agreed to pass him a grant of his lands, with condition that his daughter should marry an Englishman, which the Earl accepted, and accordingly made his surrender. Which condition and surrender in law is void, because his daughter was formerly married to Florence aforesaid; as also that the said surrender was never duly perfected.

"Moreover, Donel McCormock Leiry, father to the said Earl, in his lifetime entailed all those lands to his only son, this aforenamed Earl of Clancare, and his heirs, and, for want of such issue in him, to the heirs of James Earl of Desmond by Ellen, his daughter, wife to the said Desmond, and sister to the aforenamed Earl of Clancare, and the remainder to the right heirs of the aforesaid Ellen for ever, which is Ellen, daughter to the Earl, her brother, and wife to Florence aforesaid, considering that the Earl of Clancare survived Sir James of Desmond, her son, and Eleanor, wife to Edward Butler, her daughter, who both died without issue.

"This entail, made by Donel McCormock Leiry, was perfected, and divers of the witnesses yet living that were at the perfecting thereof in the first and second year of Philip and Mary, and now ready to be produced."

Copy. P. 1.

Vol. 600, p. 158.

2. Another copy.

Vol. 601, p. 241.

3. A third copy.

525. DESMOND.

Vol. 635, p. 107a.

List of the forces [of the rebels] in Desmond.

Total: the McCarties, 664 foot; the O'Sulevans, 510; the O'Donnoghes, 60; in all, 1,234.

P. 1. In Carew's hand.

526. The EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 600, p. 248.

"A Table drawn by the Earl of Essex, being prisoner in the Lord Keeper's house, of such things as he supposed he should be taxed withal."

"It is like I shall be charged with—I. Offences committed in the time of my government:—(1.) In managing the wars by omitting or delaying going into Ulster, which was the course agreed on in England, [and] spending the time in Leinster and Munster, whereby her Majesty's army was weakened, and treasure unprofitably spent. (2.) Treating to compound them to her Majesty's (1) dishonour—the form being done upon equal terms, the conditions, toleration of Popery and the allowing the rebel to enjoy the subject's living; (2) disservice

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—because the rebel doth ever make his profit of all truces and cessations, and so of this. (2.) In the leaving of my charge (1) before I had settled the war and advertised my course to that end, (2) contrary to her Majesty's letter of prohibition.

"II. Circumstances that aggravate some:—(1.) Before my going into Ireland I drew her Majesty, by my promise, to an extreme expense, by making the army and preparations greater than the service required; I promised mountains beforehand. (2.) While I governed there—in neglecting the directions from England; in not following the advice of the Council. (3.) In my return—by bringing over so many lords and captains of quality."

Dated by Carew, "1600."

Copy, in Carew's hand. P. 1. Arranged in a curious tabular form.

Endorsed: Transcribed out of the original under his own hand.

527. The EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 600, p. 244.

"His Apology to the Lords of her Majesty's Council, after he had been prisoner in the Lord Keeper's house, 1600."

"If it be objected that I came away and left my charge contrary to her Majesty's express commandment, so accompanied as it made my intent suspected, leaving the government of the kingdom unsettled, whereupon great inconveniences have grown, and the whole State of Ireland was hazarded, I answer first that (thanks be to God) no dangerous consequence hath followed of it. For during nine or ten weeks after my coming hither the whole kingdom was quiet; and since, even to this day, no important loss hath been received, but only the defeating of a convoy in an open champion country, where our men had safe and near retreats both before them and behind them. So as since the declination of that State I think there will be hardly found so long a time wherein the rebel did less mischief or the subject received less loss; which I must impute to the providence of God Almighty in his mercy, who, foreseeing the unjust imputations and malicious inferences that would be brought against me, hath disfurnished my enemies of that they thought should have been their greatest advantage, which was charging me with the loss of Ireland, though it had happened long after my coming over, and though I had remained close prisoner, while they had time to prevent the mischief.

"And for my settling of the government before my coming away, if this will not satisfy, that I ordered her Majesty's forces, employed her ablest ministers, and gave particular instructions for every province and frontier, by advice of her Majesty's Council there; yet I am sure in this court this one plea will be allowed, that I so ordered all things as you, my Lords of the Council, having received account of me when I was first committed, have not to this day altered anything of

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importance in that course of government which I established at my coming away, generally for the kingdom, and particularly for every province.

"And now, having said enough for the consequence and opportunity of my coming over, I desire to know why my coming should be suspiciously apprehended. Out of Ireland there came in the same passage with me, my Lord of Southampton that was displaced, my Lord of Dunkilline, and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, that, in this vacancy of offers and time of truce, desired by their own presence to renew the memory of their former services; Sir Henry Davers, that was not through whole of a dangerous wound; Sir Henry Dockwrey, that was before I came away . . . to sue for the government of Connaught; and some other knights and captains that were discharged, besides two captains that pretended great business and long absence, and some gentlemen that were my own servants, that were put out of pay by the discharging of Sir John Lee's company. But of all these, there were not ten persons that accompanied me (from the sea's side) any part of the way, and not above six that came to the Court, the rest taking their own courses and intending their private occasions.

"But what should my evil intent be? It was as easy for me to do evil as to think evil when I had a kingdom in my government and an army in my hand. And the evil I did was but to myself, for I wasted both my body and state in a costly, painful, and uncomfortable service. And now, having stripped myself of all, and thrown myself at my Sovereign's feet, shall enemies or accusation prevail against demonstration, to make my intent of coming over to be held suspect? Justice and charity will not allow of these constructions made of those whose religion or descent might make them suspected, except they enforce probable grounds; and shall I (without any ground) be thus censured, who have lost my father and my brother in her Majesty's service, spent 13 of my 33 years as an officer about her Majesty's person, and seven years as a poor councillor of her State, that am of all the subjects of England most hated by all the enemies of her Majesty's religion and welfare, and for my services to her person and to her crown am so threatened with revenge as no place is safe for me but her kingdom, nor no time but her reign? No! I thank my God, I know there doth neither good Christian nor lover of his country suspect my intent. And for the imputations of the rest, I answer them with the old rule, '*ut quisque est . . . bonus et sic e contra.*' And now it appears that I settled the State before my coming away, and that there grew no dangerous consequence by my coming over."

Copy, the greater part in Carew's hand.

Pp. 2. Endorsed: Copied out of the original written by himself.

APPENDIX.

1589.

Vol. 635, p. 89.

1. The REVENUE.

"A Note of the Revenues in Ireland, as it was in anno 1588 and in anno 1589.

"The total of the rents and casualties paid to her Majesty, to the hands of the Vice Treasurer, betwixt Michaelmas in anno 1588 and the said feast in anno 1589, is 9,959*l.* 10*s.* 3*¼d.* Irish; whereof there is—

"Paid to sundry patentees and feodements within the said time for their fees, 5,163*l.* 3*s.* 10*¼d.* Irish. And then—

"Remaineth towards the payment of the garrisons, 4,796*l.* 6*s.* 5*¼d.* Ir.

"Memorandum, that within the said year were received in arrearages formerly due the sum of 429*l.* 3*s.* 6*¼d.* Ir.; and for composition money, 1,521*l.* 15*s.* 10*¼d.* Ir. In toto, 1,950*l.* 19*s.* 4*¼d.* Ir.

"Also there is yearly to be paid for the composition of the Pale in lieu of cess, which Charles Huet receiveth, per annum, 2,100*l.* ster."

P. 1.

1592.

Aug. 11.

Vol. 605, p. 189.

2. LADY CAREW, Wife to Sir George.

Licence by Lord Deputy FitzWilliam to take with her into England six horses or hackneys of Irish breed.

Kilmaineham, 11 August 1592. *Signed.*

Addressed to the customer, comptroller, and searcher of Dublin, &c.

P. 1.

1595.

Sept. 10.

Vol. 614, p. 237.

3. TYRONE'S REBELLION.

"The Lord Treasurer [Burleigh]'s opinion touching the Earl of Tirone's reduction."

"Upon sight of Sir John Norreis his letters, I find two causes of proceeding mentioned:—the one, concerning the Earl, who is the head of the rebellion, to obedience by his submission, and grant of pardon for himself and his complices; the second, by continuance of the war against him, with increase of forces for six months, to begin at a time uncertain. The charge then to be above 32,000*l.* only for Ulster.

"The first is the most plausible. (1.) Because thereby the whole realm may be in peace. (2.) The strange potent enemy

1595.

may be frustrated of his purpose to invade that realm . . to conquer it for himself, or to reduce it by the Pope's pretended usurpation to the rule of a king of the Irish nation, or to divide it betwixt two of their nation. (3.) By the Earl's submission he may be so limited, as the Queen may hereafter disable him to be a head of any dangerous faction. . .

"It is a difficult matter to advise what conditions shall be limited to yield unto for the receiving of him. Because, either upon fear of not obeying the conditions, or upon over-great a pride of his strength both at home and abroad, he may stand upon dishonorable conditions. . . These which follow may be thought of by such of the experienced councillors of Ireland as the Lord Deputy (Russell) shall use for advice. . .

"It shall be honorable to require that the Earl shall offer his submission only for himself and his own sept of the O'Neales of Tyrone. And yet he may understand that O'Donell, Macguire, and the McMahonds may be also severally received to mercy."

II. "Conditions to be demanded of the Earl.

"(1.) That the country of Tyrone may be limited to contain no more to be by him possessed than by his letters patents is limited.

"(2.) That the articles whereto he agreed at his last being in England, upon his offence for hanging of Shane O'Neale's son, may be duly observed.

"(3.) That . . Tyrone may be divided into two countries and two shires, with two jails, as he himself hath required.

"(4.) That he disclaim all rule over any the Irish captains that be not of Tyrone; as of Tyrlough Bracelough, McMahonds, O'Caham, McGennis, the Captain of Clанде-boys, the Rout, and all others on the east side of the [Band].

"(5.) That he suffer the Queen's garrisons to continue in peace at Monaghan, Ardmaghe, and the Blackwater.

"(6.) That for some part of amends he deliver sufficient number of beoves for the victualling of the three garrisons . . for six months for (from) the time of his pardon.

"(7.) That he put to liberty the sons of Shane O'Neale, and any other that he holdeth in captivity, both English and Irish.

"(8.) That he shall not aid nor yield favour to O'Donnell, Macguire, O'Rorke, or McMahond, if they shall refuse reasonable conditions for their pardons.

"(9.) That he shall deliver to the Lord Deputy all such Jesuits or seminary priests as shall be named to him, and that have repaired unto him in this time of rebellion, or shall banish them, or permit them to be attached.

"(10.) For observation of all these articles he shall give as a pledge his son, as he formerly promised, and four others of his blood, as the Council of Ireland shall think meet; amongst

1595.

which the Captain of the Fuse to be one, and the principal of the O'Hagans another.

"*Nota*, that the Councillors of Ireland, that have been heretofore best acquainted with the treaties and agreements made with the Earl, can best discern how many of these ought to be pressed and how many others may be added.

"For O'Donnell.—His own offers for yielding of his rents and services to be renewed. That he suffer none of Connoughe to reside in Tyrconnell, nor any of his people to repair into Connoughe. That he also give some pledges for keeping of peace.

"For Macguire.—That he be content that Iniskillen may remain in her Majesty's guard for 12 months as a gage his obedience; and that also he give pledges, &c.

"For McMahon.—That the accord made by Sir William FitzWilliams with the freeholders may be renewed. That the ward of Monaghan may be victualled for six months at the charge of the country.

"*Nota*.—A general covenant to be made with them all, that none of them shall entertain in their countries any Scots or other strangers.

"*Item*.—Sir John Norreis is not to delay the fortifying of the Blackwater, for the finishing of that will draw the other to better conditions for her Majesty than any other persuasions.

"*Item*.—If the Captain of Fewes may be separated from him, and he yield to hold his country of the Queen's Majesty, as he hath been disposed, her Majesty shall enlarge her country to obedience altogether on the east side of the Band; and shall easily reduce all the captains of those countries to receive the countries by grant from her Majesty, and yield good rents as they did in Sir John Perott's time; which would, in convenient time, be called to remembrance."

III. "The Project for continuance of the War by Sir John Norreys: the Lord Treasurer's answers.

"It is only for recovering of Ulster, without mention for Connough, which surely is dangerous to be suffered, as that of Ulster.

"His demand is uncertain, for presently the monthly charge of his army is 5,000*l*. and more, and he desireth to continue the same charge for six months, to begin when he shall have 1,000 footmen and 100 horse more out of England; which will ask a good time and charge to levy them, and a time uncertain for transportation.

"He also requireth 2,000*l*. more for fortifications. And all this to be expended without controlment.

"And yet it may happen that at the end of six months he may be deceived."

1595.

Pp. 4. Dated in the margin, "1596." Endorsed by Carew:
 "The conditions thought meet to receive the Earl of Tyrone into obedience, 10 Sept. 1595."

1598.

Nov. 4.

Vol. 616, p. 129.

4. "MEMORIAL for IRELAND [by CECIL], 4 November 1598."

"The disease general, and therefore to be generally and in all parts remedied. The religion bad; the nobility discontented; the soldiers beaten; the discipline corrupted; her Irishman an after game, except we see a blot and enter and bind.

"*Ulster*.—A country so strong and so wild as never conquered nor quiet; wholly in rebellion, except some scores (?); the climate unwholesome; the passages so difficult as my Lord Burgh ——. The General Norrys never could look over the water. Good soldiers well armed and in blood. The Scottish islands, which yield men and provisions.

"Clyfford betrayed; Bingham lightly condemned."

Other memoranda respecting troops, arms, and munition for the army in Ireland, musters, discipline, &c.

Pp. 3. In Cecil's hand. Endorsed.

1600.

April 18.

Vol. 608, p. 84.

5. BULL of INDULGENCE by POPE CLEMENT VIII.

To the archbishops, bishops, prelates, chiefs, earls, barons, and people of Ireland.—Whereas, encouraged by the exhortations of our predecessors and ourself, you have long struggled to recover and preserve your liberty,—first under James Geraldine, of good memory, who endeavoured to throw off the yoke of slavery imposed on you by the English, deserters from the Holy Roman Church,—then under John Geraldine, cousin of the said James,—and lastly under our beloved son, Hugh O'Neale, styled Earl of Tyrone, Baron Dungannon, and captain general of the Catholic army in Ireland: we grant to all of you who follow and assist the said Hugh and the Catholic army, if you truly repent and confess, and if possible receive the holy communion, plenary pardon, and remission of all sins,—as usually granted to those setting out to the war against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land. A copy hereof, subscribed by a public notary and sealed by a dignitary of the Church, shall have the same validity as these presents.

Rome, 18 April 1600, ninth year of our pontificate.

Signed: M. Vestrius Barbianus.

Copy. Latin. Pp. 2.

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CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH (continued), preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. V.—1598-1600.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. Vol. IV.—1601, &c.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FÆDERA; with Index. Vol. I.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. III.—1586, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo., half-bound. *Price* 10s. each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. *THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND*, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by the* Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

John Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. *CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON*. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by the* Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house, and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, which are of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is now printed for the first time.

3. *LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR*. I.—*La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei*. II.—*Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris*. III.—*Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines. It is addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., and was probably written in the year 1245, on the occasion of the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author.

The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between the years 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. Though it does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, yet it is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time.

The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between the years 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. *MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA*; scilicet, I.—*Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*. II.—*Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ*. III.—*Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ*. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1858.

This volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It has been the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, in the British Museum, or elsewhere, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed.

5. *FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO*. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by the* Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from the fact that it is the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. At the time when it was written, the disputes of the schoolmen had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries.

Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The "*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*" gives a good idea of the controversies which were carried on at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. **THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND ; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece ;** by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends, and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this ; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true ; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed.

The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version of Boece's work, and the student of language will here find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. **JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS.** *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three distinct parts, each having its own separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, and extends from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in the year 1100, to the year 1446 which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of some value.

8. **HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS,** by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. **EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS) :** Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366 ; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858-1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England

down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. **MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH:** Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis *Vita Regis Henrici Septimi*; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of these volumes are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. **MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH.** I.—*Vita Henrici Quinti*, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—*Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti*. III.—*Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V.* Edited by CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; *Versus Rhythmici*, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. **MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati.** Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1869-1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

13. *CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. Edited by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.*

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. *A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859-1861.*

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some of them are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another.

The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to what may be considered the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable interest to the philologist.

15. *The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.*

This is the celebrated treatise—which, up to this time, had never been printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon. The volume also contains a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiae*."

16. *BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449-1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.*

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. *BRUT Y TYWYSGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. Edited by the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.*

This work, which is also known as "*The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales*," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. *A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. Edited by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.*

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events of the time. The period (1399 to 1404) required much elucidation; to which the volume will materially contribute.

19. **THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY.** By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and it is against their general doctrines that the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. **ANNALES CAMBRIÆ.** *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. **THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.** Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V. and VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1868.

The first three volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use.

Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the *Topographia* of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony,

with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon.

The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about the year 1188, and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of facts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Kambriæ* et *Descriptio Kambriæ*.

22. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND.** Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Dépôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. **THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES.** Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In the present edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861-1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. **LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE,** illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (181 in number) are here collected from various sources. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop. These Letters have not hitherto been collected, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. *By* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1865.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages: the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. From the Originals in the Public Record Office. Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly preserved in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of these letters, more especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI. — 1. THOMÆ WALSHINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELowe ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSHINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIAE PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290: Vol. II., 1290-1349. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1867.

In the first two volumes is a history of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., written by Thomas Walsingham, precentor of St. Albans and prior of the Cell of Wymundham, belonging to that abbey. Walsingham's work is printed from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, from 1259 to 1306, attributed to William Rishanger, monk of Saint Albans, who lived in the reign of Edward I., printed from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX. (of the fourteenth century) in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219-231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cottonian Manuscript Claudius E. III., fols. 306-331: Also an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol by King Edward I., 1291-1292,

from MS. Cotton. Claudius, D. VI., attributed to William Rishanger above mentioned, but on no sufficient ground: A short Chronicle of English History, from 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A short Chronicle from 1297 to 1307, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with an addition of *Annales Regum Angliæ*, probably by the same hand: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1299, 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1295 to 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: and a fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1285 to 1307, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Also *Annals of King Edward II.*, 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A continuation of Trokelowe's *Annals*, 1323, 1324, by Henricus de Blanford, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Also a full Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer of St. Albans, 1399 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: and an account of the past benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the fifth volume begins a history of the abbots of St. Albans, from 793 to the close of the fourteenth century, compiled by Thomas Walsingham, præcentor of St. Albans, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum. This is continued in the sixth volume.

29. *CHRONICON ABBATIE EVESHAMENSIS, AUOTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMIE ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418.* Edited by the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. *RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ.* Vol. I., 447-871. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863.

Of the compiler of this work, which is in four parts, very little is known. In the prologue he calls himself Richard, a monk of Westminster, and at the end of the first part, Richard of Cirencester, a monk of St. Peter's, Westminster. One volume only, containing the first three books, has been published, the remainder is in the press, and will shortly appear. There is a continuation of the work down to the year 1348, which in due time will also be printed.

31. *YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.* Years 20-21, 30-31, and 32-33. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1866.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

82. **NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY; 1449-1450.**—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normandie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conférences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham.* 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. **HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ.** Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.* 1863-1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester.

The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. **ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ.** *Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A.* 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century.

In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities."

Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century.

The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre; and though there are in it many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. **LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest.** Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge.* 1864-1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. **ANNALES MONASTICI.** Vol. I.:—*Annales de Margan, 1066–1282; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1268; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263.* Vol. II.:—*Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291.* Vol. III.:—*Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297; Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432.* Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registry of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in the different religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are seven in number, and the extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. **MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS.** From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and, being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs.¹

The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities he was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. **CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST.** Vol. I.:—*ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI.* Vol. II.:—*EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199.* Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. *RECUEIL DES CRONIQUEES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRE-TAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE*, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I., Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. *Edited by WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A.* 1864-1868.

40. *A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND*, by JOHN DE WAURIN. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A.* 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471, after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. *POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN*, with Trevisa's Translation. Vol. I. *Edited by CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.* 1865.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion of the work is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land.

To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. *LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE*. *Edited by JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge.* 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. *CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA, AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406*. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum.* 1866-1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. **MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR.** Vols. I., II., and III. 1067-1245. *Edited by Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum.* 1866-1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris), giving fuller details, which has been called the 'Historia Major.' The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. **LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023.** *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq.* 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources, which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from, writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. **CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the EARLIEST TIMES to 1185; with a SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150.** *Edited, with a Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A.* 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are the invasions of foreigners and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. **THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A.* 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars.

The language of the chronicle is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. **THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OR, THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN.** *Edited, with a Translation, by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin.* 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses.

The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. *GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192*; known under the name of *BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH*. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian.* 1867.

This is a chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, and is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the genuine student.

50. *MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD* (in Two Parts). *Edited by the Rev. HENRY ANSTEE, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford.* 1868.

The purpose of this work is to supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. *CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDENE. Vol. I. Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* 1868.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously.

From 1170 to 1192 is the portion of the work which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (see No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase of it; occasionally the two works entirely agree, showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

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